MINUTES
SLAVE
TRADE

MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the Houſe of Commons,

BEING

A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE SLAVE TRADE,

Complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

1789.

MINUTES, &c.

Martis, 26° die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc, Mr. Heywood, } For the petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, and reſident in Liverpool, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed;—and for the other petitions from the town of Liverpool.

Mr. Piggott——For the petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, on behalf of themſelves and others;—and alſo, the petition of Stephen Fuller Eſquire, Agent for the Iſland of Jamaica;—and alſo, the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Grenada and the Grenadines, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the ſaid Iſlands; and alſo, of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the Iſlands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and other Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the laſt-mentioned Iſlands;—

and

and alſo, the petition of the Council and Aſſembly of the Iſland of Nevis.

Mr. Trower, with Mr. Piggott——For the petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, on behalf of themſelves and others;—and alſo the petition of Stephen Fuller Eſquire, Agent for the Iſland of Jamaica.

Mr. Bond, with Mr. Piggott——For the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Grenada and the Grenadines, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the ſaid Iſlands; and alſo of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the Iſlands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and other Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the laſt-mentioned Iſlands.

Mr. Graham——For the petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the ſaid Iſland.

Mr. Thomſon, with Mr. Graham——For the petition of Mr. Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher;—and alſo for the petition of the Proprietors of Eſtates in the Weſt India Iſlands, and Merchants trading to the Weſt Indies, reſiding in the City of Glaſgow and its neighbourhood.

Mr. Burton——For the petition of John Burton and William Hutchinſon, Eſquires, Agents for the Iſland of Antigua.

The Counſel were directed to withdraw.

Reſolved, That the Counſel be again called in, and aſked, In what mode and order they propoſe to proceed?

And the Counſel were called in;—and, being acquainted with the ſaid Reſolution, they informed the Committee, That it was their wiſh, that Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc and Mr. Heywood, who appeared as Counſel on the Part of the ſeveral petitions from Liverpool, ſhould be firſt heard in ſupport of thoſe petitions.

Mr. Serjeant Le Blanc was heard; and called

JOHN BARNES, Eſquire.

How long did you reſide on the Coaſt of Africa, and in what capacity?

I reſided on the Coaſt of Africa, at different times, and in different capacities, thirteen years.

Was you ever Governor of Senegal?

I was, for near three years.

What years were thoſe?

From 1763 to 1766.

During your reſidence there, had you opportunities of knowing the manners of the country?

I had opportunities of knowing a good deal of them; I reſided there the greateſt part of eight years.

Can you give any account of the Policy and Government of that country during the time of your reſidence there?

I believe I can, as much as a ſtranger can do in a foreign country.

Will you give the Committee that account?

I wiſh to know to what particular points the Counſel would wiſh to be informed.

With reſpect to the Nature of the ſeveral Governments in the neighbourhood, whether free or arbitrary Governments?

The Negro Government with which I was acquainted, was in general Monarchical—but in ſome meaſure mixed—not abſolute.

Are there any Slaves in that Country, and in what manner do they become ſo?

Moſt certainly—I have known no part of Africa without Slaves—As far as I have underſtood, they become Slaves by various means; by the commiſſion of Crimes, and by Capture in War.

As far as you know, by the hiſtory of that Country, was there any period of time in which there were not Slaves there?

As far as I know of any hiſtory, I do not know a Time when there were not Slaves there.

You ſaid, Perſons become Slaves by commiſſion of Crimes—What are the Crimes, by the Conviction for which they become Slaves?

Theft, Murder, Adultery, Witchcraft. I meant to obſerve one means by which they become Slaves, which I forgot. They become likewiſe Slaves for Debt; and I have heard of great numbers becoming Slaves by Gambling.

Is Polygamy allowed in that Country?

It is, univerſally.

Is there any thing peculiar in the puniſhment for Witchcraft?

I have underſtood that the Principals are generally put to Death.

Does the puniſhment extend to the reſt of the Family, as well as to the Principals?

The reſt of the Family are condemned to Slavery.

Is Witchcraft a common Crime there?

I underſtand it is a Crime with which people are often charged.

Before whom were the criminals tried?

Before the Elders of the village or town.

Have they, on theſe occaſions, a full and fair trial?

I underſtand always.

Do you know, of your own knowledge, that Crimes have been imputed for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I do not; nor do I believe it poſſible.

For whoſe benefit are the perſons thus convicted ſold?

I believe generally for the benefit of the party injured.

What is the reaſon why you do not think it poſſible that Crimes ſhould be imputed for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

Becauſe of the fairneſs of the trial—the party is generally tried by a number of the Elders in the diſtrict—It is a publick trial—open to every body—and the ſentence is generally with the ſatisfaction not only of the Judges but of the Aſſembly preſent.

Have you ever heard of the Princes going to war for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I have never known ſuch an inſtance.

Have you known of any Prince breaking up a Village for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I never heard of ſuch a thing in Africa.

Have you heard of breaking up Villages for other purpoſes, and what?

I never heard the term till lately, that the Slave Trade came to be the ſubject of converſation.—Princes go to war there as in other countries; Villages are taken, are plundered, the inhabitants made priſoners; and if they cannot ranſom themſelves, they muſt be ſold as Slaves; this is all that I know—But I have never heard of their going to war for the expreſs purpoſe of making Slaves.

In what manner can the priſoners of war ranſom themſelves?

By paying for themſelves, according to their quality, in merchandize, in cattle, or in Slaves.

Do you know what would become of the priſoners of war, if they were not ſold for Slaves?

I cannot tell.

Have you heard of any perſons having been kidnapped for Slaves by the Black Traders?

I have not; I do not know of ſuch a thing.

In what other part of Africa have you been beſides Senegal?

On the river Gambia, at the Iſle de Los, Sierra Leone, and at Bonny.

In any of thoſe places, do you know of kidnapping having been practiſed?

I have not known it.

From your knowledge, if ſuch a thing was to be diſcovered, would it be allowed to paſs unpuniſhed?

I am confident it would not, no more than a robbery in this Country.

Can you ſay what is the principal ſource of Slavery in Africa, that you know of, particularly in Senegal?

I think I have already anſwered that queſtion.

What proportion do thoſe made Slaves by capture in war bear to the Slaves made by other means?

I cannot tell. I ſhould not think a great proportion, becauſe, in a courſe of a very long peace, I have found but little alteration in the quantity of Slaves ſold.

Do you know whether the people of property in that Country have Slaves of their own, and in what quantity?

They all have, and ſome an incredible number, as I have underſtood.

Are Slaves brought down from the interior parts of the Country for ſale?

Great numbers.

Has the Owner of Slaves, in that Country, any power over the life of the Slave?

I believe not, except he is a priſoner taken in war.—I believe, in the very act of capture, he may kill him if he chuſes it.

Who are the perſons who bring down the Slaves from the interior Countries?

They are generally Merchants trading in Slaves.

What is the extent of the Country from whence they bring the Slaves?

That I cannot tell; though I have been to a great extent in the inland Country myſelf, yet I have never been able to obtain any perfect knowledge of the Countries further inland, from whence moſt of thoſe Slaves come.

What European Powers traded for Slaves to the places where you were?

While we had Senegal we held it excluſively from other nations; Gambia, in like manner; the greateſt part of it. The other parts of Africa, where I have been, was open to all nations.

Do you know of any trade carried on to Egypt, or the eaſtern part of Africa, from Senegal?

I know of a very conſiderable trade carried on between the Negro Country on the banks of the Senegal and eaſtward of the Senegal and North Barbary—I mean the whole extent from the Streights of Gibraltar to Egypt—and I have heard of a very

great trade carried on between the inland Countries of the Negroes, about the ſame latitude, through Nubia, to Egypt.

Do you know whether Slaves are an article of commerce between the inhabitants of Senegal and Nubia?

Slaves are the chief article of commerce between thoſe Countries that I have mentioned.

Are the parts of Africa, where you have been, extremely populous, or otherwiſe?

I have only ſeen it on the ſea-coaſt, or in the neighbourhood of great rivers, and then I have always found it extremely populous.

Are the wars carried on there deſtructive, or not?

Very little deſtructive, in general.

Do you know what number of Slaves are exported from Senegal, by Europeans, annually?

Not more than about 1,000 to 1,400.

What is done with the perſons convicted of crimes at Senegal, who are not ſold for Slaves?

I cannot ſay.—I do believe, if Slavery was not a puniſhment for crimes committed there, that the laws would be more ſanguinary than they are.

Can you ſpeak as to the produce of Africa, proper for exportation, excluſive of Slaves?

The produce of Senegal, excluſive of Slaves, was principally Gum Senega.—On the Gambia, we purchaſed a little Bees Wax —On the Windward Coaſt, a little Dying Goods; and all over the Coaſt, a little Ivory.

Do you know any other articles or goods fit for exportation?

Nothing worth mentioning as an article of commerce—The country is capable of producing a great many; it is capable of producing all the products of the Weſt Indies—but the inhabitants are too indolent to cultivate it;—nor do I believe it practicable to obtain thoſe products from the inhabitants.

Is all the Gum Senega exported from Senegal?

No—we have had trade for Gum Senega from Portandick, a little to the northward of Senegal.

Is there a ſufficient market for all the Gum Senega that is produced in that Country?

The crops of Gum Senega are very uncertain.—In ſome years the country produces more than is ſufficient for ſeveral years conſumption of all Europe; in others, hardly enough—but, upon the whole, the general crop is rather more than ſufficient for the conſumption of all Europe.

Could the trade in Bees Wax and Ivory be increaſed?

I am confident neither of them could be increaſed; on the contrary, if there was not a Slave Trade, the trade for Ivory would be conſiderably leſſened, becauſe the Merchants, in bringing the Slaves from the inland Countries for ſale, find it worth their while to bring what Ivory they can get along with them; whereas, if they had no Slaves to bring, the Ivory alone would not pay the charge of the journey.

Could the market, with regard to the Dying Wood, be much increaſed?

The market for the Dying Wood, on the Windward Coaſt, where I have been, I believe could not be increaſed; nor do I underſtand it could beneficially; becauſe, I believe, we have already as much as we want of it.—I have underſtood, that the trade for Dying Wood, which is got in the neighbourhood of Angola, the Bar Wood, may be increaſed; but we have already more of it than we want.

Does Africa produce any Cotton?

Yes; very fine Cotton.

In what parts?

Both in Senegal and on the Gambia.

Is it produced in great quantities?

Only ſufficient for the conſumption of the countries. I have attempted to get a quantity, but could not do it.

Are you acquainted with the Windward Coaſt of Africa?

As far as I have been upon it, which is as far as the river Sherbro.

Are you acquainted with the ſhore?

Yes, as far as I have been.

Is the landing eaſy on that Coaſt, ſo that heavy commodities could be eaſily carried on board ſhip?

There is no landing on that Coaſt, except within the rivers.

Is there any river, in which a landing can be made, between Sherbro and Bonny?

I believe there is no river, between Sherbro and Benin, in which a landing can be made with any degree of ſafety.—Between Benin and Bonny there are ſome ſmall rivers, in which a landing, I believe, may be made.

What is the diſtance, along the Coaſt, between Sherbro and Benin?

I cannot ſay; I believe about three or four hundred leagues—but I am not clear.

Is there a bay or harbour, in that ſpace, in which a ſhip can lie with ſafety?

No—I believe not;—it is all an open Coaſt.

What is the diſtance between Benin and Bonny?

To the beſt of my recollection, about forty or fifty leagues.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Martis, 26° die Maii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

JOHN BARNES, Eſquire.

N° 1.

Mercurii, 27° die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in, as before.

JOHN BARNES, Eſquire, again called in.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Whether, in your opinion, if a Prince of the country can diſpoſe of the body of a Slave, he has not the means, if he ſhould prefer this plan, of requiring labour from the hands of the Slave?

He certainly can require labour.

Whether you do not think that, ſhould the number of perſons employed in the cultivation of Cotton be increaſed, the quantity of Cotton produced will not be increaſed in proportion?

No queſtion of it.

If a Prince of the country ſhould not be able to procure the merchandizes he wants by ſelling the bodies of men, would he not have a ſufficient inducement to require the labour of his people, to ſuch an extent as might enable him to purchaſe that merchandize with the produce of labour?

Certainly he would, if he could procure that merchandize by that labour; but I am confident he could not.

What are your reaſons for that opinion?

The Princes in the interior parts of the country could not avail themſelves of that labour by a ſale of the produce of it to Europeans, particularly in the article of Cotton; nor do I know of any other produce of the country that would bear the tranſport.—There are other reaſons: The uncertainty of that produce from the nature of the climate itſelf;—I have known the whole vegetation of a country ſwept away in twenty-four hours by the locuſts.—The government of thoſe countries is in general ſo imperfect, that a proprietor cannot depend on his property for ſo long a time as from the planting to the harveſt, in many caſes; and therefore the proprietor would rather bring ſlaves, or any other commodity, to market, and get his price, than wait for the advantage of the cultivation of the land.

Do you conceive that the locuſts would be more deſtructive to the Cotton raiſed for the purpoſe of exportation, than they are to the quantity of Cotton cultivated for the conſumption of the country?

By no means;—but there is a wide difference in the motive for cultivation.—When a man plants Cotton for his own conſumption, it is of very little importance to him whether it ſucceeds or not; but if he riſques his whole ſucceſs in life in that particular Culture, then it becomes valuable to him, and the failure of a crop may ruin him.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in; the Witneſs was aſked,

Do you not think, that if, in addition to the perſons now employed in the culture of Cotton, all thoſe, whoſe bodies are at preſent exported from the country, ſhould in future be employed in the cultivation of this article, there would not be the means of a conſiderable export?

I have many doubts whether the thing would be practicable, on account of the uncertainty of tenures in Africa.—Beſides, ſuch Cotton could be only ſhipped on the banks of navigable rivers. The cultivators, as I obſerved before, in the interior country could not afford to bring it to thoſe rivers; nor do I believe that the Chiefs of the country could be induced, by any means, to attempt any ſpecies of induſtry.

Whether

Whether the uncertainty of tenures could poſſibly affect the culture of Cotton, by the Slaves of the Prince, on the lands of the Prince?

I cannot well anſwer the queſtion.—I do not know preciſely what the lands of the Prince are. In the town where the Prince lives, the circumjacent lands are cultivated for the uſe of the town at large; each inhabitant has his little diſtrict for the produce of his Grain, or Cotton, or Tobacco, or what he has occaſion to plant on it. This extends but a very little way from the town. The Prince, I conceive, could not deprive the inhabitants of that benefit; and if he or any of his ſubjects were to carry their plantation to a more remote diſtance, I do not believe his property would be ſecure.

Do you mean to ſay, that the Prince of the country neither does or can appropriate to his own uſe any part whatever of the lands of the country, for the purpoſe of thoſe lands being cultivated by his own Slaves?

That is a queſtion I cannot anſwer—as I have never known an inſtance of the attempt—further than in the inſtance which I have juſt now mentioned; but I do believe he could not—for that is an appropriation which I believe could only be practiſed in a more civilized country.

As you have ſtated that the inhabitants of the towns have each of them their reſpective allotments of land, what reaſon can you aſſign for the Sovereign of the country not being able to do that which you deſcribe as invariably done by many of his ſubjects?

It is only neceſſary to explain, that that diviſion is only a diviſion for the crop, and goes no further—The cultivator has no further right to the land after he has taken the crop off—The diviſion may be different next year—He may neither have the ſame land nor the ſame quantity of land.

Is the Committee then to underſtand that the property is ſecured till the crop is taken off the ground?

So far as property can be, in a very looſe and in a very imperfect government.

Is not theft puniſhed with great ſeverity in Africa?

Generally by fine, as far as the value of the perſon of the thief.

Do you recollect that you yourſelf ſtated the crime of theft as one of thoſe offences for which the Africans are condemned to Slavery?

Moſt certainly I did.

Do not you imagine, that if the number of perſons now employed in collecting Gold-duſt ſhould be increaſed, the quantity of Gold-duſt ſo collected would alſo be increaſed in proportion?

No doubt it would—but that is a ſpecies of induſtry that is not always in the power of the parties.—The mines in Africa, as far as I have heard any thing of them, are always conſidered by the Natives as a depoſit of ſacred treaſure, to be had recourſe to only upon particular occaſions.

Do you ſpeak generally of all the mines of Africa—thoſe upon the river Niger—thoſe in the kingdom of Wangara—and thoſe that are underſtood to ſupply the Coaſt of Guinea;—or whether you ſpeak of ſome one particular mine, which you conceive to be thus ſacred?

I have not heard of any mines, except in two particular nations of Africa—the country of Bambarena, and the country of Galam. In the country of Galam, I know for a certainty, that what I ſay is fact—and I have underſtood the ſame in Bambarena.—I know there has been Gold, in conſiderable quantities, obtained on the Gold Coaſt of Africa—but I never heard of a certainty of any mines there.

What are the thefts, and on what ſpecies of property have you known them to be committed?

Merchandize of Europe, Grain, Cloth, Cattle, and other property of the country.

How is the Cloth of the country manufactured? Whether by each individual for his own uſe, or to be brought to market for ſale?

The women generally amuſe themſelves with ſpinning—(I am ſpeaking only of the country between the river Gambia and Senegal)—there are Weavers by profeſſion, who are hired to weave Cloth.

Are there any other handicraft trades carried on by the Natives, for furniſhing houſes, or utenſils?

I have known of no other, except a very coarſe Smiths work—who manufactures a kind of hammer and adzes for the common

ſervices of the country—and likewiſe makes gold ear-rings for the ladies.

The materials for building houſes, what are they?
The houſes are built, in ſome parts, of reeds—in others, with mud; and all covered with thatch.

Is there no gradation or middle rank between the Prince and thoſe who work, and who are kept without labour?
Yes; there are Nobility—and Free people of condition, who have Slaves.

How long did you reſide in Africa?
Thirteen years.

In the courſe of thoſe thirteen years, did you perceive no alteration in point of civilization among the natives?
Not the leaſt.

What, in your mind, appears to be the obſtructions to civilization?
It is very difficult to anſwer that queſtion—The ſame obſtructions as thoſe which operate to prevent it among the Savages of America.

Was you in Africa at the time of the late American war?
No; but I was there at the time of the former war.

At that time, was the demand for Slaves equal to what it has been in times of peace? Was there a ready ſale for Slaves, and were they brought down in any quantities?
The trade was naturally checked by the war—The ſhips did not arrive in ſuch numbers.

Was the price of Slaves, in conſequence of that, lowered?
Generally.

Was the glut ſo great as to occaſion any other employment to be ſought for for the Slaves, or were they devoted to other purpoſes?
I have always underſtood they were diverted to other channels.

To what other channels?
For ſale.

Where?

Where?
To North Barbary, Egypt, and the Eaſtern Coaſt of Africa.

Was there any attempt to employ them in cultivation or manufacture?
I never heard of ſuch a thing; nor do I believe there was.

Have you been in Africa ſince the laſt war in America?
Not ſince 1766.

Do you mean, when you ſtate that for theft they were fined to the extent of the value of their perſons, that they muſt be ſold as Slaves, unleſs they could diſcharge the fine?
Certainly.—I beg leave to ſay further, that the fine ſometimes exceeds the value of a Slave—to ten or twenty Slaves, which they are bound to find, or otherwiſe go into Slavery themſelves.

In what manner is the trade for Slaves carried on on the Coaſt by the Captains of the Slave ſhips and the natives; is it clandeſtinely or openly?
Openly always.

Was you acquainted with the ſtate of the health of the crews on board the Slave ſhips on the Coaſt, and of the crews on board the King's ſhips, whilſt you was there?
I had an opportunity of ſeeing a good deal of them.

State your obſervations on that ſubject?
The firſt three years that I was at Senegal, there were two King's ſhips ſtationed there; the mortality on board thoſe ſhips was very terrible, inſomuch that they were obliged at laſt to man them chiefly with Negroes. In the Merchant ſhips (which trade for Slaves or other goods) I have always obſerved the mortality greater in thoſe ſhips that went up the river, and more particularly immediately after the rainy ſeaſon; but on board the ſhips trading on the open coaſt, I have obſerved them generally as healthy as other ſhips between the Tropics. I ſpeak of the King's ſhips only in the three firſt years; but of the other ſhips I ſpeak generally.

How are the perſons, retained in ſlavery on the Coaſt of Africa, treated by their maſters?
In general pretty well.

Whether,

Whether, if they commit any fault, or are neglectful in the duties they are employed in, they are punished at the mere discretion of their Masters, and in what manner?

For a slight offence they are punished at the discretion of their master, with stripes generally—for more weighty crimes, generally with the approbation of their fellow-servants; and the punishment is, generally, being sold as Slaves.

Then, for weighty crimes, the Slaves cannot be punished merely at the discretion of their Masters?

I am speaking of the practice—I do not say the Master has not a right to do it—but this is the practice, and I believe it to be a practice more of prudence; because, if he were to treat his Slaves in any arbitrary or cruel manner, he would lose them by desertion.

Are the Slaves allowed to marry, and in what manner are the children of Slaves treated by the Masters?

They are allowed to marry, but always with the approbation of the Master—the children are in general well treated.

You said, you thought the wars in Africa not destructive; Why do you think so?

I have understood so always from the Natives themselves.

In what manner are the wars carried on, and what weapons are used?

A very irregular war; what is called Bush-fighting. In the lower parts of the country, about 150 leagues inland, the weapons are fire-arms and swords; beyond that, they use bows, and every where the javelin is much in use.

From what country are they supplied with fire-arms and swords?

By the Europeans, on the Western Coast, and by the Moors, to the Northward.

From what part of Europe are they chiefly supplied?

From England, France, and Holland, and some from Portugal, I believe, and Denmark—from all the European nations trading there.

You said many Slaves were sold to North Barbary: What is the Distance between that Country and North Barbary?

I think I stated that a considerable trade is carried on between North Barbary and the countries Eastward of Senegal and the

Gambia; but not from the particular country where I reſided. The diſtance from Senegal to the inhabited part of North Barbary is about ten degrees.

Are Slaves ſold and ſent that diſtance of ten degrees?
The inhabitants of North Barbary come into thoſe countries and purchaſe them, and carry them that diſtance back again.

Are they not conveyed through a great tract of uninhabited country?
A great part of that diſtrict is uninhabited—a deſart.

How are they found with proviſions and neceſſaries on that journey?
They carry proviſions with them—even water.

What is the diſtance from the part of the country where the Slaves are ſold to Egypt?
I cannot tell.

Do you not ſuppoſe it muſt be at leaſt two thouſand miles?
No—I do not conceive it to be half the diſtance from the Upper Egypt.

Are Slaves, who are the property of an African Maſter, never ſold but for crimes?
I believe never;—if it is meant Houſe Slaves, the Slaves of his family—never.

Is the transfer from African to European ſlavery conſidered as a ſevere puniſhment by the inhabitants of that country?
I ſpeak of the Houſe Slave—I wiſh to make a diſtinction—if the Slave has been acquainted with Europeans, as thoſe near the ſea-coaſt, who are in the habit of ſeeing Europeans, they do not conceive it to be a hardſhip; they know where they are going, and for what purpoſe;—the only hardſhip is, in caſe they have a family, in being ſeparated from them;—but thoſe from the interior parts of the country are naturally terrified in being put into the hands of a people of a different colour, whoſe character they are not acquainted with; and being ignorant of the purpoſe for which they purchaſed them.

If the being ſold to Europeans is not conſidered as an hardſhip, has the dread of ſuch ſale any effect towards the preventing crimes?

Only

Only where they have a family, and the conſequent ſhame attending being tranſported.—I mean ſtill further, that though they do not dread it, it is ſtill a puniſhment, though they are not afraid of it.

Are they, in general, capable of ſtrong domeſtic attachment?
I do not think, in general, that domeſtic attachments are ſo ſtrong, as where polygamy is not allowed.

If the Slave Trade to Africa were to be aboliſhed by the Britiſh Legiſlature, could the African Princes be ſupplied with European commodities through any other channel?
By other Europeans carrying on the trade—no doubt they might.

While the poſſibility of acquiring European commodities in exchange for Slaves, through any channel, is left open, would the African Princes be induced to acquire thoſe articles by commodities raiſed by the improved induſtry of their ſubjects?
I do not believe they would.

You have ſaid, that the fine is ſometimes equal to twenty or thirty Slaves.—How does he get thoſe Slaves?
He is ſometimes a man of great opulence, and capable of paying three times the value of thoſe Slaves.—A man may be worth one thouſand Slaves, and fined to the amount of twenty or thirty; yet he has an option of paying the price in Slaves, or the value of Slaves.

You have ſtated an inſtance where the King's ſhips were chiefly manned by Negroes.—How did the Captains get thoſe Negroes?
I ſpeak chiefly of the King's ſhips ſtationed at Senegal—in the Iſland of Senegal there are a great number of inhabitants poſſeſſed of Slaves, which they let out to hire for the Service of the Port, or of ſhipping—it was with thoſe Slaves chiefly that the King's ſhips were manned.

Whether your evidence in general is confined to Senegal, or extends to other, and what, parts of Africa?
In particular parts of it, when I mentioned Senegal, it relates to that only.—In my general evidence, where I have not diſtinguiſhed the diſtrict, my meaning has gone as far as I have been on the Windward Coaſt—as far as the river Sherbro.

How long did you reſide in other parts of Africa, beſides Senegal?

I have been employed in voyages to other parts of Africa for five years;—eight in Senegal;—in all thirteen.

What number of Slaves, exported from Senegal, are natives of that coaſt, or are brought from the interior country?

Nearly about one half each.

Whether the evidence you have given of the mode of their becoming Slaves applies to the interior countries?

What has happened in the making of Slaves in the lower part of the country, has happened more compleatly within my own knowledge.—With regard to the making Slaves in the interior country, I could only have it from hearſay.

Can you ſay any thing with regard to the mode of making Slaves in the interior country?

I have told the Committee that I have underſtood the mode of making Slaves in the interior country is the ſame, but I have it not from my own knowledge.

From whom have you learnt it?

From the moſt reſpectable travellers through thoſe countries.

Whether thoſe travellers have given you any, and what, information of the government of thoſe countries?

I do not recollect any thing particular.

Did you underſtand from them what proportion of the Slaves, brought from the interior countries, were convicted of crimes?

I never made the enquiry.

Did you underſtand from them in what manner the perſons ſold for crimes were convicted—what form of trial was uſed?

I have always underſtood from them that the mode of conviction has been generally as I ſtated it.

Then is the Committee to underſtand, that, though theſe perſons have given you no information of the government of thoſe countries, yet that they have explained to you the forms of judicature uſed there?

I wiſh it to be underſtood, that I have not underſtood from thoſe travellers any information reſpecting the government of thoſe countries,

countries, materially different from the countries nearer the ſea-coaſt, with which I was myſelf acquainted.

Did you learn from thoſe perſons what was the form of government in the interior countries?

I did not make a particular enquiry reſpecting the form of government of the interior countries.

Can you then undertake to ſay by whom perſons accuſed of crimes in the interior countries are tried?

Yes, I do ſay I have underſtood they were tried by the Elders, as in thoſe countries within my own knowledge.

Can you undertake to ſay that there are no unjuſt convictions in that country?

No—I cannot.

Can you undertake to ſay that the greater part of the convictions in that country are not unjuſt?

I do believe they are not;—I believe juſtice in general is fairly adminiſtered there.

On what grounds do you believe this?

I think I ſtated that laſt night—I ſaid, becauſe trials are generally by a number of the Elders of the diſtrict—that the trial is open—and, that the Judge has no advantage in the iſſue of it.

Then, is the Committee to underſtand, that you have been told by theſe travellers that trials in the interior countries are always before the Elders of the diſtrict—that the courts are always open—and, that the Judges, in the interior countries, have no profit from the conviction?

I have underſtood ſo.

Whether, when you reſided in other parts of Africa, you had communication with travellers, who gave you information of the interior countries from which the Slaves who were ſold were brought?

No; only in the Senegal and in the Gambia—but the interior countries, from whence I have had this information, I conceive to be the ſame countries as thoſe which furniſh Slaves to other parts of the Coaſt of Africa, as far as the Bite of Benin.

Can you ſtate what thoſe interior countries are, by name or ſituation, to which the information of thoſe travellers applies?

I can ſtate the names of the principal part of them; but it is impoſſible to ſtate their extent or ſituation.

State their names?
Countries of Bamberena, Malay, Mandinga, Bito.

Whether thoſe travellers were Europeans, or natives of Africa?
Natives of Africa, generally Prieſts.

Have you learnt from thoſe travellers whether any, and what, proportion of the Slaves brought from thoſe countries have been priſoners taken in war?
I have underſtood that many of them are priſoners taken in war, but what proportion of them I have not been able to learn, nor do I believe the people were capable of informing me.

Whether thoſe travellers have explained to you the cauſes for which wars have been made in that country?
No; no particular cauſes.

Have they told you whether any, and what, proportion of the Slaves are perſons kidnapped?
No, they never told me any ſuch thing.

Do the cauſes you mention, which prevent the exportation of articles of proviſion, apply to all the parts of Africa to which you ſpeak, or only to Senegal?
They apply to the countries between the river Senegal and Gambia, and to the countries bordering on thoſe rivers.

Whether Rice is produced in any of the countries to which you ſpeak?
A little Rice is produced in thoſe particular countries I have juſt alluded to, but more on the Windward Coaſt, towards the river Sherbro, ſo far as I have been upon it.

Have you ever heard, or have you known, that any Rice has been purchaſed by Britiſh veſſels on the Coaſt of Africa?
I have known it purchaſed always for the proviſion of ſhips trading on the Windward Coaſt—though ſometimes they find it very difficult to get a ſufficient quantity.

By whom is that Rice, ſo exported, raiſed?
By the natives of the country.

Do you know in what manner the Gold-duſt, purchaſed by Europeans, is collected?

When there is any Gold purchaſed by Europeans, which is very little, it is collected in the mines, in the Mine countries, as I have already ſtated—and upon the Gold Coaſt (there I ſpeak only from information) I underſtand it is collected by waſhing the ſands in rivulets on the ſea-ſhore, and from the torrents, in the rainy ſeaſon, running from the hills.

Do you know to whom the mines, in the Mine countries, belong?

They are underſtood to belong to the diſtrict in which they are ſituated, under the controul of the Prince and the Prieſt.

Do you know what articles we give in exchange for Gold-duſt?

In the rivers Senegal and Gambia, I have not known any Gold-duſt purchaſed for many years—on the Gold Coaſt, I underſtand, it is purchaſed for European and Eaſt India commodities; but the Gold, the produce of ſuch purchaſe, is always expended again in the ſhip's commerce on the coaſt.

Do you know, when the Gold-duſt is ſo purchaſed, to whoſe uſe the commodities ſo given in exchange for it are applied?

To the uſe of the vender, I believe.

Who then is the vender or proprietor?

The native African.

What deſcription of native African? Is it the Prince, or the Prieſt, or for the diſtrict in general?

I fear I have not been ſufficiently clear, or the honourable Member has miſtaken me.—When I ſpoke of the mines, I told the Committee, they were the property of the diſtrict in which they are ſituated—under the controul of the Prince and the Prieſt—That thoſe mines, I ſaid, in a former part of my evidence, were ſituated weſt and eaſt of the rivers Senegal and Gambia—I am now ſpeaking of the Gold collected upon the Gold Coaſt.

When the Gold from the Mine country is ſold, to whom belong the commodities which are given in exchange for it?

It is neceſſary firſt to obſerve, that when the Gold is collected in the mines, it is diſtributed to the different people working for it—the Prince has a ſhare; the Clergy have a ſhare; and the

 labouring

labouring workman has the remainder—Then, whoever ſells his ſhare, it is his own property what he receives in exchange.

Then are the Committee to underſtand, that (the hire of the labourers being paid) the mines are worked partly for the profit of the Prince, and partly for the profit of the Prieſt?

The labourer's profit is not a profit of hire; it is a profit of riſque—if his labour is attended with ſucceſs, the Prince, and the Clergy, and himſelf, are all gainers by it. He works in like manner with the Spaniſh Miner in Peru, for as long as he is allowed to work.

Did not you ſtate that the mines were a ſacred depoſit, not to be touched but in caſes of emergency?

Yes.

Are then the Prince and the Prieſt the judges of this emergency?

I underſtand the Prieſt always, and of the quantum of it, how long they are allowed to work.

Did not you ſay before, that in a former war, when the demand for Slaves was leſſened, the Slaves were not turned to the articles of production?

Yes.

Was there at that time any increaſed demand for articles of African produce, or was not the demand for articles of produce leſſened by the ſame cauſes which leſſened the demand for Slaves?

During the war, the trade with Africa was altogether leſſened in point of number of ſhipping; but with reſpect to the demand for African commodities, not Slaves, that has been always very great: in the pooreſt ſtate of the trade, infinitely greater than the ſupply.

State particularly in what commodities?

Gold, Bees-wax, Ivory, and Cam-wood.

How are the domeſtic Slaves employed?

I think I ſtated that ſome individuals were poſſeſſed of an incredible number of domeſtic Slaves—they are employed in the various articles of inland commerce and agriculture.

Whether

Whether the priſoners taken in war would be employed in raiſing Cotton, if they were not ſold to the Europeans?
I am confident they would not.

Whether perſons convicted of crimes would be employed in raiſing Cotton, if they were not ſold to the Europeans?
I do not believe they would.

Do you think more Cotton would be raiſed by putting a ſtop to the Slave Trade?
I do not believe it would make any difference in the induſtry of the inhabitants.

Are there any public roads in that country?
None.

Are there any horſes?
Between Senegal and Gambia many, and to the northward—but they are never uſed either for draught or burthen.

If they grew large quantities of Cotton, could the Cotton be conveyed down to the ſhips?
Only what grows on the borders of the great rivers, none other—land carriage is totally impracticable.

Does any Rice grow ſouthward of the Windward Coaſt?
I have never heard of any.

In what manner are the Slaves belonging to Negro Maſters, in Senegal, fed?
In Senegal and Gambia they are very well fed (excepting in years of famine) with corn, fleſh meat, and fiſh.

How many hours in the day are they worked?
They are not worked for any regular time.

Is their labour conſtant?
No.

Is it carried on under the whip?
Never.

You ſaid that ſome of the King's ſhips, ſtationed off Senegal, were very unhealthy—what were the names of the ſhips?

One

One called the London, a buſs—another called the Union Hoy, to the beſt of my recollection—and another called the Goree Sloop.

In what year did that happen?
In 1758 and 1761.

Were they in the river Senegal, or on the Coaſt?
The buſs and hoy were ſtationed within the bar of the river, and the ſloop on the Coaſt—it is to be obſerved, within the bar of the Senegal, is in fact being on the Coaſt.

You ſaid, there was no landing-place between Sherbro and the Bite of Benin—is the Committee to underſtand that no ſhips trade within that diſtance?
To the beſt of my recollection, I ſaid there was no navigable river within that diſtance; but I will beg leave to ſtate further, that there is no convenient landing-place within that diſtance, fit for the landing of merchandize, or embarkation of merchandize, without great danger.

Is there any trade for Slaves carried on within that diſtance?
Yes, a great deal.

How are the Negroes brought on board, and how are the goods landed, in exchange for them, on this part of the Coaſt?
I have underſtood generally in canoes, by the natives.

Does not the ſpace you have mentioned comprehend all the Gold Coaſt?
The whole of it.

Are there not many European factories on that coaſt?
Several.

Are there not landing-places at each of them?
Yes; ſuch as I have deſcribed—very unſafe ones.

Is there not ſafe anchorage, on all the Coaſt, in the open roads?
I have underſtood there is—but it is to be obſerved this is only hearſay, as I was no further than the River Sherbro.

Did not you ſay there was no landing-place from Sherbro to the Bite of Benin, in the former part of your Evidence, How do you know that, if you was not on the Coaſt?

From the beſt information of many navigators with whom I have converſed.

Have you ever heard of any ſhips being loſt, on the Gold Coaſt, by ſtreſs of weather?

No; for the plaineſt reaſon in the world—becauſe the wind is always along ſhore or off ſhore.

Cannot ſhips put to ſea at pleaſure, on any part of the Coaſt?

Certainly; for the ſame reaſon.

Is not Senegal now in the hands of the French—and whether the Britiſh have any acceſs to it?

I believe it is in the hands of the French, and we have no acceſs to it.

Is not all you have ſaid of the Gold Coaſt entirely from information, and not of your own knowledge?

It is; and I have always ſtated it ſo.

Whether to your knowledge, the Tetanus, or locked jaw, prevails on the Coaſt of Africa?

I have not ſeen an inſtance of it.

Can you ſay why a leſs number of Female Slaves, than Male Slaves, are ſent out of Africa?

It is a queſtion that requires ſo much to be ſaid in anſwer to it, that I would wiſh to refer to what I have ſaid in anſwer to that queſtion before the Committee of Privy Council.

Whether, from your own knowledge, no perſons are ſold for Slaves, on the Coaſt, but ſuch as are priſoners of war, or have been convicted of crimes?

I have not, within my own knowledge, known of any ſold on the Coaſt, except on thoſe accounts, or for debt.

By what means a perſon paying the fine of Twenty Slaves of his own, for a theft committed by himſelf, communicates the guilt of that theft to thoſe twenty Slaves, ſo as to make them proper objects of the European market, conformably with your own ſtatement of the laws of the country?

I think I ſtated, that perſons convicted for crimes were ſubject to a penalty of one, or two, or as far as Twenty Slaves—that he muſt either pay thoſe Slaves or be ſold himſelf for a Slave—that he pays thoſe Slaves either in Slaves, or in the value of thoſe Slaves; if in

Slaves, I don't ſuppoſe he impoſes any guilt upon them; they are his property; he pays his debt, or he pays his penalty with it.

Are there then any other cauſes, beſides Crime or Debt, that will juſtify ſelling perſons as Slaves to Europeans?

I know of no other cauſe than thoſe I have already ſtated; but, with ſubmiſſion, I conceive thoſe perſons are already Slaves, before the perſon paid his penalty with them, owing to ſome of the cauſes which I have before mentioned.

Do you mean to ſay, that all the perſons in Africa, having Slaves, have the abſolute power over the perſons of thoſe Slaves, to diſpoſe of them as he thinks fit?

By no means—I think I have ſtated otherwiſe.

Whether it is neceſſary that the twenty Slaves, ſo paid by a Maſter for a penalty, ſhould be perſons convicted of crimes, or liable to the puniſhment of tranſportation?

I do conceive they would not have been Slaves, but for ſome of the cauſes I have already ſtated.

You ſay that rich perſons poſſeſs a great number of Slaves—Is the Committee to underſtand that all the Slaves are perſons convicted of crimes?

I do conceive that all the Slaves in Africa are Slaves owing to ſome of the cauſes I have mentioned.

You ſtated, among the cauſes of Slavery, Adultery, and that Polygamy is allowed in the country—on whom does the puniſhment for Adultery attach—on the man or the woman, or both?

I underſtood always on both.

Have all the wives of any man the ſame rank?

They are all his wives; but the guilty one only is puniſhed.

Whether infidelity in every one of the wives is adultery?

It certainly is deemed ſo.

On an average, how many wives has each man?

I cannot average them—very uncertain—in proportion to their quality, and in proportion to their opulence.

Is there any difference between Polygamy and Concubinage in that country?

Not

Not a great deal—I believe, in moſt countries where Polygamy is allowed, the firſt wife bearing a child is conſidered as the principal wife.

Does the marriage ceremony take place with every wife that a man takes?

Yes; I believe it does.

Do you know whether the northern bank of the river Senegal is inhabited by Moors?

Both by Moors and Negroes.

Have you never heard that it is a common practice with the Moors on the northern ſhore, to croſs the river for the purpoſe of catching perſons, whom they afterwards carry down to ſell to the Europeans?

No; I never heard of ſuch a practice—on the contrary, I know there is no ſuch a practice.

You have ſtated, that domeſtic Slaves are ſold only for weightier crimes—Are there two deſcriptions of Slaves in the poſſeſſion of African owners, one deſcription of which he may ſell without conviction in a judicial proceſs, though he may not the other?

Certainly there is.—One deſcription of Slaves he holds as merchandize or moveable property; ſo long as he holds it in that ſtate, he can diſpoſe of it as he pleaſes; but from the moment when he tells one of thoſe Slaves, "You ſhall belong to "my houſehold," from that moment he enjoys a ſecurity which he did not before poſſeſs—he cannot be ſold without the commiſſion of a crime.

In what conſiſts the weight of puniſhment which is inflicted in the ſale of a Slave, for having committed a weightier crime, when you have ſtated that to thoſe that live on the Coaſt, and are acquainted with the Europeans, it is only the exchange of a black maſter for a white one, which the criminal does not dread as any puniſhment at all?

I beg to be underſtood, that when I ſtated that he did not conſider the change of the Maſter as any puniſhment at all, I ſaid, the tranſportation from his country, and ſeparation from his friends, he certainly muſt feel as a great puniſhment.

Then is the Committee to underſtand, that an African Negro does conſider tranſportation from his country, and ſeparation from his

his friends, as very great punifhment, though he does not expect to incur any further inconvenience?

Certainly.

Are not the Africans very fond of European commodities?

They are fond of them only fo far as their neceffities require them.

Are not beads a great article of exportation to Africa, and do their neceffities require beads?

Beads are not a great article of exportation—only ufed particularly at Gambia.—The ufe of them is more as a commodity of exchange, though they muft become ultimately an article of ornament.—In the earlier period of the African trade, beads and many other toys were much ufed, but the trade is now more generally reduced to a demand for neceffaries.

If European commodities were only to be had in exchange for the produce of the country, would the natives rather go without thofe commodities, than employ themfelves in raifing the produce neceffary to procure them?

From all my obfervations of the natives of Africa, I am moft confident of opinion they would.

You have ftated, that perfons are never condemned without a fair trial, and that numbers are fold for Slaves on the accufation of witchcraft—What do you confider as a fair trial for witchcraft?

Trials for witchcraft are generally carried on fecretly—I do not know of any fair trial for witchcraft.

Whether the children of the Slaves you defcribe as moveable property, are themfelves confidered as Slaves, although they have not committed any crime?

The children always follow the condition of the mother.

Are fuch children faleable, in the fame manner with their parents?

They certainly are.

When Slaves are brought down to the European Factories to be fold, from the interior parts of the country, whether any queftions are ever afked thofe who offer them for fale, in what manner they procured thofe Slaves?

I do

I do not believe it is the practice—but I do not ſpeak from my own particular knowledge, as I never bought a Slave.

Then a former Queſtion and Anſwer being read to the Witneſs, as follows; viz.

" Have you never heard that it is a common practice with the " Moors on the northern ſhore, to croſs the river for the purpoſe " of catching perſons, whom they afterwards carry down for ſale " to the Europeans?

" No; I never heard of ſuch a practice—on the contrary, I " know there is no ſuch a practice."

The Witneſs was then aſked,

On what ground do you aſſert you know there is no ſuch practice?

I aſſert it from the very intimate knowledge I had of the country during the eight years I reſided in it, and from a regular correſpondence with moſt of the Chiefs of it.

Do the inhabitants of that country wear any cloathing, and of what ſort?

In the country between Senegal and Gambia, they do wear cloathing, as I have before obſerved, chiefly of their own manufacture.

From whom do they obtain the raw material for that manufacture?

The material is Cotton of their own growth.

If they have more of that raw material than they want for their manufacture, might they not be perſuaded to ſell the ſuperfluity?

I dare ſay they might; but I have never known an inſtance of their having more than they want. I have taken great pains to obtain ſome of the Cotton, but never could ſucceed, beyond the purchaſe of a few pounds.

If you had wanted any of their Cotton cloths for your own uſe, could you have obtained them?

A very few, and at a very high price. I have known Cotton cloths, two cloths of the uſual ſize of their cloths which they weave, about three yards long, and a yard and a half wide, eſtimated at the price of two Slaves.

At what price do the natives buy them for their own uſe?
They are very ſeldom an article of ſale, and therefore they are ſo dear; the natives generally manufacture them for themſelves.

Does this high price of the Cotton cloth ariſe from the ſcarcity of the raw material, or the difficulty of manufacturing them?
I believe chiefly from the indolence of the people themſelves.

What quantity of the Cotton cloth may be ſuppoſed to be uſed by a native annually?
That is according to the quality of the native—The pooreſt female Slave may have a couple of coarſe ones, and thoſe two may ſerve her a twelvemonth.

How many may be ſuppoſed to be uſed by the male Slaves, and the people of higher condition?
They never, neither male nor female, wear more than two at a time, one over their ſhoulders, and one round their waiſt.—People of quality and opulence will have changes, but I do not think that the actual conſumption exceeds two cloths in a twelvemonth.

By whom are the cloths, which are worn by perſons of higher condition, manufactured?
They are all home manufacture.

Are they manufactured, by the perſons of higher condition, with their own hands, or by their Slaves?
Women of the higheſt condition ſpin—their Slaves certainly ſpin too; and they employ weavers to weave it. Sometimes their own Slaves weave them, and then the whole manufacture is within themſelves.

Do you mean to aſſert, that there are perſons there who are weavers by profeſſion?
I do.

Are they Free perſons, or Slaves?
Both.

Do you not conceive that the Slaves, who manufacture the Cotton Cloths, by their Maſters command, would not cultivate the ground for Cotton, if they were ordered by their Maſters ſo to do?

No;—I do not believe they would—it is the labour of women and children—all except the weaving—it is the private amuſement of the family.

Are women ever employed in field cultivation, in that country?
I believe not—I have not known it;—but I beg the Committee to underſtand that I am ſtill ſpeaking of the country between Senegal and Gambia.

Is any wood obtained from that country?
Very little.—I have attempted myſelf to get wood from the Gambia; I once imported ſome very bad Ebony, and ſold it at a conſiderable loſs; I imported likewiſe ſome ſamples of mahogany, and found it coarſe in quality, and much more expenſive than I could purchaſe mahogany for here.

Do you conceive that large quantities of thoſe commodities might be obtained, if they were not ſo defective in quality?
Of the Ebony I know there could not; the quantity I imported was about 12 ton, and it was obtained with infinite difficulty. I believe greater quantities of mahogany might be obtained, but not at any price to encourage the importation of it.

Whether wood had been uſed to be imported from that part of the country before you made that experiment?
No—I have not known it; I think I have heard that the Royal African Company made ſome experiments of that kind, but they were not ſucceſsful.

By whom was the wood cut down which you imported?
Principally by the people belonging to the veſſel which imported it, and ſome of it by the Slaves of a white trader there; by the black Slaves of the white trader.

Do you conceive the Slaves of that white trader would not equally have obeyed, if they had been ordered to cultivate Cotton?
No—I do not believe it.

Why?
Becauſe the one is only a particular ſervice of ſhort duration, to which they would have ſubmitted to gratify their maſter;—if they were to employ them in the conſtant practice of cutting of wood, they would not do that neither.

Do they manufacture iron in that country?
They make a clumsy hoe, an ax, and a knife.

By whom is that iron manufactured—is it by the Slaves?
By the native Smiths, whether Free or Slaves.

Have they those implements in plenty?
Yes, pretty well; almost all the Bar Iron we export to that country is used in that way.

Have they any Iron Ores in the country?
Yes, in Galam, I have understood they have; and the Highlands of Sierra Leone appeared to me to be entirely Iron Ore;—the natives are totally ignorant of the use of it.

You said, our ships bought Rice from the natives of that country; by whom was that Rice raised?
I believe by the natives themselves, both Free and Slaves; I am not clear.

Does not the same part of the country which produces Rice, also produce Cotton?
Yes, the same countries produce Rice and Cotton.

Why would the Slaves obey the order of their Masters in cultivating Rice, and not in cultivating Cotton?
They do obey their orders in both cases, and in the same extent—as far as the necessities of the family require it.

Did not you say that our ships bought Rice from the natives of the country?
I did say so.

How do they bring the Rice to the ships?
It is generally brought in canoes.

You have said, There are individuals who possess an incredible number of Slaves;—by what means do individuals acquire so large a number of Slaves?
By commerce generally. One particular description of people, which I then alluded to, is an order of Arabic Priests, on the banks of the Senegal, who have, I believe, some thousands of Slaves.

Is a trial for Witchcraft conducted in a different manner from a trial for any other offence?
It is.

How is the Rice brought to the water's edge?
It grows by the water's edge.

Does the cultivation of the Cotton, produced in that country, require much labour; and by whom is that labour performed?
I cannot anſwer that queſtion.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Mercurii, 27° *die Maii*, 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs Examined,

JOHN BARNES, Eſquire.

N° 2.

Jovis, 28° die Maii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in, as before.

RICHARD MILES, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

How long did you reſide in Africa, at what time, in what capacity, and on what particular part of the Coaſt?

I was eighteen years and an half in the Company's ſervice on the Gold Coaſt.—During the firſt ten years I had at different times the command of moſt of the ſubordinate poſts; the laſt ſeven years I lived at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, and had the command of the whole; it was from 1765 to the beginning of 1784. I was abſent about twenty-ſix months in the whole during that time.

What are the limits of the Gold Coaſt, and what is the extent?

The limits are generally conſidered from Cape La Hou to the River Volta, which takes in an extent of coaſt about four hundred miles, lying eaſt and weſt nearly.

Is your knowledge of Africa confined to thoſe limits, or are you acquainted with other parts of Africa?

I have been in other parts of Africa;—at Senegal, Goree, Gambia, and Sierra Leone.

Did you underſtand the language of the country?
The language of the Gold Coaſt I underſtood perfectly.

What is the form of government of the country on the Gold Coaſt?
My evidence is confined to the country on the water-ſide; I have no knowledge of the interior parts of the country.

To what extent from the water-ſide do you confine your knowledge of the country?
Except in one inſtance, where curioſity carried me twenty miles inland, I do not believe I was ever five miles from the Coaſt.

During your long reſidence there, did you obtain information with reſpect to the interior parts, from perſons reſident or native there?
None that I ſhould think myſelf juſtified in repeating on the preſent important occaſion.

What was the form of government of the country which came within your own knowledge?
Generally ſpeaking, the Gold Coaſt is divided into petty ſtates; I know of but one deſpotic monarchy on the Gold Coaſt.

What is that?
At Apollonia.

What is the extent of that monarchy?
I cannot ſay how far it may extend inland.

Did Slavery exiſt in all the countries that came within your knowledge?
I found them in the practice of it, and I left them ſo.

Did it appear to be a condition of modern introduction, or to have exiſted from remote antiquity?
If I am to ſpeak from matter of fact, I can ſpeak only to the time I was there myſelf; if from information, I have converſed with the oldeſt men in that country, and I believe it to have been a practice for centuries paſt.

In what manner did perſons become Slaves?
I can ſpeak only as to the water-ſide upon the Gold Coaſt, where,

where, as far as my obſervations went, the water-ſide provides near one-fourth of the whole purchaſed by us on that Coaſt.

By what name did that Nation go?
The Fantee Nation.

What is the whole number of Negroes furniſhed by the Gold Coaſt?
I believe, one year with another, from 7 to 8,000 are purchaſed by the Engliſh.

How are thoſe Slaves obtained upon that Coaſt?
They are ſold by the Black Brokers to the European Traders.

In what manner do they firſt become Slaves?
That muſt be matter of opinion in a great meaſure; there are many crimes that ſubject them to Slavery.

What are thoſe crimes?
The chief of thoſe I know are Theft, Debt, (if that can be conſidered a crime), Adultery, and Witchcraft.

In what manner are perſons tried for theſe offences?
As far as my obſervations have gone, and I have had many opportunities of ſeeing, they have, according to the eſtabliſhed laws of the country, as fair a trial as in any other part of the world.

Is the trial for Witchcraft carried on in the ſame manner as trials for other offences?
It is not; nor am I ſo competent to ſpeak to that ſubject, becauſe thoſe trials generally take place in the night; but from obſerving, as I generally have done, all parties ſatisfied, the culprits excepted, I conclude that they are conſidered to be fair deciſions. I do not mean to ſay that there is no exception to that general rule.

What is the puniſhment for Witchcraft?
I believe in many caſes, in ſome I know it, that the principals are ſacrificed—the reſt are generally ſold.

Does that puniſhment affect the perſon convicted only, or does it extend to his family or relations?
Generally the whole family ſuffer Slavery, but here there are alſo ſome exceptions.

Does

Does the ſame form of trial exiſt in that country you call deſpotic, as in the other ſtates on the Coaſt?

The King of that country has his Pynims, or Judges, or Elders, but they are more dependant on the will of the King than on other parts of the Coaſt.

For whoſe benefit are perſons convicted of the crimes you have enumerated ſold?

For the benefit of the party aggrieved—I have generally obſerved it ſo, nor do I know an inſtance to the contrary.

Is it ſo in the caſe of Witchcraft?

I have already ſaid I cannot ſpeak ſo pointedly to that crime, but I believe it generally is.

In the caſe of Witchcraft, do you mean by the perſon injured the party who conceives he is injured in his perſon or his property by the exerciſe of the ſupernatural power of the perſon accuſed?

I think ſo—but it is mere matter of opinion.

Do you mean that perſon, when you ſay the party injured?

Yes.

In the caſe of Debt, is the perſon ſold as a Slave for the benefit of his creditor?

Beyond all doubt: I have known thouſands of inſtances of it.

Have you known or heard of crimes imputed to them for the purpoſe of making Slaves of them?

Unleſs Witchcraft comes under that deſcription, which, in this enlightened country, it certainly would do—I do not think it applies to any other.

Do the judges receive any benefit from the conviction of a criminal?

I know of none, nor do I believe they have any benefit whatever—they have a fee at the inſtituting of all ſuits; but that has nothing to do with the conviction.

Are priſoners taken in war ſold for Slaves?

I can by no means think that wars are frequent in Africa; but where they do happen, in ſome caſes I ſuppoſe they may be ſold as Slaves: but in that part of the country where I had an oppor-

tunity of making any obſervation, I have generally found, where ſkirmiſhes have happened (for I do not admit it to be to the extent of wars) between two villages or towns, the difference is generally made up by the interference of a third party; in which caſe, for the moſt part, the priſoners are exchanged, except where it is proved that any one man, or any family, has been the cauſe of the quarrel, in which caſe that man or family is ſold.

Were ſuch ſkirmiſhes frequent during the eighteen years of your reſidence on that Coaſt?

In a country like that, where there are ſo many different petty ſtates, there muſt neceſſarily be frequent diſputes and broils among them; but ſeldom carried to any extent.

Is it the cuſtom for the Natives to poſſeſs a great number of Slaves themſelves?

Slaves are conſidered as property in that country, as much ſo as land or money in the funds is here—they have Gold, ſome of them in conſiderable quantities—but a man, ſpeaking of his property, ſpeaks of his Slaves—Gold, or any thing elſe, is conſidered as ſecondary.

Is kidnapping practiſed there?

I do not know I ever heard the word mentioned there or any where elſe but in this country. It cannot be practiſed on the Gold Coaſt to any extent without certain detection; for the Natives have one general language, and the Brokers who ſell the Slaves have a daily intercourſe with the ſhipping; if therefore any Slave on board Ship felt himſelf in that predicament, he would communicate it to the Slave Brokers, who, from motives of intereſt, as well as from regard to their own laws, would ſift it to the bottom, and the delinquents muſt be found out.

You have ſaid that one-fourth of the Slaves exported from the Gold Coaſt are what you call water-ſide Negroes; from whence do the other three-fourths come?

From the interior parts of the country of courſe.

Can you give any information how thoſe become Slaves?

I have never been in the interior parts of the country—I have ſaid ſo—I can only judge of their ſituation from what I ſee of the ſituation of thoſe on the water-ſide.

Does the practice of human ſacrifice prevail in that country?

It is painful to me to give an anſwer to that queſtion. I have

no doubt but that it is generally practiſed. That it is practiſed, I have had ocular demonſtration.

Has it ever happened to you to know what have become of any Slaves which the Europeans have refuſed to purchaſe?

Many thouſands of them are ſacrificed at the burials of great men. Every one underſtanding the language muſt know this to be a general practice, though they did not ſee it.

From your knowledge and experience there, can you ſay whether any Slaves have been ſaved from ſacrifice by having been ſold to Europeans?

I have myſelf, in ſome few inſtances, given three or four pounds per head for Slaves to ſave their lives.

Have you ever heard any converſation paſs between the Natives of what would become of any particular priſoners, if they were not bought by Europeans?

I have already ſaid, that any perſon underſtanding the language muſt know that the cuſtom of ſacrificing is general.

From your obſervation, during a reſidence of eighteen years, Can you ſay whether or not Slaves have been made on the Coaſt by violence, fraud, or oppreſſion, either of the Princes of the country, or of the Europeans trading to that country?

To the firſt part of the queſtion, as to acts of oppreſſion by the Kings or Princes, I know of none, except in Apollonia, which, I have already obſerved, is a deſpotic government, where the ſubjects have no will of their own.—As to the latter part of the queſtion, unleſs it may be in one or two inſtances, in which inſtances I believe the offenders have been brought to juſtice in this country, I know of no others, nor of this but from report or hearſay.

Have you ever known the Slave Trade on that Coaſt produce wars amongſt the Natives?

I have anſwered the queſtion before, in ſaying I do not believe the wars are general; and that in the ſkirmiſhes, ſo far from being intended to increaſe the number of Slaves, the priſoners on each ſide are generally exchanged.

With what particular manufactures are Slaves on that Coaſt purchaſed by the Europeans?

I cannot enumerate the particular articles, there are many—

I ſuppoſe

I ſuppoſe the Cuſtom-houſe books will ſhew in a great meaſure.

Are they purchaſed by articles of manufacture carried out from this country?

It follows of courſe—I have juſt ſaid the Cuſtom-houſe books will ſhew the articles carried out.

Does that country produce any articles of commerce in which an extenſive trade could be carried on to this country, independent of the Slave Trade?

I juſt obſerved I once went twenty miles inland, and, from my obſervations, I think the Gold Coaſt leſs favourable to cultivation than any other part of Africa—I wiſh to except a very ſmall part of it between Accra and the river Volta.

When you ſpeak of any other part of Africa, do you ſpeak from the information you have had of other parts of Africa, or from your own knowledge?

I ſpeak in part from both.

You were underſtood to ſay you had been only twenty miles inland—ſay, therefore, to what other parts of Africa you refer when you ſay, "The Gold Coaſt is leſs favourable to cultivation "than any other part of Africa?"

I mean both to windward and leeward of it.

Have you been to windward and leeward, or do you ſpeak from information?

To windward I ſpeak from my own obſervation—to leeward from information.

How far have you been to windward?

I have been from Senegal all the way down to the Gold Coaſt.

What other articles of exportation beſides Slaves are produced on the Gold Coaſt?

I do not immediately recollect any but Gold and Ivory—there may be ſome trifling things beſides.

Are Gold and Ivory produced in any conſiderable quantities there?

Very inconſiderable quantities, I conceive, could be procured, ſpeaking of it as a branch of commerce between this and that

country—One ſhip of one hundred tons would carry twice the quantity that the whole Gold Coaſt affords in a twelvemonth—I conceive ſo.

Does that anſwer refer to Gold and Ivory, or to Gold only?

It is principally Ivory—for I believe a very ſmall boat would carry all the Gold that could be got.

In what manner is the Ivory brought down to the Coaſt?

It is brought from the interior parts upon the ſhoulders generally of the Slaves that are brought from thence.—When a Broker has one or more Slaves for ſale, he generally endeavours to procure Ivory, that he may embrace the opportunity of Slaves going down to carry it.

What navigable rivers are there upon that Coaſt?

Not one from one end to the other—except the ſmall river at Chama, a Dutch ſettlement; and I am very doubtful if it is practicable to get veſſels even into the mouth of that ſmall river.

In what manner then muſt articles of any bulk (ſuppoſing they could be procured) be brought down to the ſhore of the Coaſt?

I have been ſo little (as I have ſaid before) in the interior parts of the country, that I can hardly ſpeak to that ſubject.—It is an impenetrable wood what little I have ſeen of it.

Are there any convenient bays, harbours, or landing-places on the Coaſt?

I muſt trace the whole Coaſt to anſwer that queſtion.—Landing-places there certainly are, or we could not get aſhore at our forts; but moſt of thoſe landing-places are very dangerous. Bays and harbours, I do not know of one capable of admitting a ſhip of any burthen.

Would it then be practicable to load, ſhip, or unſhip, bulky articles of commerce on that coaſt?

The ſhips on that coaſt generally lye two or three miles from ſhore, and the landing-places being moſtly very dangerous from the heavy ſurf or breakers, I conceive would be a great draw-back upon the value of ſuch produce in the tranſporting of it to the ſhipping.

Whether, from your experience of eighteen years reſidence on the Coaſt, you can ſay whether that country could be colonized by Europeans?

From

From the obſervations I have made, I ſhould be ſorry to be one of thoſe who attempted it. The Natives would oppoſe you in the firſt inſtance, and the climate in more.

Does that country on the Gold Coaſt produce either Grain or Cotton for exportation?

I never knew it produce either one or the other for exportation, unleſs the Indian Corn, which is ſold by the Natives to the ſhipping, comes under the head of exportation.

Is that Indian Corn ſold to the ſhipping in any large quantities?

Sometimes more, ſometimes leſs. It depends upon the quantity of proviſions the ſhips carry from Europe.

Is the Corn produced from the Gold Coaſt, or is it brought from the Grain Coaſt?

The Indian Corn I ſpoke of is produced on the Gold Coaſt. The Corn to windward is a different kind of Grain altogether.

Does the Gold Coaſt produce Dying Wood in any conſiderable quantity?

I never knew a ſingle ſtick of any kind produced on the Gold Coaſt. I do not mean to ſay there is no ſuch thing on the Gold Coaſt; but if it had been an article of commerce, it is more than probable ſome of it would have gone through my hands.

Are any other valuable woods produced on that Coaſt?

I cannot ſpeak as to the value of woods—we have a ſort of tree grows on the Gold Coaſt, that when cut into boards reſembles wainſcot the neareſt of any thing I know.

Did any other Europeans, beſides the Engliſh, trade for Slaves on that Coaſt during your reſidence there?

The French, in a very ſmall degree, on the Gold Coaſt—the Dutch, Danes, and Portugueſe—beſides a very conſiderable number of Americans.

Has the French trade on that Coaſt increaſed of late years?

They never had any ſettlement on the Gold Coaſt whilſt I was there—I underſtand they now have one, or are building one—but the French carry on a conſiderable commerce juſt now on that Coaſt—not directly with the Natives, but with the Engliſh ſhipping.

Why do the French carry on that commerce through the medium of the Engliſh ſhipping?

No doubt becauſe they find it their intereſt.

When did the Americans firſt take up that trade?

The Americans carried on a very conſiderable trade to that country on my firſt going there, and continued in it till the American war—Since the peace I underſtand they have taken it up again—There are ſeveral American ſhips now on the Coaſt.

From your experience of that country, can you ſay whether, if this country once gave up the Slave Trade on that Coaſt, it could afterwards be reſumed?

It certainly might be attempted to be reſumed, even if it was given up for a few years—but I think it would be very impolitic to attempt to relinquiſh the Trade.

Whether the demand for Slaves on that Coaſt has been ſuch, that if the Engliſh gave up the Slave Trade the Slaves which at preſent are tranſported by them would be bought up by other countries?

No doubt of it.

Is the climate of Africa particularly unhealthy to the Europeans on that part of the Coaſt where you reſided?

In general it is very fatal to Europeans, though I had the good fortune to enjoy my health.

Is it moſt unhealthy to thoſe on land, or to thoſe on board the ſhips at ſea?

To ſpeak poſitively to that queſtion I ſhould have lived both on board the ſhips and on ſhore, which I did not; but I believe they are moſt unhealthy on ſhore.

Do you know any thing of the tenure of land in that country?

I do not think I can ſpeak to that queſtion—I believe, in general, land is ſo plenty, that every one takes the ſpot he likes; and no one invades him till he has taken off his crop.

Can you tell from what part of America the Slave Trade is carried on to the Gold Coaſt at this preſent time?

Chiefly out of Boſton, as I underſtand by report—but I have no doubt they will ſoon fit out ſhips from their other ports.

Examined

Examined by Members of the Committee.

After what proceſs are Natives of the Gold Coaſt condemned to ſale for debt?

We have in moſt of the towns on the Gold Coaſt a Palaver Houſe, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, is a court of juſtice—in theſe places the Judges or Elders of the town (few of which are under the age of ſixty or ſeventy) aſſemble to hear the parties. Theſe trials are in open day, and free for any perſon to hear that pleaſes.

What is the mode of trial for Theft on the Gold Coaſt?
The ſame.

For Adultery?
The ſame.

For Witchcraft?

To Witchcraft I cannot ſpeak ſo pointedly—I conceive it to be a ſort of ſecret religious buſineſs, which they keep entirely to themſelves; but I wiſh to be underſtood a very ſmall part of the Slaves ſold are ſold for Witchcraft?

What proportion are ſold for Witchcraft?

I cannot ſay—When I ſay a ſmall part, I mean a very ſmall part.

What is the extent of the diſtrict of the kingdom of Apollonia?

My reſidence was chiefly confined to the forts I commanded. I occaſionally made excurſions up and down the ſea-coaſt—I do not know my obſervations juſtify me in ſpeaking exactly to its extent—it may be eight or ten miles of ſea-coaſt—or it may be more or leſs—or thereabouts.

Can you ſay what is pretty nearly the extent of the kingdom of Apollonia?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion any other way than I have done. I dare ſay I exceeded it when I ſaid eight or ten miles.

What proportion do the Native Slaves of Apollonia bear to the whole number of Native Slaves exported from the Gold Coaſt?

I am

I am free to ſay not one in an hundred.—The late king of Apollonia took more pleaſure in killing his Slaves than in ſelling them—he was a great warrior, but a great monſter, not fit to be ſpoken of in this country.

What is the whole extent of the Coaſt to which you ſpeak?

In that alſo I may be wrong—I believe it to be about four hundred miles.——I believe I juſt now ſaid the king of Apollonia was a great warrior, I wiſh to explain myſelf on that head—Hammonee, the king of Apollonia, for many years carried on a war againſt the Dutch in that country, in which I believe many thouſands were loſt on both ſides, for the war continued many years—It was in conſequence of an attempt of the Dutch to take Hammonee's country from him, which he ceded to the Engliſh in 1765.

Do you apprehend the Negroes ſent abroad to our ſettlements in the Weſt Indies are more or leſs attached to their wives, families, and relations, than the Europeans are?

I do not know I ever made any particular obſervations on that head.—If it had been poſſible to have foreſeen that I ſhould have been queſtioned to that head, there are many other points of information as well as this I ſhould have endeavoured to have made myſelf more maſter of.

Then can you not give any further anſwer to this queſtion, having reſided there eighteen years?

I do not believe affection is very predominant in the breaſt of the Negroes.—If I was to give an opinion, I ſhould think it rather otherwiſe.

Can you give any reaſon for your opinion?

I know of no particular reaſon.

Can you inform the Committee, whether they have more or leſs attachment to life than the Europeans?

I can give no other anſwer than I did to the laſt queſtion.

Do you not think it probable they may look on expulſion from their own country as the greateſt of all calamities?

I can give a poſitive anſwer to that queſtion—I am ſure they do not.

Have you not heard that the Negroes on their paſſage go

with an idea that they are to be ſacrificed when they arrive in the Weſt Indies?

I am very certain, as far as my obſervation has gone, they have no ſuch idea.

You have ſaid, that any attempt to ſettle colonies on that Coaſt would be violently oppoſed—what is your reaſon for ſaying ſo?

Becauſe I think they have the ſame right to oppoſe me in ſettling on their land, as a Planter in the Weſt Indies would oppoſe my ſettling on his land, or a landed man in this country.

Do you not think they have the ſame right to oppoſe our ſeizing their perſons?

I never knew an inſtance of ſeizing their perſons—not a ſingle inſtance.

Was you ſupplied with any, and what articles of proviſions, the product of Africa, by the Natives of Africa, during your reſidence there, and of what ſort?

My daily conſumption, both of live and dead ſtock, I purchaſed of the Natives, ſuch as pigs, poultry, and Indian corn, yams, and a few other vegetables.

Was you ſupplied by them with rice or millet?

Neither of thoſe articles grow on the Gold Coaſt, nor ever did.

What proportion do the Freemen of the country bear to the Slaves?

The difference is immenſe, I cannot ſpeak to the number.—The Freemen are to the Slaves as ten to one, twenty to one, probably fifty to one—it may be one hundred to one—no compariſon—one hundred to one at leaſt.

Is there any diſtinction amongſt the Slaves with reſpect to their offices and duties?

In anſwering that queſtion I can ſpeak only as to domeſtic Slaves—of the others we know nothing till they are brought to be ſold to us.

Then all the Slaves on the Coaſt where you was are domeſtic Slaves?

For the moſt part I ſuppoſe they are ſo, ſpeaking of the number that the water-ſide gives.

When a man is tried for any offence, and found guilty, and ſold for a Slave, what becomes of him immediately after ſentence is paſſed on him?

In many caſes his family or his friends are at hand, who redeem him with a Slave—if he has no ſuch friends he is ſold.

Of what ſort is the Slave by which he is redeemed, is he a domeſtic Slave?

No; one of the Slaves that come from the interior part of the country, of which moſt of the people of any conſequence on the water-ſide have ſome at hand.———I will explain—If a man living in the town near the water-ſide has a ſon or daughter, or any other relation, who has loſt their liberty—that man, if he wiſhes to redeem his child, if he can obtain a Slave in no other way, will take Gold and buy one from the Europeans.

From what occupation or employment is the Slave, paid for the redemption of the perſon convicted of a crime, taken?

I have already ſaid if they cannot immediately obtain a Slave that is for ſale, they will take Gold and buy a Slave out of the ſhipping.

What is the employment of the domeſtic Slaves on the Coaſt, are they employed in cultivating the land?

The women, for the moſt part, cultivate the land, and do all the drudgery about their houſes—The men are chiefly fiſhermen —ſome are huntſmen; but Fiſh is the great article of commerce with them.

Are they employed in any manufacture?

I do not know a ſingle manufacture of any kind on the Gold Coaſt.

Are they employed in any handicraft trade?

In moſt villages on the Gold Coaſt they have an awkward ſort of a Blackſmith, which is the only man in the country which comes under the deſcription of a tradeſman.

Are there any ſhops or warehouſes for the ſale of any commodities in the towns on the Gold Coaſt?

Europeans have ſuch places, but the Natives none.

In the puniſhment for crimes, is the family of the culprit involved in the ſentence of being ſold for Slaves?

In-

In none I believe, except for Witchcraft, which in general involves the whole family.

You have ſaid that the number of Freemen on the Gold Coaſt exceeds the Slaves in the proportion of one hundred to one, did you not in that calculation confine yourſelf to domeſtic Slaves alone?

In that calculation I conſidered domeſtic Slaves as Freemen, becauſe they have all the advantages of Freemen —I do not know but I might go ſo far as to ſay that, leaving out the domeſtic Slaves, the Freemen are to the Slaves in that proportion.

Do you mean, by leaving out the domeſtic Slaves, that you would not include them in the calculation either as Slaves or Freemen?

Yes—I think the Freemen alone are full in that proportion without the domeſtic Slaves; but it is a difficult thing to aſcertain exactly who the domeſtic Slaves in a family are.

When you ſay that the proportion of Freemen to the number of Slaves is as one hundred to one, do you mean the Slaves in the country, or the Slaves exported from the country?

With the Slaves annually exported.

When you ſay the Slaves annually exported, do you mean the Slaves exported from that country itſelf, which you ſtated at about 2,000, or the whole number, ſtated at 7 or 8,000, brought from the interior country?

In ſpeaking of the Freemen, I can only ſpeak of thoſe on the water-ſide, of courſe I mean to ſay that, taking it for granted that the water-ſide and the countries immediately adjacent to it give about 2,000 Slaves, or one-fourth of the whole number, that the Freemen are in proportion of one hundred to one of the 2,000 Slaves.

To what extent of country do you ſpeak of as containing 200,000 Freemen?

I mean to confine myſelf to the Gold Coaſt, the extent of which I have before mentioned; but the more you go into this ſubject the more I am convinced the number of Freemen exceeds the number I have mentioned.

Do you mean to ſay that in the whole extent of that Coaſt, of four hundred miles, there are not more than 200,000 Freemen?

Upon the firſt putting of that queſtion I ſaid I did not think myſelf

myſelf competent to anſwer it; but I am ſure I was conſiderably out in my calculation.

How many villages are there within five miles of the place where you reſided?
I cannot anſwer that queſtion.

Are there any villages?
Several.

What number of inhabitants are there in thoſe villages in general?
In ſome villages not fifty—and in ſome 3 or 4,000.

Is there any one village within five miles of your reſidence containing 3 or 4,000?
Yes.

One, or more?
This is all gueſs—more than one, two, or three.

You have ſpoken of a diſtinction between domeſtic and other Slaves; in what ſtate are thoſe other Slaves, and to what purpoſe are they employed?
They are bought for the purpoſe of ſale only, and are employed in no way whatever.

What is the length of time that elapſes between their being bought and their being ſold again?
Of the three-fourths provided by the interior parts of the country it is impoſſible for me to ſay any thing, becauſe I cannot know their hiſtory—the other one-fourth are in general ſold immediately after they have loſt their liberty.

Of thoſe three-fourths, what length of time elapſes between their being brought into the country and being ſold to the Europeans, meaning in that diſtrict to which you have been ſpeaking?
In general, the Broker ſells them as ſoon as he can get a market for them, becauſe they are not only at the expence of feeding them, but there is alſo the riſk of mortality—I have known inſtances of the Brokers keeping many of their Slaves on hand in order to raiſe the price of them on the European purchaſer.

Does the Broker, or perſon to whom they belong, make no uſe of them during that time?
I do not know that he does.

Of the other one-fourth of the Slaves, are there any condemned to be ſold to the Europeans, as diſtinguiſhed from thoſe condemned to be ſold generally?
I know no diſtinction—when they have loſt their liberty the proprietor ſells them to Europeans, or as he pleaſes.

Of thoſe ſo condemned to be ſold in the country, what is done with them between the time of ſentence and the time of their being ſold to Europeans?
Generally ſpeaking, they are kept in confinement.

When a perſon who is condemned to be ſold for Slavery, or to find another Slave inſtead of himſelf, furniſhes another Slave, what is done with that Slave ſo furniſhed?
The perſon who receives him is at liberty to uſe him as he thinks proper.

But what is the uſe he makes of him?
He ſells him to Europeans.

Does he ever make any other uſe of him than ſelling him to Europeans, or to ſome other perſon who ſells him to the Europeans?
Having conſented to give up the Freeman, and to receive a Slave in exchange, as I ſaid before, they are in general ſold to European Traders; but if he chuſes to incorporate that Slave amongſt his domeſtic ones, he is at liberty to do ſo.

Do you think the greater number of Slaves ſo condemned are ſold to the Europeans, or incorporated amongſt the domeſtic Slaves? or is there any other uſe made of them beſides thoſe two?
I really cannot ſpeak pointedly to that queſtion—I ſhould ſuppoſe the greater part ſo received in exchange are ſold to the ſhipping.

Do you not underſtand it as a common practice, that the family of a Freeman condemned are allowed to exchange another Slave for him?
For Debt and Adultery it is allowable and common, and ſometimes for Theft.

Is it ever refuſed when offered?

Yes, I believe in caſe of Adultery with the King's wife or a great man's wife, it is ſtipulated that the man ſhall not live in the country; but in other caſes it is generally allowed.

You ſaid, that as a puniſhment for Witchcraft in many caſes, and in ſome you knew it, that the principals are ſacrificed—What do you mean by ſacrificed—do you mean put to death as victims?

Clearly ſo—generally killed immediately after ſentence pronounced.

Are they ſacrificed to any idol or ſuppoſed deity, or is it merely an execution?

I have already ſtated that we have very little opportunity of knowing what ſteps they take on theſe occaſions; but from the converſation I have had with the natives, underſtanding the language perfectly, I have generally underſtood that they put one, and in ſome caſes more than one to death, to appeaſe the anger of the injured family.

Do you imagine that the number ſold for Witchcraft is more than thoſe who ſuffer death for it?

I have already ſtated that I conſidered the number altogether very trifling; it is impoſſible to draw the line between thoſe killed and thoſe ſold.

But you have ſaid the principals are ſacrificed, and the reſt ſold—Are thoſe ſold a greater number than thoſe ſacrificed?

That I cannot preciſely anſwer, becauſe we do not ſee theſe ſacrifices, nor can we aſcertain how many are ſentenced as principals.

As their proceedings are ſecret, can you aſcertain how many are ſentenced at all for Witchcraft to death as principals, or to be ſold as Slaves?

Being, as I obſerved before, done in ſecret, in the night, we have but two ways of coming at the knowledge of their ſituation—Firſt, by people who ſell them, and ſtate their crime—Next, from the parties themſelves, who, not conſidering it any diſgrace, make no ſecret of what they were ſold for.

Is it the uſual practice to enquire from the Slaves themſelves, or from the perſons who bring them, for what crimes they have been made Slaves?

It is certainly not the practice—It is very unuſual to aſk ſuch a queſtion; nor ſhould I have ever thought of aſking it, if I had acquired a knowledge of their language.

Had you opportunities enough of aſking it to have been able yourſelf to form any judgment of the proportion of the numbers condemned for Witchcraft?

I have already ſaid that I conceive the numbers ſold for Witchcraft to be very trifling of the water-ſide Blacks that are ſold—The Blacks from the interior countries ſpeak in different languages, wholly unintelligible to Europeans, and it is impoſſible to queſtion them.

Have you any other means of knowing the number of water-ſide Blacks ſold for Witchcraft, than from the queſtions which you yourſelf had an opportunity of putting?

I had no opportunity of aſcertaining the numbers; but I have miſſed myſelf a man or woman (for I have known both inſtances) out of a town for ſome time; when, on enquiry what became of them, I have been informed by their fellow town's-people that they had been condemned for Witchcraft.

Have you known many inſtances when you made that obſervation, and in which you had that information given you?

I may have known of ſeveral inſtances in the courſe of my long reſidence there; but not conſidering it as an intereſting ſubject to myſelf, I have not given myſelf much pains to confine my thoughts to that ſubject.

Then the following Anſwer being read to the Witneſs,

" Being, as I obſerved, done in ſecret in the night, we have " but two ways of coming at the knowledge of their ſituation.— " Firſt, by people who ſell them, and ſtate their crime—Next, " from the parties themſelves, who, not conſidering it as any " diſgrace, make no ſecret of what they were ſold for."

He was aſked,

Do you mean to apply that anſwer, in which you ſay there is no diſgrace to perſons only who are ſold for Witchcraft, or to perſons ſold on other accounts?

I clearly meant to confine it to thoſe who are ſold for Witchcraft only.

In the caſe of perſons condemned to be ſold for Witchcraft, is there the ſame liberty for the family to find another Slave, as in the caſes of perſons condemned for other crimes?

I have already ſtated, that the crime of Witchcraft attaches to the whole family—conſequently none of that family can remain to be at liberty to redeem them.—But I believe it is no unuſual cuſtom for ſome of the younger children to be ſpared on this occaſion.

But if the perſons ſo condemned could procure another Slave as an exchange for themſelves, would that be permitted?

They certainly would not be permitted—they are ſold under the expreſs agreement they ſhall never be ſuffered to be put on ſhore again.

Then, in every caſe, when a perſon is ſold for Witchcraft to the Europeans, is that condition expreſsly made more than in other caſes?

I have generally underſtood it to be ſo.—I believe it is univerſally the practice.

With whom do you underſtand the condition to be made?

If the Slave is ſold to a ſhip, they ſtipulate with the maſter of the ſhip that the perſon ſhall not be redeemed, whatever price may be offered.—If to an European trader on ſhore, the trader engages he ſhall be ſent on board under the ſame kind of ſlavery.

In what manner and form, and before what witneſſes, is this ſtipulation made?

Witneſſes in theſe caſes are altogether unneceſſary.—It is the European's intereſt to take the Slave away; for ſhould he imprudently be tempted to redeem this man, he would ſuffer very materially.

Are perſons who are condemned to be ſold for Witchcraft never ſold but to the maſter of a ſhip, or to the European merchants on ſhore?

They are conſidered as dangerous members of the community, and the moment after conviction are generally hurried out of the country in the way I have deſcribed.

Then are they never condemned to be ſold for Witchcraft but when there is an European ſhip or European merchant ready to receive them?

I do

I do not conceive that the abſence of ſhipping or of European travellers altogether would ſave them from being convicted;—but I conceive that in ſuch caſe the whole of them would ſuffer immediate death—I have not a ſhadow of doubt about it.

You ſaid a very ſmall proportion of the two thouſand Slaves were priſoners of war?

Yes.

When you ſpoke before of wars and ſkirmiſhes, did you mean to ſay that there were no conſiderable wars, and nothing beyond thoſe ſkirmiſhes which you deſcribed—do you mean in that part of the country and within the time of your obſervation?

The Fantee Country, or Water-ſide, was in a ſtate of peace almoſt the whole time I was there.—There was a ſerious war between the Fantees and Aſhantees, the two moſt powerful nations we know of, very ſhortly after I went there, and which, I believe, laſted twelve months or more—but that war was carried on in the interior parts of the country, and the cauſe of it was, I believe, that of the Aſhantees wiſhing to have a part of the ſea-coaſt as their dominions.

Do you imagine the war was cauſed or prolonged for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I think I can confidently ſay it was not; I believe I have ſtated the true cauſe.

Do you imagine the priſoners taken in that war were ſold as Slaves to the Europeans?

As we had no opportunity of penetrating into the interior parts of the country in which this war was carried on, I can only give an opinion—It ſeems natural enough that they ſhould ſell them rather than ſacrifice them; but I do not remember that any extraordinary number of Slaves were ſold on that occaſion, on the contrary, there were no Slaves at all ſtirring to ſpeak of; the war ſeemed to have put almoſt a total ſtop to the ſale of Slaves.

Do you imagine any part of thoſe Slaves were interchanged in the ſame manner as in the ſkirmiſhes you ſpoke of on the Coaſt?

It was in the early part of my reſidence in Africa, ſo that I can hardly recollect any obſervations I made on that occaſion.

But in the ſkirmiſhes nearer where you reſided, when you had

an opportunity of making an obſervation, was that the practice of their being ſo redeemed?

I believe in nineteen caſes out of twenty it is the practice.

Had you any particular opportunity of obſerving inſtances of perſons ſold on account of being the cauſes of the war?

I cannot immediately quote any particular inſtance.

On what ground do you ſtate that circumſtance of ſuch perſons being excepted out of the redemption?

From ſpeaking their language I had an opportunity of knowing ſome of the particular laws and cuſtoms of the country.

Are you able to aſcertain the proportion ſold for Debt to thoſe ſold for Crimes, or the proportion that either bear to the whole number ſold?

I do not think that I can ſtate that on any clear ground; I conceive that Theft forms a very conſiderable part of them—of the three crimes, Theft, Debt, and Adultery, I ſhould ſuppoſe Theft takes the lead in point of numbers—Adultery comes next; and the feweſt of the three thoſe ſold for Debt.

If a Slave, deſtined for the European Merchant, in the poſſeſſion of an African Broker, becomes unfit for ſale by illneſs or otherwiſe, how does the Broker diſpoſe of him—the Black Broker?

There is no doubt but all of that deſcription, with very few exceptions, are ſacrificed to their ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies.

In what manner are the Slaves confined, ſo as to prevent their eſcape, between their arrival on the Coaſt and their ſale to the Europeans?

While in the hands of the Black Broker three out of four of the whole number are not confined at all, becauſe, being from the interior parts, the Broker is under no apprehenſion of their running away from him;—the other fourth part, the men have their wriſts faſtened to a log of twenty-five or thirty pounds weight, which prevents them from running away.

Whether the Natives are not anxious to poſſeſs the European manufactures?

They like them very well, but they do not like to pay too dear for them—they prefer their own Gold.

You ſtated in your evidence, that a certain quantity of Grain is ſold to the ſhipping—would not the Natives endeavour to raiſe an additional quantity of the produce of the country, if they could by ſuch produce procure the European manufactures which they deſire?

I have generally found ſo little diſpoſition to induſtry in them, that my own opinion is that they would not make ſuch endeavours; but I do not aſſert this as a fact.

Do you mean to ſay that they would not cultivate an additional quantity of Grain, if for that Grain they could procure European commodities?

If I were to draw any concluſion from the experience I have had, however improbable it may appear, I am very much inclined to think it would be with very great difficulty you could bring them to that—I ſhall give my reaſon in proof of that opinion; we readily buy up all the Corn brought for ſale, and yet there are many inſtances of ſhips being obliged to go to the neighbouring iſlands to procure the quantity of Corn they want ſufficient for their voyage.

Does not that proceed more from the uncertainty of the demand, than from the indolence of the inhabitants?

Generally ſpeaking, the demand is pretty certain—the Natives know the number of Europeans ſettled amongſt them, and can pretty well aſcertain the number of ſhips that reſort there.

Do you not think that if the inhabitants could not procure the European commodities by Slaves, which is now the means of procuring them, that they would not have recourſe to agriculture ſooner than remain without the commodity?

This is matter of opinion—I have already ſtated that the Natives are not diſpoſed to habits of induſtry, but admit they were ſo diſpoſed, I know no market they can find for their Corn; and there are no other articles I have known them cultivate, except a few vegetables.

Suppoſe they had a market?

Taking it that they had a market, ſtill there is an inſurmountable obſtacle to agriculture.

What are thoſe obſtacles?

The obſervation will be confined to that country I have ſeen—Near the water-ſide it is very rocky, except here and there a ſpot which

which is clear of rock. The whole face of the country abounds in rocks; and even as far as the diſtance of twenty miles inland, where I ſtated I once was, I found the country, generally ſpeaking, very rocky, inſomuch that, excepting the article of Indian Corn, the ſoil would not produce any thing elſe in any conſiderable quantities. There are other obſtacles to a commerce of that kind with the Africans: there is no inland communication whatever by water—no beaſts of burthen. But admitting thoſe difficulties got rid of, and that the produce was at the water-ſide, the ſhipping of bulky articles, except at one particular ſeaſon of the year, muſt be attended with very great riſque and expence.

Suppoſing the ſoil fit for agriculture, is there any reaſon why the Natives ſhould not employ their priſoners of war, the Slaves from the interior country, and the Native Slaves, in the purpoſes of agriculture, if they found it for their advantage?

I ſhould ſuppoſe the Natives would not be fond of trying the experiment; the ſame danger would attend it as employing the convicts in cultivating the lands of this country.

Then you think that the fear of danger would be the only reaſon for not employing Slaves in the cultivating of lands in that country?

No other reaſon occurs to me at the moment.

You ſaid they had no manufactures in that country—do you mean no manufactures for their own uſe, or no manufactures for commerce?

I believe I ſaid I did not immediately recollect any manufactures they had in that country, nor do I now.

What is their cloathing in that country?

They have all their cloathing from Europe—they have not one yard of cloth made on the Gold Coaſt, from one end to the other.

Have they any materials for dying in that country?

To the leeward of the river Volta I underſtand that they have ſome mode of uſing the Indigo Plant; but on the Gold Coaſt I do not remember ever once to have ſeen it in uſe.

Suppoſing the land was fit for agriculture, is there any means of carrying it on; have they any horſes?

I believe I remember to have ſeen three, or the outſide four horſes,

horſes, which were Arabians, during the whole time I was there—I have imported horſes into that country, in hopes of their living, but I never ſucceeded.

In caſe they could raiſe corn, how would they get it to the water-ſide?

They have no other method than carrying it on the Slaves heads; there is no land carriage nor water carriage.

Do you think the Slaves that are brought down to the water-ſide for exportation would be employed in the uſes of huſbandry in caſe they were not exported?

I think the Free Natives would be afraid of making the experiment.

What time do the ſhips taking the Slaves from the Coaſt of Africa ſail, whether in the day or the night?

For the laſt ten years I was in Africa ſcarce a ſhip ſailed but I ſaw her go—and when it has happened that a ſhip has perchance ſailed in the night, it has been owing to a very early land wind, which the ſhips generally take the benefit of; but the more uſual hours of ſhips leaving that country is from five to eleven in the forenoon.

To which of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands are the Slaves chiefly exported from the Gold Coaſt?

Some profeſſional men ſhould ſpeak to that ſubject—Captains of ſhips, who carried them.—I ſhould ſuppoſe, generally ſpeaking, to the Iſland of Jamaica.

Is there much Ivory exported from the Gold Coaſt?

I believe I have already ſaid, that a ſhip of one hundred tons would carry the whole produce of a twelvemonth in that article.

Are you at preſent engaged in the African trade?

I am conſiderably concerned in the African Slave trade—I ſhould have mentioned that, when I firſt came to the bar, if I had not been convinced that the circumſtance of my being intereſted in the trade would have had no weight in my mind with reſpect to the information I was to give to the Committee.

Have they any tools in that country, and are they of their own manufacture, or imported from Europe?

I before ſtated, that except a bungling ſort of a blackſmith in

every village, I know of no other tradeſman, and conſequently of no tools but ſuch as thoſe men work out of an iron bar, ſuch as an axe, in their rough way.

Are there many of thoſe tools in that country?

They have enough for the neceſſary purpoſes of their agriculture.

Do all the inhabitants of that country wear cloathing?

If a ſquare piece of cloth two yards each way is conſidered as cloathing, they all wear cloathing.

Do you recollect many of theſe conſiderable towns, containing as many as 3,000 inhabitants, all cloathed with European manufactures?

I cannot immediately recollect the number of villages that I have ſeen; but in every village I have ſeen the inhabitants are cloathed in that way.

How are theſe conſiderable villages ſupplied with food—by public markets, or otherwiſe?

I believe for the moſt part each family plant a ſmall ſpot of land for corn, as much as they can conſume for the ſeaſon; in addition to the corn they plant ſome few vegetables. I have already ſaid fiſh is a great article of commerce with them; this fiſh, corn, and vegetables, is the chief of their food.

By whom is the fire-wood ſupplied to the European ſhips cut down?

Moſt Freemen of the different towns on the Gold Coaſt have ſome, two or three, or more Slaves. The men generally cut that wood by order of their maſter, who does or does not let the Slave benefit by his labour, as he thinks fit.

Whether the Slaves ever refuſe the command of their maſters to cut the wood on thoſe occaſions?

I cannot ſpeak ſo particularly to that point;—if a Slave of my own refuſed to obey my order I ſold him, and I ſuppoſe a free Native would do the ſame.

Are there not Slaves belonging to the factories employed in various ſervices there, and ſometimes in the defence of thoſe factories?

Slaves belonging to the factories, or more properly belonging

to

to the public, are a very different deſcription of Slaves altogether —they and their forefathers have been handed down from time to time; ſo that at the preſent day there is hardly one among them that was not born a Slave.

In your former anſwer, when you ſay that moſt Freemen of the different towns have two or more Slaves, do you mean to ſpeak generally of Freemen on the Gold Coaſt?

Clearly ſo.

Do you not think that thoſe Slaves would obey their maſters orders, if they were directed to cultivate Cotton, provided the ſoil were adapted to it?

I cannot take upon me to ſay how that would be—ſome might, and others might not.

Do you think that a trade for Cotton could be opened on the Gold Coaſt?

The country certainly produces Cotton, and might be cultivated with that article;—but it would be a very difficult thing to get the natives to cultivate any quantity.—The only piece of ground I ever ſaw cultivated with Cotton in Africa was my own planting, which might be the ſize of the floor of this houſe.—I would have given the Natives ten times the value of it, if they would have gathered it for me, but nothing could tempt them to gather it for me.

Whether the ſame articles, which you offered them for gathering the Cotton, they did not ſupply themſelves with by the ſelling of Slaves?

Beyond a doubt.

Are human victims ſacrificed, except at the death of perſons of conſiderable diſtinction?

Sacrifices at death are confined chiefly to the funerals of great men.

Whether the greateſt part of the ſhips which you ſaw ſail in the day-time were not ſhips trading along the Coaſt, or were not ſhips having compleated their cargo, and going off the Coaſt?

I believe I have before ſtated, during the laſt ten years I was in that country ſcarce a ſhip left the Coaſt that I did not ſee her ſail down the Coaſt—that is, ſhe had completely finiſhed her buſineſs, and was going to the Weſt Indies.

What

What proportion did thoſe ſhips you ſaw ſail bear to the whole number reſorting to that part of the Coaſt?

A very large proportion; probably four out of every five—The laſt ſeven years I reſided at Cape Coaſt Caſtle—and near two years previous to that I lived at Anamaboe, which is the mart of trade on the Gold Coaſt—Thoſe places are within ſight of each other—Every perſon converſant in that country knows full four out of every five ſail from one or the other of thoſe places—as to the time of ſailing, profeſſional men will very ſoon aſcertain that, when they know that ſhips leaving that country muſt take the advantage of a land wind, which ſeldom blows freſh enough to carry them from the land till five or ſix in the morning, ſometimes ten or eleven.

Do you mean to ſay that the greateſt part of the ſhips leave Anamaboe in the day?

If between the hours of five and ten in the forenoon means the day, I am confident they do, for the reaſon I have juſt now aſſigned.

Are you of opinion that your having redeemed ſome Slaves from ſacrifice, leſſened the general number of Slaves ſacrificed?

I do not ſuppoſe it had any great effect on the practice—it certainly leſſened the number to be ſacrificed in that inſtance.

Whether the perſons condemned for Witchcraft do or do not really perform certain ceremonies which are conſidered to conſtitute that crime; and whether the puniſhments affixed to them are known and certain?

I cannot take upon me to ſay what act they really do commit; I have generally underſtood ſuits of this kind are inſtituted immediately ſubſequent to the ſudden death of any man or woman to whom they belong, and which death they have not been able to account for.

Are theſe ſuits merely malevolent, and fraudulently inſtituted, or whether any acts are really performed by the perſons accuſed?

I have ſaid, I generally underſtood ſudden deaths give riſe to the accuſations.

Are married women in Africa generally faithful to their huſbands?

We cannot ſuppoſe them quite ſo conſtant in that country, where the huſband has ſuch a variety of wives, as in other countries, where he is confined to one.

Are there ſuch particular reſtraints laid on the married women in Africa, as to make it difficult for them to commit acts of infidelity?

I know no reſtraints they lay under: if themſelves or their families have money to pay the forfeit, they generally follow their own inclinations.

What become of female Africans convicted of Adultery?

Generally ſpeaking they are, I believe, in the ſame predicament as the men—redeem themſelves, or forfeit their liberty.

Do you think Europeans, if ſo diſpoſed, could procure as many female as male Slaves in Africa?

I am perſuaded they could not; and I ſpeak from a great deal of experience—I have bought ſome hundreds—ſome thouſands.

Do you know whether the tetanus, or locked jaw, prevails in Africa among the children?

As to my own Slaves, young and old, altogether I do not believe I ever buried ten—As to the Free Natives of the country being ſubject to that diſtemper, I cannot ſay.

Is it a common thing for perſons accuſed of Witchcraft to be acquitted?

Having already ſaid every thing I can on that ſubject, I do not ſee how I can anſwer any further queſtions on it.

Is that the only anſwer you can give?

I can only anſwer to that purpoſe.

If the Slave Trade was to be aboliſhed, do you apprehend perſons would ſtill be made Slaves for every inferior ſort of crime?

I believe I before ſtated that the Natives would conceive there was great danger in letting looſe among them criminals of every deſcription, of which Theft forms a conſiderable part.

Would not other puniſhments be ſubſtituted in lieu of Slavery?

They have no other puniſhments that I know of among them but Death and Slavery.

Are there many ſhip's boats loſt in the courſe of the trade which go from the ſhip to the landing-place?

The boats are of two deſcriptions—trading-boats and watering-boats.

Are many of the trading-boats loſt?
They never land, and conſequently are in no danger.

Of thoſe boats which bring off the Slaves to the ſhips, are many loſt?
I believe, as far as my obſervations have gone, that of the whole number of Slaves exported, not one in a hundred goes off in a boat at all.

How are they carried from the ſhore to the ſhip?
In the country canoes by the Natives.

Would not the ſame country canoes which carry off Slaves alſo carry any produce?
No doubt the large ones might.

Whether the land which you ſtated to be in ſuch great plenty is not fit for the purpoſe of cultivation?
Having already ſaid they raiſe a good deal of Corn, Yams, and other pulſe, it follows that the land is capable of cultivation; but it does not remove the inconveniency of the rocks, which I before mentioned to be ſo general.

Do you mean to ſay that all the land which is capable of producing thoſe articles is employed for that purpoſe?
No—nor I do not ſuppoſe one thouſandth part of it.

You ſpeak only to that country?
I ſpeak only to that country.

Is that land incapable of being cultivated for Cotton, Rice, and the other productions which are congenial to the climate?
I have already ſaid Cotton will grow there, and does grow wild—Rice has been often tried, but hitherto without ſucceſs—Rice is peculiar to another part of Africa.

Is the general diſpoſition of the Natives averſe to labour?
I have generally found them ſo—even though well paid.

Do you ſpeak of the Slaves as well as of the Freemen, as to their diſpoſitions being averſe to labour?

I believe

I believe in general Slaves require maſters at their heels, ſo I believe the Free People would.

Do you mean to ſay that the Slaves are averſe to labour?
I believe they are equally diſpoſed to indolence.

Do nine out of ten Slaves rejoice at their falling into our hands, though they are aware that they are bought for labour; and by their geſtures wiſh to convince the purchaſers they are fit for it?
That queſtion comes out of my evidence before the Privy Council—It will probably ſave the Committee ſome trouble if I admit the whole of that evidence, as taken before the Privy Council, as fact.

Queſtion repeated.
It frequently happens in a lot of eight or ten Slaves that one will be refuſed for ſome defect, ſuch as a ſpeck in his eye, though otherwiſe probably as ſtrong robuſt a Slave as any in the lot—in making a purchaſe of ten or twelve, ſuch refuſe Slave ſeeing himſelf rejected, will importune you to buy him, and by every poſſible means in his power endeavour to convince you he is equally as capable of labour as thoſe you have purchaſed—this is not in one, two, or three inſtances only, but I have found it generally ſo—when I ſpoke of a defect in the eye—I do not mean that every man refuſes a Slave on that account, I ſpoke principally of my own caſe.

Do you mean to ſay that the nine Slaves out of ten, who are not refuſed, or likely ſo to be, do expreſs this deſire of becoming Slaves to the Europeans?
Without regard to the tenth, that is the refuſe Slave, I wiſh to be underſtood that, generally ſpeaking, nine out of ten of all the Slaves I have bought have been pleaſed, or appeared to be pleaſed, at changing a Black Maſter for a White Maſter.

Have you not aſſerted that if a Slave was ordered by his Maſter to cultivate Cotton, you would not anſwer for his compliance?
If I have anſwered that queſtion, it was a matter of opinion.

You have ſtated that the Slaves know they are bought for the purpoſe of labour—is it your opinion that the Slaves imagine the labour to which they are to be put is lighter than that to which they have been employed in their own country?
Without having any idea of the magnitude of the labour, I believe

lieve their joy ariſes from ſeeing themſelves removed from a ſituation where they think their life is in danger.

What is the cauſe of the Slaves apprehending their lives to be in danger?

Becauſe they are ſubſervient to the will of their Maſters.

Is it uſual in that country for a Maſter to put his Slave to death?

I have already ſtated in what inſtances they do.

What are thoſe inſtances in which the Maſter puts his Slave to death?

In obſerving their rites and ceremonies, and very probably in ſome inſtances which do not come to the knowledge of us Europeans—I cannot ſpeak to the cauſe, ſo well as I can to the fact that it is ſo.

Do you argue from the probability of their being put to death for cauſes of which you are totally ignorant?

I have not preſumed to argue from any ſuch point.

You have ſtated that the Free Natives would be afraid to employ the Slaves in the cultivation of their lands; for what reaſon do you think ſo?

I believe I have not ſtated it as a fact, but an opinion that I thought they would conſider it a dangerous experiment.

Have you not ſtated, that the Free Natives are to the Slaves in the proportion of above one hundred to one?

After what I have ſaid on that ſubject, I think it rather hard to preſs it further;—the reaſon why I think ſo is, that every gentleman of this Committee muſt know I can ſcarce be competent to anſwer it—there are no calculations made in that country with reſpect to population, as there are in this country.

What is the foundation of your opinion, that the Free Natives would conſider as a dangerous experiment to employ their Slaves, whom they now ſell to the Europeans, in the cultivation of land?

I have anſwered a queſtion very ſimilar to that already—For the ſame reaſon that we are afraid of employing our convicts in this country.

What is that reaſon?

I ſhould conceive it very dangerous to let looſe all the felons out of the gaols of this kingdom, under the idea that they would confine themſelves to any particular ſpot or ſpecies of labour.

Do you mean to ſay, that you conceive it to be dangerous to the well-being of the ſtate to permit perſons who have been convicted of ſmall offences, who are Debtors (to ſay nothing of thoſe convicted of Adultery) to go at large in their native country, after having ſuffered the puniſhment correſpondent to the offence?

I have already ſtated, that there are no modes of puniſhment but Death and Slavery in that country.

Queſtion repeated.

Experience tells us in this country it is not dangerous;—but I thought the queſtion applied to Africa.

Are the European Traders preſent on the ſpot throughout the whole year, ready to purchaſe ſuch Slaves as are offered to them for ſale?

Always, at all times.

Did not you ſay, that there is no manufacture of any kind of cloths in the countries of which you ſpoke?

I certainly did ſo.

Do you mean to apply that to the country between Accra and the River Volta?

Yes, I certainly do—but fearful leſt the honourable Member who aſks the queſtion may be miſinformed, I beg leave to ſtate, that there is a country, a conſiderable way in land, immediately between Accra and the River Volta, that does manufacture a few cloths;—the number is ſo inconſiderable in the firſt place, that I ſhould hardly have thought it worth mentioning; but being made in the interior part of the country, I did not think it applied to that part of the Coaſt I have been deſcribing.—I only beg leave to ſay further, that the number of cloths is ſo trifling as not to be an object—they are chiefly brought down to Accra and places thereabouts, which may have given riſe to the idea of their being manufactured there.

Does any Indigo grow in that country between Accra and the River Volta?

I hardly know the plant itſelf if I ſee it; but I believe there is a plant grows wild here and there—I have been on the ſpot with gentlemen who were judges—I was none myſelf—they have told me it was a wild plant, very inferior in point of quality to the Indigo in other parts.

Is any uſe made of that Indigo by the Natives of that country?

I believe I have before ſaid, that to the leeward of the river Volta they uſe it, and bring it to great perfection.

Is it or is it not true, that about Accra Indigo grows wild, with which the Inhabitants dye their own cloths?

I have admitted it grows wild about there—I really do not know the Inhabitants do uſe it there; but they probably may, as they do ſo near to the leeward of it—I do not wiſh to ſay they do not.

Then you cannot ſay poſitively whether or not Indigo grows wild about Accra, with which the Inhabitants dye their own cloths?

I have ſpoke poſitively to the Indigo growing wild about Accra; but I cannot ſpeak poſitively to a fact I never ſaw, whether they uſe it green or manufactured, or whether they uſe it at all.

Did you not ſtate, that one of the obſtacles to the cultivation of the articles of produce for exportation was on account of the rocky and mountainous nature of the ſoil?

I did.

Do you apply that fact alſo to the country between Accra and the river Volta?

Not ſo generally as to every other part of the Gold Coaſt.

Is it or is it not true, that between Accra and the river Volta it is a fine, low, level, rich country?

If the honourable Member in aſking that queſtion refers to Mr. Bagg's evidence before the Privy Council, as I ſee the Report in his hand, it is the mereſt burleſque I ever read in my life of the appearance of the cultivation of Africa.—I am ready to admit, that from Accra downwards to the river Volta is level, and much more fertile than any other part of the Gold Coaſt; but the compariſon between it and the corn-fields that are mentioned in

in Mr. Bagg's evidence, is painting the ſcene in much too high colours.

Do you recollect being examined before the Committee of Privy Council, appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Slave Trade?

I have already ſaid I admit every thing I ſee in that book to be my evidence.

Do you remember ſtating to that Committee, that between Accra and the river Volta it is a fine low, level, rich country?

In ſpeaking of Africa I certainly muſt admit that that part of it, as there deſcribed, compared with the other parts of Africa which I had been deſcribing, going from the windward part of the Gold Coaſt down to that particular ſpot, the difference is ſo ſtriking that it cannot eſcape an obſerver.

Do you recollect ſtating to that Committee, that Indigo grows wild about Accra, with which the Inhabitants dye their own cloths?

I may have ſtated to the Committee, that Indigo grew wild about Accra; but I never remember to have ſaid it was in uſe, nor have I ſeen in the book that part of my evidence;—if it is there ſtated as part of my evidence, I do not recollect having ſeen it.

Whether, at the time you gave your evidence to the Committee of Privy Council, you had not an opportunity of reviſing the minutes, in order to know that they were correct?

Yes, I certainly had; and hope the Committee will do me the juſtice to believe, that I do not mean to deceive them.

When the Slaves come down from the interior country ſore and emaciated, do the European factors buy them in that condition, or do the factors keep them till their ſores are healed, and they are fitter for ſale?

I cannot anſwer to the general practice—the factors do not tell us.

Could not the king of Apollonia, if he choſe it, with eaſe compel thoſe of his ſubjects to labour whom he either puts to death or ſells, as his caprice directs him?

It ſeems natural enough to ſuppoſe, that the man whoſe life is in your power would readily ſubmit to any labour to ſave his

 life;—

life;—but political motives, I ſuppoſe, would prevent the king employing him in that way.

Whether the Princes of the Slaving Country do not keep women for the purpoſe of breeding Slaves for exportation?

I know of no ſuch thing.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Jovis, 28° die Maii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

RICHARD MILES, Eſquire.

N° 3.

Martis, 9° die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain JOHN KNOX.

Are you now a Commander of an African Ship?
I have been ſo of late—not at preſent—and likely to be again.

How long have you been ſo?
Between ſeven and eight years.

How long have you known the African Trade in any other ſituation, before that?
About an equal period of time, as Surgeon of an African ſhip.

What particular part of the Coaſt are you beſt acquainted with?
The Windward Coaſt more particularly—the Grain Coaſt, and the Coaſt of Angola.

Have you been often on the Windward Coaſt, and for a long ſpace of time?
I have been five or ſix voyages on the Windward Coaſt; the laſt was for thirty-three months.

Have you had opportunities of obſerving the government and manners of the Country?

As much as moſt people trading to that part of the Country.

Give ſome account of the government and manners of the Country?

I preſume it is the Grain Coaſt I am now deſired to ſpeak to—if ſo, the government can ſcarcely be defined by a likeneſs to any thing in Europe;—it conſiſts of ſmall communities very looſely joined together; where a few individuals, for mutual ſafety, ſometimes find it convenient to aſſemble for the diſpatch of buſineſs; each however may be conſidered as the King and Prieſt of his own houſe, and is held ſcarcely in any other eſtimation than what their wealth commands;—theſe decide every thing that can be called criminal, and as the higheſt authority, are entitled to conſiderable reſpect when aſſembled.—I know of no law however which obliges them to mutual defence; hence the depredations on the property of another are generally carried on for private intereſt; ſuch is the looſe and very unſettled ſtate of government in that Country.

What are the limits of the Grain Coaſt?

From Sherbro to Cape Palmas.

Is that Country populous, or otherwiſe?

As far as my obſervation extends, which is a very ſmall way inland, it is very populous indeed.

What is the face of the Country—is it ſwampy, or otherwiſe?

Very low and flat, and in the rains very conſiderable part of it overflowed.

Is it a healthy Country?

I apprehend not.

Is Slavery known in that Country?

Univerſally.

Do the Africans themſelves uſe domeſtic Slaves there?

Moſt aſſuredly.

Are thoſe Slaves numerous?

Very numerous ſometimes.

How

How are Slaves provided which are exported by the Europeans?
Purchaſed from the Natives, who act as brokers between thoſe who bring them from the interior parts and the ſhipping.

Do many of the Slaves exported come from the interior part of the Country?
I apprehend nine-tenths in the diſtrict I am now ſpeaking of.

Where does the other one-tenth come from?
In the ſmall diſtrict under our own inſpection on the Beach.

How do thoſe one-tenth become Slaves?
For various crimes, Adultery, Witchcraft, Theft, ſometimes Debt, and Priſoners of War.

Have the maſters a right to ſell their domeſtic Slaves?
I do not know as to the right, but I believe it never is done, unleſs for a crime committed, and generally, perhaps univerſally acknowledged.

In what manner are perſons tried for crimes?
In every crime but Witchcraft they have a fair open trial, at which every individual of the village may be preſent.

In what manner are the trials for Witchcraft carried on?
This being always ſecret, is to me perfectly unknown.

What is the puniſhment on conviction for theſe offences in general?
Every other offence but Witchcraft is generally commuted into Slavery; the Principals in that crime, Witchcraft, are generally ſtrangled, and afterwards burnt.

Does the puniſhment of Witchcraft extend to any other part of the Family?
Generally to all—they are all but the Principal ſold to Slavery.

Do you know how they become Slaves who are brought from the interior parts?
By no means—only from the very vague information of the Natives.

What are the natural productions of the Grain Coaſt?
The River Sherbro, on the North extremity of it, produces

Cam

Cam Wood; the Southward extremity, Malaguetta Pepper; the whole of it Rice, and ſome little Ivory.

What opportunity have you had of knowing the Coaſt of Angola?

In being three voyages to that part, and during my reſidence there, always on ſhore.

What is the government, and what are the manners of that country?

That part of Angola which we trade to is governed by a King, though under many ſevere reſtrictions.

Does Slavery exiſt there among the Africans themſelves?

I have been no where in Africa but where Slavery exiſts.

Whence come the Slaves that are exported by the Europeans from Angola?

As in moſt other places—generally from the interior country.

Where does the remainder come from?

From the ſmall communities of the kingdom adjoining to the Beach.

How do they become Slaves?

For the ſame Crimes as in moſt other parts of Africa.

Are they tried before any tribunal?

They have a fair open trial before the Princes of the Blood—ſometimes the King, and always the moſt reſpectable of the Community.

What is the puniſhment for theſe Crimes?

Slavery.

Is Witchcraft tried there in the ſame manner as other Crimes are?

I have already declared my ignorance of the manner in which Witchcraft is tried on the Grain Coaſt, and know nothing more of it here.

Who has the benefit of the convict after he is condemned?

The Party aggrieved always.

Is it the ſame on the Grain Coaſt, and at Angola?
As to the benefit ariſing from the convict, it is the ſame.

What are the limits of Angola?
That part of it whence Negroes are provided by the Engliſh is very confined—in a larger ſenſe it takes in the Portugueſe Settlement of Loango St. Paul's, and from thence extends nearly to the Line.

What are the limits, ſpeaking from your own knowledge?
About five degrees.

What are the natural productions of that extent of Country?
The Red or Bar Wood, and ſome little Ivory—I know of nothing elſe as an article of exportation.

Do you know the quantity of that Red Wood exported?
By no means—I was never in that trade.

Do you know of any other natural produce of that Country, that could be made articles capable of exportation?
None, as far as my obſervation extends.

Could any trade be carried on there, if Slaves were not an article of commerce?
There has been a very few ſhips employed in the Red Bar Wood, I mentioned—I believe, nothing elſe.

When did you go the firſt voyage to Africa as maſter of a ſhip?
In 1782.

How many men did you take out, ſeamen and landmen?
Forty-five—more than half landmen—ſeamen at that time were not to be got.

How long were you out on that voyage, before you arrived in the Weſt Indies?
Between ſix and ſeven months.

How many did you loſe by death?
None.

How many Negroes had you on board?
Four hundred and fifty.

How many did you loſe of them by death?
Seventeen or eighteen.

What was the ſize of the ſhip?
One hundred and eight tons—perhaps ſhe might have meaſured more.

What part of the Coaſt did you ſail to in this voyage?
To the coaſt of Angola, and ſo to the iſland of Tortola.

Did you go a ſecond time to the ſame place?
Yes.

Where did you go to in the Weſt Indies on that voyage?
Dominica.

How long were you in that voyage?
Altogether about fourteen months.

How long on the coaſt of Africa?
In that voyage rather more than ſeven months.

How came you to be ſo long?
From the number of French veſſels then lying at Angola.

How many did your crew conſiſt of in that voyage, and what proportion of ſeamen?
Thirty-three or thirty-four.—I do not remember ever going to ſea but that more than one-half were landmen.

How many died in that voyage, of the crew?
Four.

Of what diſorder did they die?
Fevers.

How many Negroes had you on board?
We purchaſed ſomewhere about three hundred and twenty, and loſt near forty of that number.

What was the ſize of the ſhip?
The ſame veſſel.

How do you account for the greater mortality in the ſecond voyage?

From

From the length of the purchaſe, and from the want of their natural food, which that country never affords for the Negroes exported.

Did you go a third voyage to any other part of Africa in the ſame veſſel?
Yes, to Cape Mount, on the Grain Coaſt.

How many men had you that voyage, and what proportion of ſeamen?
Thirty-four the whole—and I have already ſaid that one-half were always landmen.

Is it the general practice of the trade to have half always landmen?
I have ever found it ſo.

Did you come off the Coaſt in your own veſſel the third voyage?
No—I ſent her off with twenty-five of the people that I carried out in her, after having been ſeventeen months on the coaſt of Africa.

What became of the other nine men?
Three were officers, and ſtaid with me—three were unfortunately loſt in craft—and the other three died of fevers.

How long did you remain in the country?
Thirty-three months.

When did you leave it?
The latter end of January 1788.

Did you come off as Captain of a ſhip?
Yes.

How many Negroes had you on board, and how many did you loſe on the paſſage?
Two hundred and ninety, and loſt only one.

What iſland did you ſail to?
Dominica.

Do you know whether the ſailors on board Slave Ships are more or leſs healthy than thoſe on board Wood Ships?
I never had it in my power to draw a compariſon.

Can

Can you eaſily land heavy articles on the Windward Coaſt?
I believe heavy articles cannot be landed at all.

Can heavy articles be brought from the Shore to the ſhips?
I think not—I never knew of any.

In what manner is Rice, or other articles, brought from the ſhore?
Rice is brought in very ſmall baſkets generally, in the canoes of the Natives.

Whence ariſes the difficulty of ſhipping or landing heavy goods on that Coaſt?
From the very heavy and conſtant ſurf which univerſally prevails.

Is it not very common for the ſmall packages of Rice to come wet to the ſhips?
Very generally.

Does the Country produce Rice in greater quantities than is wanted for exportation at this time?
I have often found that my wants could not be ſupplied from the Country.

Are there any Dying Woods in the neighbourhood of Cape Mount?
I know of none—The river Sherbro produces a conſiderable quantity of Cam Wood, and no where elſe as far as I know within the diſtrict.

Is Wax, or any other articles of commerce, produced there?
Wax is here totally unknown—The whole produces a ſmall quantity of Ivory; Malaguetta Pepper, formerly mentioned, in a particular part; and Rice over the whole—theſe are all the articles of exportation that I am acquainted with in that Country.

Is there a conſumption for more Cam Wood than we now get from that Country?
I believe not—I think the market is overſtocked both with that and Bar Wood.

Could the trade of Ivory be extended?
At preſent we give them every inducement to exert their induſtry which the article will bear.—I apprehend it is not poſſible to extend it in this place.

Are there any navigable rivers on the Wood Coaſt to the Eaſtward of the Sherbro?

None whatever where a boat of four and a half or five feet water could penetrate twelve miles from the Beach.

In the voyages you have made, do you know of kidnapping Slaves, or of their being obtained by fraud or oppreſſion?

I never knew the practice nor heard of the word in that Country.

When the Slaves are put on board the ſhips, are they treated with humanity and attention?

Moſt aſſuredly.

Are they treated ſo through the whole of the voyage?

Through the whole of the voyage.

What is their food?

Principally Rice.

What is their food on ſhore on the Windward Coaſt?

Rice is likewiſe a principal article of their food on ſhore, and the root Caſſada—Palm Oil—many kinds of glutinous herbs—Pepper—and thoſe on the ſea-coaſt have often fiſh.

What other articles have they on board beſides Rice?

When Rice is not to be provided in a ſufficient quantity, we generally make the previous proviſion of carrying out Beans, Stock Fiſh; and from Africa, Palm Oil, Pepper, Sheep, Goats, Fowls.

What ſort of Beans are thoſe?

Commonly ſplit Beans, though I have ſeen them otherwiſe.

Have the Negroes on the voyage you have ſeen had a ſufficiency of food?

I never knew it otherwiſe.

Has the food been regularly ſerved to them?

It is almoſt our ſole employment to ſerve them regularly.

Is the ſerving of the Negroes left to the ſeamen only, or do the officers ſee it done?

By no means to the ſeamen,—generally done by the officers themſelves throughout.

In what manner are the Negroes fed on ſhore, that come from the Coaſt of Angola?

The Natives there live principally on Caſſada, which they prepare in various ways—ſome little Indian Corn—and to theſe you may add Fiſh.

What is the food of the Slaves on board ſhip?

The Country itſelf affords no proviſion; we always carry out Beans—and I have always called at the Wood Coaſt for Rice, when it was to be got.

Are the Negroes on the paſſage ſupplied with a ſufficient quantity of water?

I never ſaw it otherwiſe.

Where do the ſhips uſually call to take in their water.

Thoſe from the Windward Coaſt ſometimes call at Sierra Leone, —though every ſhip keeps a number of the Natives to bring water off from the Beach, either in a ſmall boat, or in their canoes.

What quantity of water have the ſhips uſually on board for the Middle Paſſage from the Windward Coaſt and Angola?

Conſtantly about one gallon per head per day.

For how long a time?

From the Windward Coaſt for ſeldom leſs than two months, though moſt generally for ten weeks—the paſſage from Angola being more certain, a ſmaller quantity of water on the whole is ſuppoſed ſufficient.

In what manner are the Slaves treated when firſt brought on board the ſhip?

If a number of Negroes are on board, the men are generally put in Irons—the females never.

When are the Irons taken off the men?

With many it is cuſtomary, I believe, only when they reach the Weſt Indies—with others, of which I was one, the moment we left the Coaſt.

What time of day is it uſual to leave the Coaſt?

Generally ſpeaking, it is only practicable very early in the morning, when the land-wind blows.—Upon the whole of the Grain Coaſt you may ſail up and down, but cannot well get at a diſtance from it at any other time.

Is

Is it uſual for ſhips to make ſignals when they are about to ſail?

I never knew it otherwiſe, but where a ſignal was made from three to four weeks before ſailing, conſtantly flying till the time of ſailing—and to enforce that ſignal more, for a few mornings before ſailing a gun is fired every morning.

Do the Natives perfectly well underſtand the meaning of thoſe ſignals?

Yes.

In what manner are the Negroes placed on board the ſhip on the Middle Paſſage?

If the weather is any thing moderate, they are conſtantly on the deck in the day-time, and the grown Slaves between decks at night—many of the younger ones are ſuffered to run where they pleaſe night and day.

During your voyages, can you ſay that any of the Negroes have died from their being placed in too crowded a ſituation?

I never ſuppoſed that one died from being over-crowded; on the contrary, I always found, when we got into any thing of a trade-wind, that that part of the ſhip immediately under the gratings was deſerted, to ſkreen themſelves from the cold.

In the time of illneſs, in the courſe of the voyage, have the Negroes been taken care of?

Every poſſible attention was paid to a ſick Negro; ſo much ſo that for the ſix voyages I was Surgeon of a ſhip I conſtantly uſed to viſit them three or four times in the courſe of the night, if any were indiſpoſed.

Were the ſhips provided with medicines and other neceſſaries for ſickneſs?

Always—ample proviſion of ſago, flour, wine, ſpices, and whatever elſe could be thought to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to their accommodation.

Were any general precautions taken to preſerve the health of the Negroes?

The utmoſt cleanlineſs, fumigations and ſprinkling with vinegar, and above all freſh air.

When

When the ſhip is arrived in the Weſt Indies, are any medicines or means uſed to repel diſorders, and make them up for ſale?
I never knew an inſtance of the kind.

Has the health of the White People been attended to in the voyage?
Very particularly, ſo far as my obſervation extends.

Have you obſerved whether a greater proportion of ſeamen or landmen die on their voyage?
The greater proportion of the mortality fall on the landmen, from not being ſeaſoned to the country.

What is the proportion?
I cannot ſay preciſely.

In the parts of the Windward Coaſt, and Angola, are there any manufactures?
I obſerved none on the Windward Coaſt, except a few Mats to ſleep on—there are a few Cloths ſometimes worn by the Chiefs of a village, which come from a country which they cannot deſcribe—on the coaſt of Angola they make a ſmall Graſs Cloth, which is the common medium of traffic; that and a few Caps, and Pipes curiouſly formed, make the whole of their manufacture.

Could any of thoſe articles be obtained in ſuch quantities as to become articles of exportation?
The largeſt ſhip-load would not fetch five pounds in this country—I apprehend they could not be procured in any quantity.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Have you heard from the Natives, that many of the Slaves brought from the interior Country are priſoners taken in war?
I have frequently heard, that ſome of the Slaves from the interior Country have been taken in war.

Do you mean by ſome, that a ſmall proportion are priſoners taken in war?
I mean a very ſmall proportion.

Have you heard that thoſe wars were ever made or prolonged for the purpoſe of making Slaves of the priſoners taken in war?

Adjoining to the Beach war is always deſtructive of the Slave Trade, it prevents the Slaves from coming down from the interior Parts; and, to reaſon from analogy, I ſhould ſuppoſe the ſame to take place in the interior parts.

Queſtion repeated.

I never heard that wars are made or prolonged for the purpoſe of making Slaves of the priſoners taken in war.

You have ſaid that Criminals have a fair trial—does not the deciſion depend abſolutely on the pleaſure of the Head or Prince of the ſmall Community of which the Criminal is a member?

In this ſmall Community the Chiefs who compoſe it have the ſame degree of power, and when aſſembled together are the higheſt authority.

Are perſons tried before the Heads of theſe ſmall Communities aſſembled together?

I believe very generally.

Are they never tried before the Head of the ſingle Community to which they belong?

I have already ſaid that no ſingle Community has a ſingle Head.

Do you recollect how many of your crew came home in each of your two voyages that you went as Captain?

The firſt voyage one man left me in the Weſt Indies—and in the ſecond voyage alſo one, and four died.

You have ſaid that the Negroes are treated with humanity on the paſſage—are they chained together?

No doubt they many times are.

In what manner?

A right and left leg, and a right and left arm.

Are they ever confined in a place where they cannot ſtand upright?

At night, when they go to ſleep, we do not intend they ſhould ſtand upright, but that they ſhould lie down.

Can they ſtand upright in the place where they are to paſs the night?

In moſt veſſels there is plenty of room to ſtand immediately under the gratings—in others the heighth is ſufficient for them to ſtand up all over the ſhip—and in very ſmall veſſels frequently not more than four feet.

Do you mean that in your own ſhip, in the place where they were confined at night, there was ſufficient height for them to ſtand upright?

I do mean that there was a ſufficient height in my own ſhip.

What was the heighth?

From deck to deck five feet ten inches—under the gratings ſix feet ten inches.

Had you any platforms between decks?

All round the ſhip.

What was the heighth between the deck and the platforms?

The ſpace between the deck was nearly divided by the platforms, about two feet eleven inches from each deck.

Did any Slaves lie there?

Quite full.

Do you mean that they could ſtand upright between the platforms and the deck.

Certainly not.

Could the talleſt of them ſit upright in that ſpace?

I do not recollect making the experiment—I have often laid them down there.

Does it not often happen that Slaves of different nations are chained together?

We prevent that as far as we can by chaining thoſe together who ſpeak the ſame language—nor do I recollect an inſtance to the contrary.

Are the Negroes ever forced to dance in the day-time?

I never ſaw it neceſſary to uſe force for that purpoſe.

You have ſaid that every inducement which the article would bear is given to the bringing Ivory down to the Coaſt—do you not

not imagine that if we would take nothing elſe but Ivory for our commodities, a greater quantity would be brought down?

I apprehend that if the Negroes did not come down to Market, no Ivory would come at all.

Are the Natives deſirous of having our commodities?

No doubt, what are neceſſary.

Do you not believe that if we would take nothing but Ivory for the commodities which are neceſſary for them, a greater quantity of Ivory would be brought?

I think not—I think the quantity of Ivory which we at preſent receive, and for which we give every encouragement, would not defray the expence of bringing it down independent of the Negroes.

What are the articles of our trade with them with are neceſſary for them?

Adjoining to the Beach they manufacture no cloth whatever—of courſe they are always cloathed with the manufacture of Europe—Guns—Powder they have not yet manufactured themſelves, perhaps never will—Spirits and Tobacco, from a long habit, may be conſidered as neceſſaries.

If the Europeans would take nothing in exchange for thoſe articles which you ſtated as neceſſary but Ivory, mats and cloths of the manufacture of the Country, and the production of the ſoil, would not a greater quantity of them be produced and brought down?

Ivory is the only article mentioned that could in the ſmalleſt degree be uſeful to us—the mats and cloths have ſometimes been brought home, but never fetched a price—I believe more cloths and mats might be produced, but not Ivory.

Would not the production of the ſoil, in the caſe ſtated in the former queſtion, be increaſed?

Does the queſtion mean Cam Wood and Rice, which are the only produce of the ſoil?

Thoſe or any other produce which the ſoil is capable of?

The plantation of Rice, I apprehend, could never be very greatly extended, owing to the nature of the ſoil, and to the extreme quick vegetation which every thing in that country is ſubject to—which renders the annual labour of cutting down, burning,

and

and carrying away the trunks and branches of trees almoſt incredible.

Whether a ſoil ſubject to ſo quick a vegetation might not be applied to many articles of produce?
Some parts of it no doubt might.

Whether many parts not now cultivated might not be ſo applied?
There are very many parts not now cultivated—which of thoſe might be ſo applied I am a ſtranger to.

In the ſhip you have been Commander of, had all the Slaves room to lie down on their backs at night?
Moſt generally ſo—ſometimes I have known it otherwiſe.

On which of your voyages was it otherwiſe?
During the greateſt part of the laſt war the French gave the trade entirely up, and many of the Engliſh ſhips were likewiſe laid aſide—thoſe that went found great diſpatch, plenty of Slaves at a very moderate price—ſuch times as thoſe afforded an opportunity of ſometimes crowding the ſhip too much.—In my laſt voyage to Angola, as Surgeon, in 1781 and the beginning of 1782, we were much ſtraitened for room, and perfectly in the ſituation I am deſcribing; and of my 602 Negroes, few, except thoſe who ſlept upon deck, had the breadth of their back, and we only loſt nine to the Iſland of Jamaica.

What was the tonnage of that veſſel?
I really do not recollect, but I believe from 130 to 150 tons—I think not exceeding that, but I am not poſitive.

Was that your only voyage in which the Slaves had not the breadth of their backs to lie upon?
I think my next voyage, as Maſter, they were pretty much in the ſame ſituation.

Do you remember the number of Slaves and tonnage in the next voyage?
The tonnage of the veſſel, by the regiſter, was 106 or 108 tons—the number of Slaves was 450, and the loſs 17 or 18.

Was that the caſe in any other voyage?
The laſt voyage I left the coaſt of Africa, the tonnage of the veſſel

veſſel might be about 120 tons—ſome part of it was appropriated to a White Trader, who had long reſided in that country, and was then ſick—this incommoded the Slaves more than I could have wiſhed, and perhaps they had not all the breadth of their backs—Yet, of 290 Slaves, I loſt only one.

Is the Committee then to underſtand from you, that in no one of the voyages to which you ſpeak the Slaves had the breadth of their backs to lie upon?

In none of the three voyages which I have been now deſcribing —I could mention double the number where they had much more room.

To how many voyages can you ſpeak from your own perſonal knowledge?

With reſpect to the room the Slaves had, I can ſpeak to nine voyages.

Do you mean to ſay that, in the ſix other voyages, the Slaves had the breadth of their backs to lie on?

I mean to ſay that, as far as my memory ſerves me, they had plenty of room.

Queſtion repeated.

They might have had the breadth of their backs to lie on if they pleaſed.

Do you aſſert this from your recollection of the fact, or from calculation?

I formed no calculation in my head, or upon paper, reſpecting the ſize of thoſe ſhips, but only from general remembrance, which, I think, warrants me in ſaying that they had plenty of room.

Can you ſtate the tonnage of veſſels and the number of Slaves in each of thoſe ſix voyages?

I cannot—my buſineſs was to look after the Slaves, and not after the tonnage of the ſhips—I was then a Surgeon.

What was the number of Whites on board the ſhip in which you carried 450 Slaves in the ſhip of 108 tons?

Forty-five Whites.

What was the length between decks in that ſhip, as near as you can gueſs?

I never meaſured her, nor can I form a poſitive judgment upon it.

Did it reach ſeventy feet?

Could I anſwer that queſtion directly, I muſt have previouſly meaſured the ſhip.

Can you tell the breadth of the ſhip?

She was a very great breadth for her tonnage; ſhe might be about twenty-two or twenty-three feet—but of that I am not poſitive.

What was the depth of the hold?

That I do not recollect.

Where did ſhe ſtow her proviſions—in what part?

In rooms expreſly made for that purpoſe, in the after part of the hold.

Where did ſhe ſtow her water?

In the hold—and ten days proviſion of water upon deck.

What quantity of water was carried to ſea in that veſſel?

I do not poſitively remember the number of gallons—but I remember that we had a number of puncheons of water when we got to the Weſt Indies.

If there was ſo much water on deck, how could the Negroes ſtand upon deck as you have deſcribed?

The water I have mentioned occupied but a ſmall part of the deck, the Negroes (not one of whom was in Irons) had no difficulty in amuſing themſelves.

What number of boats had that ſhip?

Two.

Were they not ſtowed upon deck?

They were ſuſpended on each quarter, as is always the caſe on board a Guinea-man.

How many hatchways had ſhe?

Two principal—beſides a ſmall one forwards, which went into where

where the fuel was ſtowed—and two ſmall ones abaft, which went into the proviſion-room.

What were the extent of the gratings on the two longeſt hatchways?

I do not rightly underſtand the queſtion—they were ſufficient to take a butt of one hundred and eighty gallons.

What is the length of a butt of one hundred and eighty gallons?

I ſuppoſe about five feet—I cannot ſpeak preciſely—It is not in my line.

What is the breadth of ſuch a butt?

I cannot ſay—but in general the hatchways are ſquare, ſufficient to take it down fore or aft the hatchways.

What is the ſize of the ſmalleſt hatchways on the ſcuttles?

Barely ſufficient to admit a boy down into the room.

What are the common diſorders to which ſeamen are ſubject in a Guinea ſhip?

Fevers,—very ſeldom Dyſenteries,—I recollect nothing elſe to which they are generally ſubject to.

You mentioned a ſhip of 120 tons, part of which was allotted to a White Trader—How much of the ſhip was allotted to the White Trader?

It was the proper cabin of the ſhip, the whole of which was allotted to the White Trader.

Is it not cuſtomary before the Negroes are landed to rub them with Palm Oil?

The Negroes of Africa, where Palm Oil is to be got, rub themſelves every day with it—we continue the practice during all the Middle Paſſages, as nothing can be ſo conducive to health as cleanlineſs.

If the White Trader had not had the cabin, how many Negroes could you have ſtowed in it?

From twenty-five to thirty—and with platforms many more.

How many more?

I ſuppoſe fifteen at leaſt.

You mentioned the boys being allowed to run about deck in the night—What might be the number that generally made uſe of that liberty?

I had ſeventy boys that ſlept on deck every night, and that never were below—and twenty full-grown men—the Committee will obſerve that none of the Negroes in the Ship were in Irons.

What ſhip was this in?

The ſhip of 120 tons.

Where were your ſeamen ſtowed on board the ſhip you mentioned of 108 tons?

Where they always are on board of Guinea-men—there are croſs pieces at the fore-maſt, others at the main-maſt—upon thoſe are laid ſpars, and under which the ſeamen's hammocks are hung.

You ſaid you could have ſtowed forty-five Negroes in your cabin, and a platform—and that ſeventy run about the deck—Is the Committee to underſtand that 345 of the 450 ſlept between decks?

The Honourable Member who aſks the queſtion has, I believe, miſtaken the veſſel.

Could you have ſtowed more than forty-five in the cabin of the veſſel of 108 tons?

I dare ſay there were from forty to forty-five ſlept in the cabin of the veſſel during all the Middle Paſſage.

How many ſlept on her deck?

Perhaps from fifty to ſixty—I do not preciſely remember.

Did the remaining part of the cargo ſleep below?

Moſt undoubtedly.

Do you mean to ſay that 360 ſlept below?

There were never ſo many ſlept below—for there never was ſo many all together as 360 below—from fifty to ſixty on deck, and forty-five in the cabin.

In the ſhips you have been ſpeaking of, was it the old regiſter or the new one?

The old regiſter.

Does not that make a very conſiderable difference in the ſize of the ſhips?

Moſt undoubtedly.—It was then the intereſt of the owners to have them regiſtered as low as poſſible, as the duties were paid at ſo much per ton, and the lights in the channel in the ſame manner.

Was the regiſter made on oath?

That is more than I can tell.

What is the difference between the proportion of the old and new regiſter, with regard to the tonnage of the ſhip?

Neither of thoſe veſſels has ever been meaſured agreeable to the late act.

Do you know the difference between the old and new regiſter?

No.

To what cauſes do you attribute the difference of the numbers per cent. who died in the different voyages?

For a very obvious cauſe indeed—the greater mortality I mentioned was from the Coaſt of Angola, which country finds no Slaves proviſions—we are therefore obliged to carry proviſions partly from Europe, and (when to be got) partly from the Windward Coaſt of Africa. The food of the Natives on the Coaſt of Angola is principally the Caſſada Root, which they uſe principally after it has been thrown into water, and has had time to ſour.—This, as a vegetable and an antiſcorbutic, reſiſts every diſpoſition in the habit to that cruel complaint the Scurvy;—from the length of time I was engaged in making the purchaſe, and the Negroes being fed with a food ſo totally different from that of their own country, nine of ten who died, died of the Scurvy.

Is that generally the caſe with the cargoes who come from the Coaſt of Angola?

By no means—in the ſhip where we took 600 Negroes from the Coaſt, we only loſt nine, owing to the great diſpatch of the purchaſe.

In the voyage of 1782, from the French having deſerted the trade, and many of the Engliſh ſhips being laid up, you ſaid you found a ready cargo, and at a very moderate price;—from what cauſe was that?

From the number of Slaves then on hand.

In what manner were thoſe Slaves kept on ſhore for the market?
I do not recollect ever ſeeing ſix Slaves in the country till they came into my poſſeſſion, ſo that I cannot anſwer that queſtion.

How did you know there was a full market for Slaves,—by what ſymptoms?
By fifty, ſixty, ſometimes 200 being offered for ſale in a day.

How were they offered,—were they brought to the ſhip?
The trade is made on ſhore, and we ſeldom have the information of them till they come into the factory.

Was you ever employed by being ſent on ſhore to make that trade?
I made the trade on ſhore for two voyages altogether.

Did you in the voyage of 1782?
In the voyage of 1782 I did—but not in the voyage with 600 Slaves, when I went as Surgeon.

Where is the factory?
On ſhore.

Then when there was ſo ready a market in 1782, you was on ſhore?
I was on ſhore only the firſt half of the purchaſe.

In what manner were the Slaves then brought differently from other voyages, when they were not ſo plenty?—What conſtituted the difference between the trade then, and when they were more ſcarce?—And what was the difference of the price?
As to the mode of bringing Slaves, I never obſerved any difference, in times of the greateſt plenty or greateſt ſcarcity—When they were ſo plenty as I have been juſt mentioning, I think they were not much above one third of the price I afterwards paid for them.

Are not ſhips trading to Guinea obliged to take more ſeamen than are neceſſary to navigate the ſhip?
Undoubtedly.

Suppoſe the whole number of ſeamen were to remain on board after

after her arrival in the Weſt Indies, would it not be very detrimental to the intereſt of the owners?

I cannot ſee that it would.

Is it cuſtomary for maſters of ſhips in the Guinea Trade to perſuade or oblige ſeamen to leave their ſhips in the Weſt Indies?

I never knew an inſtance of it.

Did you ever bring home the ſame number of ſeamen you carried out, allowing for mortality?

In three voyages I only left three people in the Weſt Indies.

What is the uſual allowance of proviſions and water to ſeamen in the Guinea Trade?

In my own paſſage to Africa I never laid them under any reſtriction with reſpect to proviſions—on the Coaſt I found it neceſſary to put them to an allowance, to prevent their embezzling the proviſions with the Natives, which Allowance was very generally a pound of beef a day, and a pound of bread—as to water, I never knew ſeamen put to an allowance.

Had they any other ſpecies of proviſions, beſides beef and bread?

Flour, oatmeal, peaſe—butter occaſionally.

In what proportion of theſe latter articles?

Flour, peaſe and oatmeal, generally half a pint per day, ſometimes more—butter, the quantity never aſcertained.

Do you mean to ſay each day in the week?

By no means.

Explain that?

I mentioned the quantity of each article—and that article is ordered for the days.

Mention the days?

Thoſe days are not invariable—ſometimes one thing is given in a day, and ſometimes another.

Then do you mean to ſay there is no regular allowance but a pound of meat and a pound of bread per day?

I believe different Commanders give different articles on different

ferent days; but with me they had generally flour twice a week —peas as long as they kept good—and oatmeal, when it was found, for breakfaſt—and butter occaſionally, no preciſe day for it.

Is the Committee to underſtand that water is conſtantly abroach on deck, to which the ſeamen have at all times free acceſs?
With me it always was ſo.

Does this allowance continue throughout the Middle Paſſage?
That will, in a great meaſure, depend on the length of the purchaſe.

Is it your opinion that a ſhip taking two Slaves to a ton, and the uſual number of Seamen, can take the quantity of proviſions neceſſary to continue the allowance you have mentioned during the whole of the voyage?
Moſt certainly it is.

And in your opinion the ſeamen of the Guinea Trade are as well taken care of as in other voyages?
I think no ſeamen were ever better taken care of than my own were—I wiſh not to go on hearſay.

Is it uſual for maſters of Guinea ſhips to ſell ſpirits to the ſeamen?
I never did.

How was it in thoſe ſhips where you was Surgeon?
I have ſeen in one or two veſſels ſpirits ſold to the ſeamen.

Had the ſeamen no ſpirits in the ſhip you commanded yourſelf?
They were regularly ſerved with a glaſs of ſpirits every morning.

And no perſons ſold ſpirits on board the ſhip you commanded?
No perſon.

In the ſhips in which you ſerved as Surgeon, wherein you ſay you have known ſpirits ſold to the ſeamen, what was the price in general you remembered the ſeamen to have paid for it?
That did not fall under my inſpection, nor can I preciſely ſay what that price was.

Is it not uſual in the Guinea Trade to pay their ſeamen one half of their wages in the Weſt Indies?
It certainly is.

What are the deductions uſually made in ſettling their accounts?
I know of none but of one ſhilling per month for the hoſpitals, and for the few ſlops they may have had during the voyage.

Who furniſhed them with thoſe ſlops?
The ſhip always carries out a quantity, ſuppoſing they may be wanted.

Are the ſlops laid in by the merchant or the maſter?
Always by the merchant, as far as I know.

Does the merchant fix the charge of the different articles?
I never knew of ſuch orders.

If the articles are laid in by the merchant, is it not uſual for the merchant to affix a price on his own goods?
There is an invoice price of what they coſt him affixed to every thing—but I never knew of any price as the ſale price.

Then is the Committee to underſtand that the ſale price is left to the diſcretion of the maſter of the ſhip?
No doubt.

And does he pay to the merchant the whole of the money that he charges to the ſeaman, in ſettling his account in the Weſt Indies, or on his return home?
The amount of the ſlops is deducted from his account when it is ſettled.

Then the maſter has no private intereſt whatſoever in the ſale of thoſe ſlops to the ſeamen?
I never knew he had the leaſt, either directly or indirectly.

Did you ever hear any reaſon given for paying the ſeamen one half of their wages in the Weſt Indies?
It is generally ſuppoſed to be to enable them to lay in a few articles to preſent their friends with on their return.

In the agreements made between the maſter and the ſeamen,

before they proceed on the voyage, is it not uſual to inſert a clauſe, declaring that any man bringing on board any article of merchandize whatever, ſhall not only forfeit ſuch articles, but the whole of his wages, and every thing belonging to him on board of the ſhip?

If this reſpects the Weſt Indies, I never knew of ſuch an article.

The Guinea Trade is meant by the queſtion, and not the Weſt India trade;—and the queſtion is repeated, Whether you have not ſeen ſuch article ſtand in the agreement betwixt the maſter and the ſeamen?

I never did.

And do you not believe it is uſual to inſert ſuch an article in that trade in the ports of Liverpool and Briſtol?

I do not believe it is uſual in Liverpool, for I never heard of ſuch a thing—I deſire to be underſtood, I have known officers in their agreement prohibited from making any trade on the coaſt of Africa—but never knew the ſmalleſt reſtriction laid on the diſpoſal of the ſeamen's wages in the Weſt Indies.

Then is the Committee to underſtand that you never heard of ſuch an article, as applying to the whole of the voyage?

Never.

Is it uſual for the ſeamen and the maſter of the ſhip to ſign an agreement, ſtating the monthly wages that each man is to receive during the voyage?

Moſt undoubtedly.

Do you conſider that agreement as equally binding on the maſter as the ſeaman?

I apprehend it is equally binding on both.

Did you ever know a clauſe inſerted in another part of that agreement, by which the maſter and two of his officers are to judge of the abilities of the ſeaman after the ſhip is at ſea, and to make ſuch deductions from his wages as they thought proper; and is not the ſeaman bound to ſubmit to it?

In all African articles which ever fell under my eye, there is a clauſe, that if any officer or ſeaman ſhall wage or enter himſelf in a ſituation which he is not capable to fill, that the maſter and two of his officers ſhall make ſuch a deduction from his wages as appears to them reaſonable.

Who

Who is to appoint thoſe officers?

The maſter to be ſure, at ſea of courſe—it is alſo expreſſed, that one of their own number of the ſeamen ſhould be preſent at the deliberation.

Can the captain remove the two officers at his pleaſure, if he is not ſatisfied with their conduct?

I have ever conſidered that the captain has a diſcretionary power to remove any officer with whoſe conduct he is not ſatisfied.

Does a deduction from the men's wages go to the maſter or to the owner?

To the owner who pays them.

Is it not the practice before maſters hire ſeamen to go a voyage with them, to make ſome enquiry of the perſons they had ſailed with before, that he may be enabled to judge what ſort of men they are?

When it is in his power he will certainly make every enquiry he can—very generally it is not in his power.

If the ſeamen diſobey any lawful commands of the maſter, for the ſuppreſſion of immorality and vice, are they not liable, by the articles of their agreement, to forfeit in ſome caſes all their wages, and all their property on board ſhip, and in ſome ſhips only to forfeit one month's wages?

Moſt articles ſo expreſs it, though I never knew an inſtance of either the one or the other in my life.

Are not ſeamen who behave in a riotous or diſorderly manner liable to forfeit to the owners all the wages due to them?

I think that queſtion is anſwered in my laſt anſwer—The ſailor who diſobeys the commands of the captain behaves in a riotous and diſorderly manner.

Is it not uſual to inſert a clauſe in the articles between maſters and ſeamen, that men entering on board a King's ſhip ſhall forfeit the whole of their pay—and in ſome caſes be paid in dollars at 6 s. 8 d. each?

I do not believe that any ſuch article ever exiſted as the forfeiture of their whole pay on their entering on board a King's ſhip—very generally however it is expreſſed, that they ſhall receive the whole of their wages in the currency of the country in which they are paid.

In

In caſes of diſputes between maſter and ſeaman, are they not bound, under a penalty of £. 20, to ſubmit to arbitration?
I do not recollect ever hearing of any ſuch agreement.

As ſeamen are liable to various forfeitures in the Guinea trade, how is the money ſo forfeited diſpoſed of?
I never knew of a farthing ſo got in my life, therefore the diſpoſal of it would be very eaſy.

As you conſider ſeamen liable to thoſe forfeitures, do you ſuppoſe their never having been levied to have proceeded from the lenity and indulgence of the maſter, or from the good behaviour of the men?
Every agreement between maſter and ſeaman, in the African Trade, having been ſo often ſet aſide by the practitioners of the law, and officers on board King's ſhips, a man would be a fool, indeed, to proſecute him who had nothing to loſe—I mean that the articles would not warrant them in withholding any part of the pay that the ſeaman had earned, whatever his behaviour might have been.

If you conſider ſuch articles as neither binding on the maſter or the ſeamen, of what uſe do you conſider them?
Very little indeed.

Did you ever go a voyage to Africa without making ſuch articles with the ſeamen?
Never without ſuch articles.

Is it not uſual, in ſettling the wages with ſeamen diſcharged in the Weſt Indies, to place againſt their accounts charges for ſpirits, ſlops, and forfeits incurred, according to the terms of their agreement?
I have already ſaid I do not recollect more than two ſhips where ſpirits were ſold to the men—If any received ſpirits, jackets, ſhirts, or trowſers, they undoubtedly ought to be charged with them, and always are ſo.

Are ſuch charges made according to the diſcretion of the maſter?
I think I have ſaid ſome time ago they were.

Is it not ſpecified, in the agreement with the ſeamen, that their monthly wages ſhall be in ſterling money?

Very generally to the contrary; and that one-half of their wages, it is ſaid, ſhall be paid in the currency of the country where the cargo is diſpoſed of—on that account we generally give one-fourth more monthly money than any other trade.

Is it not uſual to ſet againſt every man's name the monthly wages he is to receive in ſterling money?
I never ſaw ſuch uſage.

Does not the preamble of ſuch agreement declare that that agreement was made for the expreſs purpoſe of ſuch a particular voyage?
Moſt undoubtedly.

Do you conſider that article in the agreement which compels the ſeamen to receive their pay abroad in the currency of the country, though ſterling money is ſet againſt each of their names, as more binding on the ſeamen than the other articles?
I have already ſaid ſterling money is not ſet againſt their names. —I conſider it as binding as to the mode of payment of the wages— I have known it very often broken through.

Do you believe that the ſeamen, when they agree at the ports of Liverpool or Briſtol for forty ſhillings per month, that they do not conſider it as forty ſhillings ſterling?
In Liverpool I am very certain they do not—I do not ſpeak of Briſtol.

Is it uſual for maſters to explain to them the difference between ſterling and currency, that difference being very conſiderable?
It is ſeldom neceſſary for the maſter to explain it, as any one of their own body can do it as well.—No ſhip whatever from Liverpool goes with all new men—if one old one remains, he will ſoon communicate the information to all the reſt.

What is the difference between ſterling money and currency at Antigua?
The currency at Antigua is at preſent, I believe, at 175.—I have not been at the Weſt Indies theſe Eighteen months.

What is the difference at Jamaica?
One hundred and forty always—Barbadoes the ſame.

Then the difference of being paid their wages in the Weſt Indies and in England is very great?

It depends on the place of ſale.

Is the Committee then to underſtand that no ſeaman is certain what wages he will receive for the voyage?

That part of his wages which is paid in the Weſt Indies, and which never amounts to one half, may fluctuate from forty to ſeventy-five.

You have ſaid the proportion of wages paid in the Weſt Indies never amounts to one-half; but in caſe he enters on board a King's ſhip, or is diſcharged, do you not pay him the whole of his wages in the currency of the port the ſhip happens to be in?

The article expreſſes that you may ſo pay him, but I never knew leſs than one-half of the wages paid in ſterling, and frequently to thoſe who enter on board the King's ſhips, ſuch was the ſtrength of the articles, we were obliged to pay the whole in ſterling.

Then is it your opinion that, by the ſtrength of the articles, they are obliged to pay the whole in ſterling to thoſe who enter the King's ſhips?

I mean in defiance of the articles.

Do you not think that the Admiralty Courts in the Weſt India Iſlands would oblige you to pay the whole in ſterling?

I have ever been fortunate enough to remain ignorant on that head.

Why did you pay them in ſterling, if you thought you was not obliged to do it?

By the ſame rule I deliver up my watch or purſe to an highwayman—by the rule of force.

What ſort of force have you generally known uſed to compel you to pay the wages in ſterling, contrary to juſtice, and which you compare to an highwayman robbing you of your money?

If the original agreement entered into between the maſter and the people was good for any thing, and mutually underſtood, the force I complain of was a violation of all juſtice—that force has been exerted in unbending the ſails from the yards, and utterly diſabling the veſſel from proceeding on her voyage.

Name

Name an inſtance, if you recollect one?
I do not recollect the name of the King's ſhip—the name of the Captain of the African ſhip was Kendal.

Was you an eye-witneſs of this tranſaction?
I was not.

In caſe ſeamen die during the voyage, is their wages paid to their repreſentatives in currency or ſterling?
Exactly in the ſame manner as if they had lived, which is in currency and ſterling, as expreſſed in the articles.

Is it not ſometimes in the articles that the whole wages ſhould be paid in currency?
I do not recollect ſuch an article; and I am confident I never ſaw it done.

Did you ever read the Act of the ſecond of George the Second, for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service?
I never did— to an honeſt man few acts are neceſſary.

You have ſaid that you made three voyages as Maſter of an African Ship; in which year did you convey 602 Slaves from Angola to Jamaica?
Early in the year 1782.

What was the name of the ſhip?
The Tartar.

From what place was ſhe cleared?
From Liverpool.

By whom built?
I believe built for Mr. James, of Liverpool, but ſhe was then ten or twelve years old.

In what year did you convey 450 Slaves from Angola to the Weſt Indies?
I arrived in the Weſt Indies June 1783.

What was the name of the veſſel?
The Fairy—from Liverpool.

By whom built?
Spaniſh-built-prize—made free.

In what year did you convey 290 Slaves from Cape Mount to the Weſt Indies?
I arrived in the Weſt Indies February 1788.

What was her name?
The Lark—from Liverpool.

Who built by?
I believe originally a prize—I do not know.

How many of the 450 Slaves, when they came to ſale in the Iſlands, were reckoned as ſecond day Slaves (thoſe put in the ſecond claſs or diviſion) and how many were reckoned refuſe Slaves?
There was only ſix of the whole number put in the ſecond claſs, and they were ſold within an hour—no refuſe at all.

During the laſt war, when the French gave up the Slave Trade, and the Engliſh carried it on in a reduced degree, what price did Slaves then bear on the Coaſt?
To anſwer that queſtion, it is neceſſary to ſpecify the part of the Coaſt alluded to.

On that part of the Coaſt you alluded to in the commencement of your evidence.
Upon the Coaſt of Angola, which the French had totally left, I believe we purchaſed then at ſomething under ten pounds per head.

Did the numbers then taken by you expreſs an anxiety to be taken away?
Apparently they were very indifferent as to their fate.

Did you ever hear of a diſorder called the Locked jaw, on the Coaſt?
Never—I never knew an inſtance of it.

What proportion of women to men have you been accuſtomed to take from the Coaſt of Africa?
Nearly as two men to one woman.

Do you believe that a number of women equal to the number of men generally taken off could be procured, in caſe an equal or higher price was paid for them?

Where I have already alluded to, the ſame price was paid; and from the vaſt number of wives which the principal people of that country poſſeſs, I believe it would be impoſſible.

Have you a ſhipping-paper commonly uſed for ſeamen in the African Trade?

I have not.

Do you know the tenor of ſuch ſhipping-paper; if you do, explain it?

I think moſt of the articles have been already pretty well canvaſſed—the preamble to this paper is, that the maſter engages to pay certain wages, agreeable to the ſeveral qualifications of the crew, for ſervices by them to be done; that to diſobey any lawful commands of the ſaid maſters or principal officer, or to ſtrike or behave otherwiſe in a riotous manner, the perſons ſo offending forfeit all their wages then due;—if any inſufficiency is diſcovered in any of the crew, the maſter, with two of his officers, and a ſeaman who may be preſent, may award ſuch a deduction as they think reaſonable.—That theſe articles are binding till the veſſel arrives at her diſcharging port in Great Britain; and that one-half of the wages is to be paid in the currency of the country where the cargo is diſpoſed of.

Whether you think ſuch ſhipping-paper differs from the general ſhipping-paper uſed in the merchants ſervice in general, except in the inſtance of paying them a moiety of their wages in the currency where the cargo is delivered?

I never ſaw a ſhipping-paper in any other part of the merchants ſervice, therefore cannot anſwer that queſtion.

Whether the ſeamen employed in the African Trade have not ten ſhillings per month more than the ſeamen employed in any other trade?

No doubt.

Are you acquainted with the preſent mode of eſtimating the tonnage of veſſels, ſince the Regiſter Act?

No.

You ſaid you never knew but one inſtance where Natives of

 different

different countries were chained together—nine-tenths being ſaid by you to be brought from the interior country, how could you know that there was but one inſtance of that circumſtance?

I think I ſaid I did not know one inſtance—when I ſee people talking together, I always ſuppoſe they underſtand each other.

Deſcribe the mode of ſerving the Slaves with water, and mention the quantity they have in twenty-four hours?

We have generally ſmall tin cups of half a pint, ſometimes more, which we ſerve regularly after they riſe in the morning, and the ſame in the afternoon.—The Negroes on board an African ſhip are claſſed into tens, each of which claſſes meſs by themſelves, by which means not one can be overlooked, as they ſit in a circle. When the weather is uncommonly warm, we ſerve them with the ſame quantity of water in the middle of the day.—The ſick, or thoſe any way indiſpoſed, have a conſtant ſupply of water-gruel or rice-water at their ſervice.

What do the Natives feed on at Angola?

Principally Caſſada.

Is the manner of chaining the Negroes the ſame by night as by day?

The very ſame in thoſe veſſels where they are chained at all.

Are they not chained in the generality of veſſels?

I do think they are.

Do you not think the additional ten ſhillings per month is paid as a recompence for the greater danger of the voyage?

I ſhould rather think it an equivalent for the wages received in currency in the Weſt Indies.

In what manner are the Captain, Mate, and Surgeon paid; does not their profit depend on the preſervation of the health of the Slave?

Moſt undoubtedly—from thence all their emoluments ariſe but a trifle.

Do you ſtate the circumſtance of the Slaves ſleeping where they could not ſtand upright as a ſituation to which Slaves only are liable, or are not Britiſh ſeamen frequently obliged to do the ſame?

Every Britiſh ſeaman in the navy has leſs room above his head than an African Negro.

Have

Have you that circumſtance you mentioned about Captain Kendal, and to which you ſaid you was not an eye-witneſs, from reſpectable authority?

From Captain Kendal himſelf, repeatedly over.

Do you believe that occurrence is a ſingular circumſtance, or have you known or heard of other caſes of a ſimilar nature?

I have ſeen myſelf a King's Officer come on board ſhip, and refuſe to go overboard till he had the whole wages paid in ſterling.

Is there any interpreter between the Surgeon and Negroes, by which they can communicate their complaints to him?

In every cargo whatever, ſo far as my obſervation extends, there are always a few got from that diſtrict adjoining to the Beach—theſe, from a long intercourſe with Europeans in general, ſpeak Engliſh pretty well—the moſt of thoſe know the language of the adjoining country on their back, and thoſe again the language of others ſtill further back—by which means we come at the complaints of the Negroes, through the mouths of three, four, or five interpreters.

May not a caſe happen of a Negro being extremely ill in the middle of the night, when it may be neceſſary to have three or four interpreters to communicate the ſymptoms of his complaint?

Such a caſe is poſſible, but barely ſo.

What is the heighth of the room in which the Slaves generally ſleep?

I think that has been very fully anſwered at the beginning of my examination:—My veſſel was five feet ten—ſuppoſe the Negroe's head to be eleven inches, he will have two feet clear above that.

What is the heighth in a thirty-two gun frigate between decks?

I make no account of the diſtance of the hammock from the floor below, but only the quantity of ſpace above their heads.

What is the ſize of the Fetters by which they are chained; what is the diſtance between the two rings?

The iron which goes round the leg is very near half of a circle, each end of which is a kind of eye through which a bolt runs, which bolt goes through the eyes of the rings upon the legs of different Negroes.

What

What is the length of that bolt?

Generally about ſix or eight inches, preciſely the ſame with reſpect to the wriſt-iron, except on a more ſlender conſtruction.

What number of Negroes are brought on deck at one time, in the courſe of the day?

All the Negroes in the ſhip, without diſtinction, are upon deck the whole of the day?

From what hours, in fair weather?

From eight in the morning to five in the evening, ſpeaking generally; it muſt be very bad weather when they are not brought on deck.

Do you think that the Slaves lie during the night in any tolerable comfort?

I have no doubt but they do.

Did you ever ſail in a veſſel called The Henry of Liverpool, Captain Hollingſworth?

I never did, nor ever heard of the veſſel.

Have you underſtood that the complaints of the Negroes whom you have attended when ill have ariſen from bodily diſorders, or uneaſineſs of mind?

By every ſymptom which they diſcovered, I have always underſtood their complaints proceeded from the body.

Have you ever heard otherwiſe from any of the interpreters?

I never did.

Do you not know that the captain and officers of African ſhips receive a moiety of their wages, as well as the ſeamen, in the currency of the ports at which they diſcharge in the Weſt Indies?

Moſt aſſuredly they do, and for the ſame length of time with the meaneſt landſman on board the ſhip.

Do you know what the tonnage of a 64 gun ſhip is?

I do not.

Do you ſuppoſe it to be 1,500 tons?

I cannot form a judgment.

Do you know the number of men?

I ſuppoſe 500.

Are

Are not the Slaves ſecured by an additional chain when they are brought upon deck?

The Slaves on board my ſhip had neither additional chain nor irons, either by night or by day.

Do you mean in all your voyages?

Ever ſince I have been maſter.

In how many voyages?

In three.

Whether, from the time of your ſailing from the Coaſt, the Slaves were out of irons?

I mean from the time of ſailing from the Coaſt.

On what did you depend for the ſafety of your ſhip and crew?

I depended on the good behaviour of myſelf and people towards them.

Do you know any thing reſpecting the regiſtering of veſſels?

Not according to the preſent Act.

Do you according to the former practice?

The former practice was to lower the number of tons as much as poſſible.

Was not an oath taken at the regiſtration of ſuch veſſel?

Not that I know of.

Do you ſay that in your veſſel, in which there were 600 Slaves, that all thoſe Slaves were brought on deck at one time, and continued there during the day without irons?

In the veſſel with 600 Slaves, all the Slaves were brought on deck at one time, and remained there the whole day—I was then only Surgeon of the ſhip;—when I ſpoke of their being without irons, it was at the time that I was Maſter.

In the Ships wherein you ſailed as Surgeon, did you never practiſe any expedients to ſuppreſs the appearance of diſeaſes immediately previous to the ſale of the Negroes?

The queſtion being objected to;

The Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The queſtion was repeated.

I never did.

Did you ever know ſuch expedients practiſed?

Wherever I was as a Surgeon, there were no other Surgeons but ſuch as were under me, of courſe there was no practice of that ſort—at preſent I do not remember having heard of any ſuch expedients being practiſed by any body.

When you ſailed as Captain, did the owners ever conſult you as to the number of Slaves the veſſel was deſtined to take on board on the Coaſt?

Not as to the number, but frequently as to the accommodation of the Slaves.

Upon what grounds did you form the opinion you gave to the owners reſpecting the accommodation of the Slaves?

From conſtant obſervation.

What do you mean by accommodation?

I mean whether they had room to lie—whether the proviſions were properly dreſſed—whether their little wants were amply ſupplied—and whether thoſe proviſions were ſerved to them in due time, and in ſufficient abundance.

Was you ever conſulted by the owners, previouſly to your ſailing from England, as to the number of Slaves which the veſſel would properly accommodate?

I do not recollect I was.

Did you conceive yourſelf competent to give information to this Committee reſpecting the manning, tonnage, or other particulars of His Majeſty's Navy?

By no means.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

The

The Committee being informed, That the Planters of the Britiſh Colonies, whoſe Petition is referred to this Commitee, having, as they conceive, a different Intereſt from the other Petitioners who already appeared by their Counſel before the Committee, deſired that they might be heard by their Counſel ſeparately, in ſupport of their Petition.

To which the Committee having agreed;

Mr. Hotchkin, who attended on Behalf of the Petition of the Planters of the Britiſh Colonies, whoſe Names are thereunto ſubſcribed, in Behalf of themſelves and other Proprietors in the ſaid Colonies, was called in, and acquainted that he might be heard in ſupport of the ſaid Petition.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Martis, 9° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,
Captain JOHN KNOX.

N° 4.

Jovis, 11° *die Junii* 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain WILLIAM MACINTOSH, Commander of a ſhip in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice.

Was you ever on the Coaſt of Africa?
Yes.

When was you firſt there?
In the beginning of the year 1760,—at Senegal—remained there till July 1762.

In what capacity?
I was the greater part of the time midſhipman and captain's clerk of a King's veſſel—I was ſtationed there for the defence of the entrance of the river Senegal.

Was you ſtationed in the ſame place during the whole time you ſtayed upon that coaſt?

In the ſickly ſeaſon the veſſel was always ſtationed at the mouth of the river—in the healthier ſeaſon ſhe remained generally about twenty miles higher up the river, and lay off the fort.

Of what number did the crew of the ſhip you was in conſiſt?
I think it originally conſiſted of 57 men.

What was the ſtate of the health of the crew during your ſtay on the Coaſt?
There was a very ſingular degree of mortality—we were frequently ſupplied with men by men of war—they ſent down the Coaſt of Africa a few men at a time, ſometimes by preſſing, and ſometimes by men entering, and we buried a great many more than our original complement.——To the beſt of my recollection there were only two other perſons beſides myſelf that ever came off the Coaſt—and the veſſel was at laſt obliged to be left there, where ſhe ſunk in the river, for want of people to navigate her off, and it not being thought an object to ſend perſons for that purpoſe.

When did you viſit the Coaſt again?
Not for a great many years afterwards—in the year 1774.

In what capacity was you in 1774?
I was maſter of a ſhip in the Weſt India trade.

What part of the Coaſt did you then go to?
To Senegal.

How long did you ſtay there?
A very ſhort time—I went merely for information.

Did you at that time take any Slaves on board?
No—after getting the information I wanted I went immediately to the Weſt Indies.

When did you again go to the Coaſt of Africa?
I went again in 1775, and again in 1776—I was then in the ſame ſituation, Captain of a Weſt Indiaman.

Did you purchaſe Slaves on the Coaſt in thoſe voyages?
Yes—above 200 in each voyage.

How

How long did you ſtay on the Coaſt in each of thoſe voyages?
Not above a fortnight or three weeks at each time.

Did you proceed from thence with your cargo of Slaves to the Weſt Indies, and to what Iſland?
To Grenada.

What was the ſtate of the health of the crew and of the Slaves, during your ſtay on the Coaſt in each of thoſe voyages?
During my ſtay on the Coaſt, and in my paſſage to the Weſt Indies, my crew and the Slaves were in perfect health in both voyages.

How many of the crew died in either of thoſe voyages?
I ſaid before they were all in perfect health—of courſe none of them died.

Did they continue in health, particularly the Slaves, during your ſtay in the Weſt Indies before they were landed?
Perfectly ſo—but they were not long before they were landed and ſold.

Did you go to the Coaſt of Africa at any time after theſe voyages?
Yes, again in 1778, with Government Stores to the Gold Coaſt, and ſtopped at Senegal in my way.

In that voyage how long did you ſtay on the Coaſt?
From my firſt arrival at Senegal to my leaving the Iſland of St. Thomas, it was near five months—from the beginning of April to the end of Auguſt.

Did you then trade for Slaves in that voyage?
I purchaſed firſt ſeventy at Senegal—then I ſtopt at Gambia and Sierra Leone in my paſſage to the Gold Coaſt, and compleated my purchaſe on the Gold Coaſt, after having landed my Government cargo.

To what number might your cargo amount when compleated?
Under 400.

What was the number of your crew in that voyage?
Forty-eight.

Was

Was the crew healthy, or otherwiſe?
Very healthy.

How were the Slaves?
The Slaves were healthy alſo.

How were they during the Middle Paſſage from the Coaſt to the Weſt Indies?
The crew and the Slaves were perfectly healthy during the whole voyage, till my arrival in the Weſt Indies—I do not remember I had a ſeaman ſick;—when I ſaid the Slaves were perfectly healthy, I meant generally ſo—five or ſix died.

Do you mean that only that number died during the courſe of that voyage?
I certainly do—but whether five, ſix, or ſeven, I do not remember.

On what iſland were they landed?
At Grenada.

Did they continue in the ſame ſtate of health during their ſtay till they were landed?
Yes.

Have you been in Africa ſince 1778?
No.

During the time you was on the coaſt of Africa in theſe ſeveral voyages, did you frequently go on ſhore?
Yes, very frequently.

How far in land have you ever been?
When I belonged to the man of war ſloop, I made frequent excurſions into the country, and have been abſent ſeveral days at a time—and I travelled once from Senegal to Goree, and back again, on foot.

During thoſe times had you any opportunity of obſerving or hearing in what manner they became Slaves in Africa?
I cannot give perfect information on that queſtion—I have always underſtood that on the Sea Coaſt of Senegal particularly they were made Slaves of for different crimes—but the greater proportion of them come down the River from the interior parts of the Country.

Did you ever know, or ever hear of villages being deſtroyed or pillaged for the purpoſe of procuring Slaves?

In the country I am talking of certainly not.

Did you ever know or hear of Slaves being kidnapped?

No.—Does the queſtion mean kidnapped by Europeans, or Natives?

Either by one or the other?

I certainly never heard of their being kidnapped by the Natives—I heard of Slaves being kidnapped by Europeans, as I have heard many other tales, but I never ſaw a man who told me he was an eye-witneſs of it.

During the ſeveral voyages you have yourſelf made on the Coaſt, have you ever known kidnapping happen?

No.

During the time you have been there, has there been always an equal demand for Slaves?

I was on the Gold Coaſt a ſingle ſhip, there was no purchaſer but myſelf.

At that time did you find the Slaves in great plenty?

The price was reduced in conſequence of my being the only purchaſer.

Had you, at any time, any reaſon to apprehend what would become of the Slaves, if there was no European purchaſer for them?

At the time when I was there a ſingle ſhip, in 1778, when the French and American War prevented the merchants from fitting out their ſhips for Africa, I wanted to reduce the price of Slaves—under theſe circumſtances I thought they kept them too high—this created a delay;—in the interim I reaſoned with the principal people about the folly of keeping up the price of their Slaves, when it was likely there would be no purchaſer for them—and I aſked the principal people, particularly a Chief Man of that Coaſt, what they would do with their Slaves if there was no purchaſer — he heſitated without giving an anſwer a conſiderable time—I followed up the queſtion, by obſerving to him (I alluded to priſoners taken in war generally) that they muſt let them all go again.—The anſwer he made was—"What! "let them go again, to come to kill me again?"—And, in ſhort, he gave me plainly to underſtand that they would put them to death.

Can you inform the Committee, whether the trading ſhips ſail from the Coaſt of Africa in the night or in the day?

From that particular part of the Coaſt always in the day—generally in the morning.

Do they make ſignals when about to ſail?

Several days before ſailing.

Are the ſignals ſuch that it is perfectly underſtood the ſhip is about to ſail?

Certainly ſo.

Do you know of the ſtate of health of any other King's ſhip ſtationed on that Coaſt, except that on board which you was in your firſt voyage?

In 1778 I went on the Coaſt, accompanied with the Weazle ſloop of war—there were two large American privateers there—we underſtood they had been at Senegal a few days before our arrival.—We went from Senegal to Gambia, and from thence to Sierra Leone, to look for the Minerva, a frigate of thirty-two guns, diſpatched before us—we found her gone from thoſe places a day or two before we arrived.—When we came to Sierra Leone, we found that the Captain (Captain Stott) who commanded the frigate, inſtead of going down the Gold Coaſt, had gone off to the Weſt Indies, having, as I underſtood, above eighty people ſick in his ſhip.

From your experience in the trade of the coaſt of Africa, can you ſay to what cauſes the mortality which ſometimes happens on board ſhip is to be attributed?

I do not underſtand there is any particular degree of mortality in ſhips on the open Coaſt, whether Slave ſhips or others—but veſſels that go up rivers where the country is ſwampy, and where there is not a free circulation of air, theſe are places I underſtand to be unhealthy; but I never was up the rivers myſelf, except Senegal river.

Did you obſerve the produce of Africa, what articles of merchandize it produces beſides Slaves?

No—I have no knowledge that juſtifies me in giving information on that ſubject.—In Senegal I obſerved that country produces Cotton and Corn chiefly.

Can you ſay whether Senegal produces any quantity of Cotton or Corn for exportation?
I do not believe any ever is exported.

Have you now any connexions with the African trade?
No, nor have had during the laſt ten years—nor am I likely ever to have any.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

What is the ſize of the veſſel you commanded in the two voyages when you was a fortnight on the Coaſt?
The ſame veſſel both voyages—ſhe was about 250 tons.

How many Negroes did you carry off?
Above two hundred each time.

Did you not attribute their healthineſs to the ſmall number of Negroes on board, and the ſhortneſs of the time on the Coaſt?
To the ſhortneſs of the time, but not to the ſmall number of Negroes I had on board.

What was the ſize of the ſhip in which you carried 400 Negroes?
About 300 tons.

What was her name?
The Symond.

When you ſay you loſt ſo few in that voyage, did you mean to include Senegal and the Coaſt of Africa in the word 'Voyage?'
Yes.

Is not Goree an Iſland?
Yes.

What did you mean by travelling on foot from Senegal to Goree?
I ferried acroſs from the land to Goree.

What in your opinion is a proper quantity of water to lay in per day, including what is neceſſary to dreſs their victuals, from the Coaſt to the Weſt Indies?

I did not myſelf carry them as a common Guinea-man—I had a great deal of ſpare room; I put but few of them in Irons, and had plenty of proviſions and plenty of water for them.

What quantity of water do you think it neceſſary to put on board for a White Man for that voyage?

Taking in all expences, I think a gallon of water per day a very large allowance.

Is it to be underſtood that you do not know what water is neceſſary to lay in for a Negro per day?

I have not exactly calculated it—but I ſhould think three quarts a great allowance.

Do you include the dreſſing of their proviſions in that quantity—the proviſions conſiſting of roots and corn?

Yes I do—but I ſaid I had always a ſuperfluity, and did not ſtint them.

Did you agree with the ſeamen to pay them half their wages in the currency of the country where they were paid?

They were not paid any where till they came to London—I made no ſuch agreement with them.

Did you ſell ſpirits or tobacco to the ſeamen on the Coaſt?

Very little—ſpirits particularly.

What charge did you make upon the ſpirits?

That I cannot recollect—but I always treated the people very liberally.

What proportion did the priſoners of war in your opinion bear to the whole number of Slaves on that part of the Coaſt wherein you converſed with the principal perſon concerning the lowering the price of Slaves?

I did not enter into that diſtinction.

Have you been much acquainted with the Weſt Indies?

I was maſter of a ſhip fifteen years in the Weſt India trade, including theſe African trips.

Have you had frequent occaſion to be on the plantations, and to ſee in what manner the Slaves were treated?

I had

I had frequent occaſions to be on the plantations.—There are many others more competent to anſwer concerning the Weſt Indies than I am, therefore I ſhould wiſh to decline it.

Whether many of the ſailors that go out the in African ſhips do not return home in the Weſt India ſhips—by what is called "in the run home?"

Great numbers of them do.

Whether what they get by the run is not much more than the monthly wages they would receive in the African ſhips?

More than double.

Do you think that Circumſtance one inducement for the ſailors to deſert the African ſhips in the Weſt Indies?

Yes, certainly a very ſtrong one.

Did you ever hear or know of wandering tribes of Moors croſſing the Niger, and taking the women out of the villages when the men are at work?

During the time I reſided there I do believe no ſuch thing ever happened—I never knew it happen, and do not believe it ever did.

Do you think their affection for their families is as ſtrong as it is in Europeans?

I do not think it is by any means; and in corroboration of my opinion—

The Witneſs was about to ſtate a letter, ſaid to be written by Governor Hippeſley about thirty years ago.

The Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Witneſs was directed to proceed.

I mean that the affection of thoſe perſons from my own obſervations are by no means ſo ſtrong; and in corroboration of that fact, I mentioned this letter, which was written many years before the Slave Trade was thought of being aboliſhed, and by a man who had every means of being well informed.—As the extract is very ſhort, I deſire to know whether the Committee will permit me to read it?

Where had you the letter from?

I only believe it authentic from its being in the Annual Regiſter.

Do you think that wars are ſtirred up in Africa for the ſake of obtaining brandy of Europeans?

No.

Have you reaſon to believe that the Slaves come to the Coaſt from great diſtances?

Yes, very great diſtances.

What are your reaſons for thinking ſo?

I carried with me from Senegal, as I ſaid, ſeventy Slaves to the Gold Coaſt, and I found that many of thoſe Slaves perfectly underſtood the language of thoſe Slaves I purchaſed on the Gold Coaſt.—Theſe Slaves that I brought from Senegal came from the country of Galam; from that circumſtance I infer that there is an uninterrupted traffic through all the track of country from the Gold Coaſt to the head of the River Senegal.

Were the ſhips you commanded as conveniently fitted up for the accommodation of Slaves as the Liverpool ſhips are at preſent?

I do not know any thing of Liverpool ſhipping at preſent.—She was not fitted up ſo conveniently as the Liverpool ſhips were at that time.

Are you acquainted with the manner in which Slaves are carried in the ſhips of foreign nations; is it more favourable to the Slaves in point of cleanlineſs, or otherwiſe?

I am not acquainted with it.

Can you ſtate whether it is more or leſs favourable?

I know nothing about it.

Are you ſufficiently acquainted with the mode of treating Slaves in the Weſt Indies to inform the Committee whether they are comfortable, and appear contented?

Yes, I think they do.—I ſaid before, that I wiſh not to enter into the circumſtances of the Weſt Indies, but I would ſpeak as far as my information goes.

Do any free Africans come on board Slave ſhips to viſit Slaves, and ſhew them acts of kindneſs?

No—very ſeldom.

What

What was the number of females in your cargo of 400?
I do not exactly recollect—not quite half.

What price did you pay for males?
I do not exactly recollect—£. 16 or £. 18.

What for females?
I think the difference about £. 4.

More or leſs?
Leſs.

Did you wiſh to procure an equal number of females?
No, I did not.

Why?
Becauſe I thought the men would turn to better account.

Might an equal number of females have been procured?
Yes, when I was there, certainly.

What wages are commonly given able ſeamen in the Weſt India trade in time of peace?
According to the ſeaſon of the year in which the ſhips are fitted out, from twenty-three ſhillings to thirty ſhillings per month.

What proportion of the ſame ſeamen taken out by you did you generally bring home?
I cannot ſay, two-thirds at leaſt—there are few voyages in which ſeamen do not run away in the courſe of the voyage.

What becomes of the ſeamen taken out in the Weſt India ſhips, which want ſo many men to bring them back again?
Some die—ſome go to America—and ſome to the French iſlands.

Would the Slaves on that voyage, in which you took 200 Slaves in a ſhip of 250 tons, have been equally healthy if 500 Slaves had been on board?
I believe they might, if I had been no longer on the Coaſt—the longer I remained there the greater degree of ſickneſs there would have been, in all probability.

You will explain why you apprehend that if you had twice the number of Slaves on board the veſſel in the Middle Paſſage there would not probably, during that paſſage, have been a mortality greater in proportion?

During the Middle Paſſage they would have been longer on board; but my ſhip was able to carry more than double the number with a great deal of excellent conveniencies.

Is not in general the circumſtance of remaining long on the Coaſt more fatal to the crew than the length of the voyage, and being crowded on the Middle Paſſage?

Certainly it is.

Do you include the ſeamen as well as the Negroes?

Yes.

Do you mean that, during the ſtay on the Coaſt, even before the ſhip is full, a greater proportion of the Negroes on board dies in the ſame time, than in the courſe of the Middle Paſſage, even when it is completely full?

It is a queſtion of opinion—I cannot anſwer from experience, for I loſt a very few, as I ſtated before—when they died I cannot ſtate.

Having ſaid that the remaining longer on the Coaſt is more fatal to the crew than the length of the Middle Paſſage, and the being crowded in the Middle Paſſage; and that you included in that account Seamen as well as Negroes—on what is that anſwer grounded?

In my anſwer I meant comparatively as to the time, becauſe they remain much longer on the Coaſt—double or treble the time they are on the paſſage.

Do you mean that men periſh on the Coaſt becauſe the ſtay on the Coaſt is longer than the Middle Paſſage; or that a larger proportion periſh in the ſame ſpace of time on the Coaſt than in the ſame ſpace of time during the voyage?

I mean becauſe they remain longer on the Coaſt—I think that the open Coaſt of Africa, three or four miles from ſhore, is as healthy as any part of the Middle Paſſage.

Do you think in general, out of the whole of a cargo taken on board on the Coaſt of Africa, a greater number periſh on the whole,

whole, during the ſtay of the ſhip on the Coaſt, or afterwards during the Middle Paſſage?

A greater number periſh after the ſhip is full-ſlaved, and is gone off the Coaſt, without the ſhip remains a long time upon the Coaſt.

Taking the actual number on board at different times, whether a greater proportion of the number ſo actually on board periſh during the ſtay on the Coaſt, or in an equal ſpace of time during the voyage?

In a ſhip well fitted and not over-crowded there is very little difference.

Then is the Committee to underſtand, that whenever there is a greater proportion of mortality on the paſſage than the proportion of mortality during the ſtay on the Coaſt, it probably ariſes either from their being over-crowded, or from the ſhip not being well fitted.

Certainly ſo, without there is any diſeaſe gets amongſt them, which all great numbers of people confined in a veſſel are liable to.

If the ſhips of this country are prevented from carrying Negroes to the Weſt Indies, in your opinion would the Britiſh planters ſupply themſelves from the Neutral or French iſlands?

I believe it would be impoſſible to prevent it.

What in your opinion will be the effect of our abolition of the Slave Trade, with reſpect to the cultivation of the Iſlands?

My opinion is, that it will be immediately taken up by foreigners; and, as I ſaid before, it will be impoſſible to prevent people in our Weſt India iſlands from furniſhing themſelves from the other Iſlands.

When you ſpoke of ſailors running from their ſhips, did you mean to apply that circumſtance to the African trade in particular, or to ſhips in general?

To ſhips in general.

What did you ſell thoſe male Slaves for in the Weſt Indies for which you gave £. 16 or £. 18 on the Coaſt of Africa?

When I ſaid £. 16 or £. 18, I ſpoke of prime Slaves; but the Slaves are ſold in lots of eight or ten together, and the whole cargo allotted ſo as to make each lot pretty equal.

What is the average price of Slaves on the Coaſt?

At the time I was there they were particularly low, about £. 12 or £. 13, including boys, men, women, and children.

What was at that time the average price of ſale in the Weſt Indies?

From £. 28 to £. 40; but obſerve I bought them particularly low, they have never been ſo cheap ſince.

Do the ſhips in the African trade generally return from the Weſt Indies fully laden with Weſt India produce?

They ſeldom or never bring any produce home.

Can you ſtate the principal cauſes for that?

The principal reaſon is, that there are always plenty of ſhips in that particular trade at the different Iſlands—when there are not they ſometimes ſhip their produce in African ſhips, but never, except on that occaſion.

Did you think it would anſwer as a mercantile tranſaction to ſend the Weſt India ſhips to touch on the Coaſt of Africa to collect ſuch Slaves as might be ready in the traders hands, without loitering on the Coaſt, ſo as to combine the Slave trade and the Weſt India trade together?

Yes, I think it would, if they were always ſure of having a cargo of Slaves ready for them; but it would require a very ſmall proportion of the ſhips employed in the Weſt India trade to carry the Slaves from Africa.

Can you ſtate any ſubſtantial reaſon againſt ſo combining the two trades?

It would be impoſſible to collect Slaves on the Coaſt to diſpatch ſhips without delay.

Suppoſing them to receive only ſuch Slaves as were actually ready, would it be a material deviation in their voyage with regard to time and expence?

As far down the Coaſt as Sierra Leone the delay would not be very great—but if they went below that, ſo as to be obliged to make the Middle Paſſage, it would be a very loſing concern to the owners of thoſe ſhips.

Do you conſider in theſe anſwers that ſeveral of the African Slave ſhips now return from the Weſt Indies without freight;—taking the two trades together, would there be a greater expence attending

attending the freight of Britiſh, African, and Weſt India produce, than in the preſent circumſtance of the trade as divided?

I think there would be a much greater expence, and that it would be hardly practicable to carry it on with profit.

What do you underſtand by the Middle Paſſage?

I mean ſhips going from the Gold Coaſt and the Bite of Benin, and from any part of the Coaſt where they are obliged to croſs the Line to make their paſſage with the South Eaſt wind to the Weſt Indies.

When you uſed the trade, was it uſual to have veſſels ſtationary on the Coaſt of Africa, under the name of Floating Factories, or any other deſcription, for the purpoſe of receiving Slaves, in order to diſpatch the ſhips the quicker which came from England on their voyage to the Weſt Indies?

No, not at that time, on the Gold Coaſt particularly.

Do you underſtand it has ſince been the practice to have ſuch ſtationary veſſels?

I think I have heard there is one houſe in this town that have a great trade to that Coaſt, and have ſuch a veſſel, and have agents on the Coaſt, in order to diſpatch their veſſels with more expedition—I do not believe it is a ſhip ſtationed there for the purpoſe, but they order a ſhip to ſtay there a certain time, and when there is no longer occaſion for her ſhe goes off with a cargo of Slaves.

Was not the reaſon that you were able to purchaſe as many female as male Slaves, at the time you mentioned, owing to the circumſtance of your ſhip being at that time the only ſhip trading on the Coaſt?

I believe ſo.

Is it the cuſtom to ſend boats to ſeduce boys and other people, and is that the manner traders procure their Slaves in Africa?

I never heard any think like it.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

A Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, That the Chairman do report a further progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again;
It paſſed in the negative.

A motion being made, and the Queſtion put, That the Counſel be again called in;
It paſſed in the negative.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Jovis, 11° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs Examined,

Capt. WILLIAM MACINTOSH.

N° 5.

Veneris, 12° *die Junii* 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

JEROME BARNARD WEUVES, Eſquire, in the African Company's Service.

How long did you reſide on the Coaſt of Africa?
Fourteen years.

In what capacity, and on what part of the Coaſt?
Chiefly as Governor of moſt of the Britiſh forts on the Gold Coaſt.

What forts?
Dixcove, Succondee, Tantum, Anamaboe, and Cape Coaſt Caſtle.

Are you acquainted with any other part of the Coaſt of Africa but the Gold Coaſt?
No.

How long ſince you left the Coaſt of Africa?
Upwards of five years.

Did you underſtand the language of the Country whilſt you was there?
I believe as well as moſt Europeans that ever were in that part of the world.

What were the forms of government in the countries there?
It is divided into petty ſtates, the form is various—at Annamaboe there is a King—at other parts the government is by Pynims and Elders, and Cabbiſheers—theſe laſt are above the Pynims and Elders.

Is this country within the Fantee Country?
Dixcove and Succondee are not reckoned within the Fantee Country.

Is the remainder of the Gold Coaſt reckoned within that Country?
No—from Succondee down to Accra is called the Fantee Country, or nearly ſo.

Are you acquainted with the government of the interior parts of the Country?
I know nothing of the government of the interior parts, having never been there.

Have you heard from the Natives, or perſons reſiding in Africa, what the government is in the interior parts?
I never have.

Does Slavery exiſt in the parts of the Country you know?
Certainly it does.

Does it appear a condition of life of modern introduction?
I believe not—on the contrary, I believe it is very ancient.

Do the Natives poſſeſs Slaves there?
They do—it is reckoned the greateſt part of their wealth, for a man is reckoned of no conſequence without he has Slaves.

Is there any diſtinction amongſt the Slaves that are the property of the Natives?

Yes

Yes—there are Slaves born Slaves, and others that are purchaſed Slaves, that is the only difference.

Are there any privileges allowed to thoſe born Slaves over thoſe that are purchaſed?

Yes there is—and this is what makes the difference, a born Slave being obtained by inheritance cannot be ſold by the Maſter, without a formal trial for ſome crime—in which caſe there are Judges choſen out of their own clan, who adjudge that puniſhment which the crime appears to them to deſerve.

What is the puniſhment uſually adjudged for crimes in that country?

Slavery is the puniſhment generally inflicted.

What are the crimes for which Slavery is generally inflicted?

Theft and Adultery are the two principal—they often loſe their liberty by gaming themſelves away—thoſe are the only crimes I know of on the Gold Coaſt for which they loſe their liberty there—Theft, Adultery, and gaming themſelves away.

Is Witchcraft puniſhed as a crime there?

Yes, it is.

Are the Freemen involved in theſe crimes as well as the Slaves, and is the puniſhment the ſame—in what manner is the Freeman puniſhed?

By Slavery.

In what manner are the Slaves born Slaves puniſhed for the ſame crimes?

They are tried by their own clan, and the Maſter of that Slave is obliged to ſubmit to the judgment of the Judges.

For whoſe benefit is he ſold?

For the benefit of the perſon injured—he becomes his Slave.

Is the trial of Freemen before the ſame perſons who try Slaves born Slaves?

No, it is not.

Before whom is the trial of the Freemen?

Every town on the Gold Coaſt has a number of people appointed,

pointed, ſome of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable of the inhabitants, who are called Pynims in that country, and are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar hat made of ſtraw in a particular form—when any perſon is accuſed of any crime, the aggrieved party brings him before theſe Pynims, who meet for that purpoſe in the open Market Place, if there is no Palaver Houſe in the town—and then, in the face of all the inhabitants, they try them—that is the mode of proceeding.

What is a Palaver Houſe?
An open Court of Juſtice.

In what manner does a man become a Slave by gaming?
By throwing the dice—there is no trial—they ſurrender themſelves up, knowing that they have forfeited their liberty—I beg to be underſtood that the practice of gaming is not frequent on the Gold Coaſt.

In the caſe of Freemen adjudged to Slavery, or of domeſtic Slaves adjudged to other Slavery, do the Judges receive any reward?
To the beſt of my knowledge I believe not.

Is the trial for Witchcraft carried on in the ſame manner as thoſe you have mentioned?
I know nothing of the trial for Witchcraft—I never ſaw one.

Do you know that Witchcraft is ever imputed as a crime?
I know it is.

Do you know before whom the trial is?
I do not—I never ſaw any thing like it.

Is the belief in Witchcraft common in the Country?
I do not know whether it is common—but they are very ſuperſtitious.

Have you heard from the inhabitants of the Country that perſons accuſed of Witchcraft are tried, and what are the conſequences of a conviction?
I have every reaſon to believe that they are tried—I once bought a whole family, conſiſting of nine perſons—one of the family had been accuſed of Witchcraft, and all the reſt were ſold to me—and when they were going off the Beach after I had

purchaſed them, the whole Town came to ſee that they were fairly off from the Beach—from which I ſuppoſe they would not have ſuffered them to depart if they had not had a fair trial—that is only my inference.

Do you know, from the information of others, that the imputed crime of Witchcraft involves the whole of a family in the puniſhment?

It certainly does—no doubt.

Do you know what number of Slaves are exported annually from the Gold Coaſt by the Europeans?

I cannot ſay poſitively—but if I may be allowed to gueſs, I fancy from about 6,000 to 8,000—it may be more.

What proportion of that number are exported by the Engliſh?

I dare ſay more than two-thirds.

Have the Dutch any conſiderable part of it?

If we have two-thirds, the Dutch and Danes have the remaining one-third—there was no other nation ſettled there when I was there.

Do you know what proportion of the whole number of Slaves exported are Natives of that Country?

I cannot pretend to ſay.

Are the priſoners of war ſold as Slaves in that Country?

During the whole time I lived on the Gold Coaſt, there was no war, and therefore I am certain the Natives of the Gold Coaſt ſold while I was there were not priſoners of war—they are merely criminals.

Do you know of the practice of kidnapping Slaves, either by the Natives or the Europeans?

No, of no ſuch practice—and I am ſure it would be impracticable.

Why?

Having never known an inſtance, I can only form an opinion why it is impracticable.—We are obliged to tranſport the Slaves to the ſhips on board canoes—the canoe-men that paddle the canoes being Natives of the ſame country, it would be impoſſible to get them off the ſhore without its being known—and

therefore no captain of a ſhip would run the riſk of loſing his trade by taking off any perſon unlawfully, and not in the courſe of his trade.

Are there not officers ſtationed on board ſhip by the Government of the Country, to prevent abuſes of any ſort?

I do not know there are; but a ſhip, before ſhe is permitted to begin her trade, is obliged to pay cuſtoms to the King, in conſequence of which the King deputes the Elders of the town, the Pynims, to go on board to receive the King's cuſtoms, and their cuſtoms; which being done, they fire three, five, or ſeven guns, and hoiſt the enſign, which is to give notice to the country that the ſhip is permitted to trade in the common way—after which there is ſcarce a day paſſes but there are Black Brokers come on board, and ſleep on board—come and go at pleaſure, to ſee that the trade is properly carried on.

If a perſon therefore had been wrongfully taken from the Coaſt, would not he have an opportunity of conveying his complaints to his Country?

Moſt certainly.

Do the Europeans then obtain their Slaves by fraud or oppreſſion, or is it fairly carried on by barter and purchaſe?

I hardly know a trade that is carried on in a fairer manner.

How is it carried on?

The Black Broker or the owner of the Slave takes what commodities he pleaſes for his Negro which he has to ſell—he has the choice of his goods—if you have ſuch as ſuit him, he ſells you the Negro—and if you have not, he takes him away—that is the method of purchaſing Slaves.

Have you ever heard of breaking up or pillaging villages on the Gold Coaſt?

I never heard of any ſuch thing; and nothing of the kind exiſted for the fourteen years I was there.

In your opinion would war on the Gold Coaſt or neighbourhood be favourable or otherwiſe to the Slave trade?

I can only anſwer that as a matter of opinion, as whilſt I was there there was no war—I had no opportunity of knowing whether war would be a detriment or not—I have heard the Natives ſay that there have been wars in the interior Country, and that in thoſe

thoſe places there was a want of Slaves for that time—what the caſe might be, I do not know—I ſpeak from hearſay.

Are many of the Slaves exported by the Europeans brought from the interior parts of the Country?
Yes, a great number, it is impoſſible for me to ſay the proportion—a great many.

Can you form any idea of the number brought from the interior parts of the Country; and thoſe ſold from the Gold Coaſt?
I cannot ſay.

Are they more or leſs?
It may be half or two-thirds brought from the interior Country—but I cannot ſpeak with any accuracy.

Have you reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Slaves which come from the interior Country come from a great diſtance?
Yes, I have reaſon to believe ſo.

What are thoſe reaſons?
From what I have learnt from the Black Brokers myſelf.

What have they ſaid on that ſubject?
They have informed me that they go three, four, or five days journey to the Market Place inland, where they know there are Slaves ready for ſale, who have been brought there by ſome other Brokers, who came very likely from a Country ſtill farther inland; and ſo from others, through many Brokers from the interior parts of the Country.

Do the Slaves brought down from the interior parts all come from the ſame Country?
No, they do not.—If I may judge from their external appearance, they ſeem to be of different tribes.

Do they all ſpeak the ſame language?
No, for when I have had twenty, thirty, or forty of thoſe Slaves together, they have not been able to underſtand one another.

Can you give an account of the manner by which thoſe perſons become Slaves, either from your own knowledge or from information?
I cannot poſſibly ſay—I rather think they are bred in that

Country for the purpoſe of Slavery—the reaſon why I think ſo is, that ſome of the inland tribes do not appear robuſt enough to be warriors, nor ſpirited enough.—I cannot know it from information, for the Black Brokers themſelves do not know it.

Have you any other reaſon for ſuppoſing that Slaves are bred in the interior parts of Africa for the purpoſe of ſale?

I have no other reaſon.—Slaves are not bred on the Gold Coaſt for the purpoſe of ſale, they are ſold for crimes.

What were the external marks of difference amongſt the Slaves that came from the interior Country, by which you ſuppoſed they were of different tribes?

The external marks were the different modes of cutting marks on the different parts of the body—ſome filing their teeth; and above all the different languages they ſpoke, not being able to underſtand one another.

Does the practice of human ſacrifices prevail on the Gold Coaſt?

It does, and I believe has been practiſed from time immemorial.

What perſons are ſacrificed?

Slaves in general.—I believe perſons that are born ſo, or purchaſed Slaves.

Are the domeſtic Slaves ſacrificed?

If the domeſtic Slave has been originally a purchaſed Slave, I have not a doubt that he might be ſacrificed; but I do not ſpeak to it as a fact, having never ſeen it.

Upon what occaſions are ſuch ſacrifices uſually made?

On the death of ſome of the great men of that Country—the people have an idea that the Manes of the deceaſed will not be at peace, and that he will be in an uncomfortable ſituation in the other world, unleſs perſons are ſent to wait upon him.

What become of the Slaves refuſed to be purchaſed by Europeans?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion poſitively, but I have every reaſon to believe that thoſe refuſed Slaves are generally ſet aſide for ſuch ſacrifices—I think ſo.

Do

Do you know any inſtance of a Slave being refuſed, and therefore deſtroyed?

I do not recollect.

In what manner are the inhabitants of the Gold Coaſt clothed?

Not at all, comparatively ſpeaking, unleſs a yard or two of cloth round the waiſt may be called cloathing.

In caſe the Slave Trade was aboliſhed, what, from your knowledge of the Country, do you think would become of the Slaves brought to the Coaſt for ſale?

I do not think our abolition of it here would aboliſh the Trade there—the Trade, inſtead of coming to the Water-ſide, would take a different courſe, they would be diſperſed from the weſt to the eaſt, and bought by the Moors, Arabs, and different tribes.—This is only my opinion that it would be ſo.

Suppoſing the Trade was ſtill carried on by the other European nations, the Engliſh excepted, what would be the probable conſequence of the abolition of it by this country?

Thoſe other European nations who carried on the Trade would ſhare among them the number we did not take off.

Would the conſequences of the abolition here be the abolition of Slavery in that Country, or tend towards it?

There would not be one Slave the leſs on the Gold Coaſt of Africa.

Would there be in your opinion one perſon more or leſs convicted of crimes there in conſequence of the abolition of the Slave Trade here?

Not one leſs.

Would the operation of ſuch abolition be the transfer of the ſhipping and capital of this country, employed in that Trade, to foreign countries?

I have no doubt of it.

Have they any manufactures on the Gold Coaſt?

Not any of any kind.

In what manner do they get the clothes they wear?

By the Slave Trade moſt generally.

Are there any manufactures on any part of the Gold Coaſt?
None at all.

Do you mean that they get the clothes from the Europeans concerned in the Slave Trade?
Yes; from the Slave ſhipping that reſort there.

Does the Gold Coaſt produce any articles of commerce beſides Slaves?
I know of none.

What are the limits of the Gold Coaſt?
I believe the extent of the Gold Coaſt may be about 400 miles.

Deſcribe the limits.
I believe it is underſtood from Cape La Hou, or thereabouts, down to the River Volta.

Is any Gold or Ivory to be procured on the Gold Coaſt?
They are both to be procured there in ſmall quantities.

What quantity of Gold might be procured there in the courſe of a year?
Very little I believe—very little of the production of that country alone—but what Gold is there I preſume is brought from the interior parts of the Country, and Ivory the ſame.

In what manner is the Ivory brought down to the Coaſt?
Generally on Slaves ſhoulders—the Slave probably carries a tooth upon his ſhoulder as he walks down to the water-ſide.

Do you mean that they are brought down on the ſhoulders of the Slaves bringing down for ſale?
Yes, I do, as it pays part of the expence of their journey.

Does the Gold Coaſt produce Cotton or Grain for exportation?
It produces both, but not for exportation—they ſupply the ſhipping for food of the Slaves when they want it—As for Cotton, it is not cultivated at all in that Country.

Do you recollect any inſtance of any European trying an experiment to cultivate Cotton?

Yes,

Yes, I have heard that the Dutch attempted it; and although they took a great deal of pains to bring it to ſome kind of perfection, it dwindled to nothing—the Natives would not take to the cultivation.

Do the Dutch cultivate any now there?
Very trifling indeed—I ſuppoſe hardly enough to make wicks for their lamps in their African Settlements.

Does the Gold Coaſt produce Dying Woods?
I never ſaw any there.

Do you know of any other valuable Woods produced there?
I do not know of any valuable Woods, except common Woods, fit for gun-carriages and other carpenters uſe.

From your knowledge of that Country, do you think the Natives could be induced to cultivate Cotton, or any other articles for exportation, if the Slave Trade was aboliſhed?
From the little inclination they ſeem to have towards the cultivation of land, even for their own maintenance, I apprehend they would not cultivate the land from any motive of cultivating it to produce any articles for exportation.

Would they peaceably permit Europeans to eſtabliſh colonies in that Country?
I believe not, ſo far from it, that although land is extremely plenty in that Country, the European Settlements there are obliged to pay them ground-rent for thoſe Settlements—I apprehend they would not ſell the land.

Do you think they would be jealous of the Europeans ſettling there?
Yes, I think they would.

Had the Americans any ſhare in this trade when you was in Africa?
Yes, a great many Americans reſorted there, and do now, I believe, at this time.

Suppoſing the Natives could be prevailed on to cultivate Cotton, and other articles, could thoſe articles be brought down to the Coaſt?
They muſt be brought down by land on people's heads, there is no other way of bringing it.

If the bulky articles were brought down to the Sea-ſide, would it be eaſy to put them on board ſhip?

The landing-places on the Coaſt are at the beſt but very indifferent—but in ſome months particularly, very bad, ſuch as June, July, and Auguſt—from May to Auguſt the ſurf runs high, and makes it dangerous even for the Natives to go from the ſhore to the ſhipping and back again.

In what manner could a hogſhead of ſugar be carried on board ſhip in thoſe four months?

I look on it as an impoſſibility altogether.

At what diſtance do the ſhips lie from the Coaſt?

In thoſe four bad months they lie four miles or more, ſometimes leſs—in fine weather from two to three miles, that is generally the diſtance.

Did the Americans carry on the trade more in the latter part of your time than before?

They carried it on very briſkly till the American war—ſince then I do not know how they have carried it on.

During the time you was there did the ſhips ſail in the day or night?

I do not recollect ever ſeeing one ſail in the night—they generally ſail in the morning with the land-wind.

Is it uſual to make ſignals before they leave the Coaſt?

Yes always.

For how long before they ſail?

Sometimes a month.

What is the object of thoſe ſignals?

I always underſtood it was done for the purpoſe of acquainting the Natives of their intentions to depart, to give them notice to come and receive what might be due to them from the ſhip—and for them to pay to the Captain what they might owe him—This is the motive I underſtood it is done for—but not having been a Captain of a ſhip I only ſuppoſe it is ſo.

Is the ſignal ſuch as muſt be obſerved by the people both on board and on ſhore?

Yes, it is—the Captain fires a gun, and looſes his foretop-

ſail,

ſail, and hoiſts an enſign—The topſail continues looſe, and the enſign is hoiſted every morning till he goes away.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Are not convicted Criminals often ſold for the benefit of thoſe by whom they are tried?

I do not recollect an inſtance.

Did not you, in your examination before the Privy Council, ſay, that in the caſe of Witchcraft the Convicts were ſold for the benefit of the town at large, but principally for that of the principal people of the place?

I might ſay ſo, but I do not recollect it; but if I did, I alluded to the nine perſons I had before ſpoken of, who were part of the family of the man who had been condemned for Witchcraft, and who were ſold at the requeſt of the whole town, who received the money and goods that had been aſked for them, and who I ſuppoſe divided it.

Whether the Pynims or principal people, and the whole town, are not the perſons before whom accuſations of Witchcraft are commonly determined?

I ſhould imagine they were; but I never ſaw a trial of the kind.

What is the meaning of the word you uſed, of their being tried by their own clan?

I mean by clan a number of Slaves belonging to one man, and which he has inherited.

In general, is juſtice well adminiſtered in that country?

It has every appearance of fairneſs.

Are not the ſmalleſt crimes puniſhed with Slavery?

I have already mentioned the crimes which are puniſhed with Slavery.

Is not the ſmalleſt theft puniſhed by the ſale of the delinquent for the benefit of the perſon from whom the article has been ſtolen?

Certainly.

In ſaying that not one perſon leſs would be convicted, though the Slave Trade ſhould be aboliſhed, did you mean aboliſhed only by this country, or by all the other powers who are now engaged in carrying on that trade?

I do not think it would leſſen the crimes in the leaſt, and therefore I do not think it would leſſen the puniſhment—But this is only my opinion.

Queſtion repeated.

I meant to ſay, in general, though it was aboliſhed by all the European powers.

What reaſon have you had to believe, that Slaves who have been refuſed have been ſet aſide for the ſacrifices?

I have heard that ſome of thoſe Slaves have been ſold for that purpoſe, to thoſe people who had thoſe cuſtoms.

What is the motive for thoſe ſacrifices?

It is done from a motive of religion I believe.

Whether a man's own Slaves are not ſometimes ſacrificed at his death?

It happens ſometimes that when a great man dies, a favourite Slave Girl, and a confidential Slave Boy, who takes care of his keys, &c. are ſacrificed with him, in order to attend him in the next world.

Do you conceive it is not imagined in that Country that ſuch ſacrifices are neceſſary to the comfort of the deceaſed?

They think that it is a duty incumbent upon them ſo to do.

If therefore the refuſed Slaves were not purchaſed for this purpoſe, would not their place be ſupplied by theſe Slaves, the property of the deceaſed?

I have not a doubt but that they would.

Are not the Slaves refuſed by our Traders often purchaſed by the Dutch or Danes?

Yes, I believe they generally do buy inferior Slaves in point of quality.

Do you conceive that Slaves become ſo in the interior Country in the ſame manner as they do on the Coaſt?

I cannot ſpeak to that part.

May not Slaves in the interior Country become ſo for acts of delinquency?

I dare ſay they may—I dare ſay their laws may tend ſomething to a ſimilarity, but I am entirely unacquainted with it.

Have you any reaſon to believe that the proportion of Slaves ſold from the families where they have been bred is greater, in the interior country, than it is on the coaſt?

I believe I have already ſaid that Slaves were not bred on the Gold Coaſt for ſale, and therefore I ſhould imagine the number of Slaves brought from the interior parts muſt far exceed any thing of the kind on the Gold Coaſt.

Do you know whether Slaves are bred in the interior parts of the country for ſale?

I do not know that it is ſo—but I conjecture ſo.

What is the reaſon for your conjecturing ſo?

I ſaid before that during the fourteen years I was in Africa there was no war, therefore as theſe Slaves came down to be ſold, and not underſtanding that they were priſoners of war, I preſumed they muſt have been ſold either by their having been bred Slaves, or from crimes they had committed.

During the fourteen years you was in Africa was there any war on the Gold Coaſt?

Not that I recollect.

Why did you conceive that a proportion of the ſupply from the interior countries muſt conſiſt of perſons bred for ſale, becauſe probably not priſoners of war—when, in ſpeaking of the Gold Coaſt, you ſay, that you know there were no wars, and yet that no part of the ſupply conſiſted of Slaves bred for ſale?

Becauſe moſt of the Slaves that were purchaſed on the Gold Coaſt were criminals beyond a doubt.

What reaſon had you to believe that a larger proportion of the Coaſt Slaves were criminals than of thoſe brought from the interior Country?

I cannot ſpeak as to that particular—I ſpeak of the fact I know on the Gold Coaſt—but I believe that as a matter of opinion only—but what I aſſert about the Gold Coaſt I ſpeak from knowledge of the fact.

What

What reaſon then have you for believing that with reſpect to the interior Country, which reaſon does not equally apply to the Gold Coaſt?

I can only ſay I know nothing of the interior parts of the Country, and that I knew perfectly well the Gold Coaſt, and therefore to that I can ſpeak.

The queſtion is not why you believe none of the Slaves ſold on the Gold Coaſt were Slaves bred for ſale—but it is, why you ſtated that a proportion of thoſe brought from the interior Country were of this deſcription—having ſaid that you knew of no wars exiſting on the Gold Coaſt, and could only gueſs or ſpeak doubtfully of there being none in the interior Country?

From the very reaſon, their not being priſoners of war, they muſt either be born or bred for Slaves, or be ſold for crimes—as there is no other ſource of Slavery that I know of.

What ground have you then to believe that any Slaves are bred for ſale in the interior Country?

I have no ground, but it is matter of opinion with reſpect to the interior parts—with reſpect to the Gold Coaſt I ſpeak from knowledge.

What is the temper and diſpoſition of the Inhabitants on the Gold Coaſt?

As to their temper, they are a vindictive kind of people amongſt one another—revengeful—much addicted to theft—that is their general character.

May not Slaves convicted of crimes, and liable to be ſold for the benefit of the party aggrieved, be ſometimes redeemed by offering a compenſation?

If they have friends to advance the value of the Slave who has forfeited his liberty, I believe they are generally allowed to redeem themſelves.

Whether the victims have been obſerved to be extremely dejected, when about to be offered up to the Manes of the deceaſed?

Having never ſeen a ſacrifice of the kind, I cannot ſpeak to that.

Have you not ſeen perſons, who were to be the victims on theſe occaſions, parading about previous to the ſacrifice?

 I have

I have ſeen them at a diſtance, dreſſed, and dancing about—and ſo far from appearing ſorrowful by their geſtures, they appeared quite otherwiſe; but being at a diſtance I cannot ſay whether they were pleaſed or ſorrowful.

If they were pleaſed, did not you ſuppoſe that to reſult from the ſuperſtitious notion that they were about to attend their deceaſed Maſter?

Certainly I think that might have been the cauſe—and I have no doubt that muſt have been the reaſon.

Is the Gold Coaſt a fertile country?

It is by no means fertile, as the ſoil is very rocky.

What are its chief productions?

I believe Corn is the chief produce (Indian Corn) that is of any conſequence.

Does not the ſoil ſeem adapted to other articles, if there was ſufficient encouragement to cultivate them—and what would thoſe articles be?

I have ſeen the Natives now and then cultivate a little Sugar Canes, if it may be called cultivation—they juſt throw it into the earth without any kind of cultivation—but it may be reared in that Country—Cotton grows in that Country—I believe thoſe are the only articles I can ſpeak to.

Do you mean that the ſoil there is adapted to the Cane and to Cotton?

I have ſeen them grow there.

Does it ſeem diſpoſed to no other ſpecies of produce?

I have never ſeen any thing elſe.

Does not Indigo and Dying Woods grow ſpontaneouſly in that Country?

I have ſeen ſomething called by the name of Indigo—but whether it was ſo or not I am no judge, for I never ſaw the plant—as for Dying Wood, I never ſaw any on the Gold Coaſt.

Whether you recollect, in your Evidence before the Privy Council, to have ſtated in ſubſtance that Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, and Dying Wood grow there already ſpontaneouſly?

As to Dying Woods I cannot charge my memory with that,

I never ſaw any but what came from ſome other parts of Africa, and not the growth of the Gold Coaſt.

Is the Gold Coaſt a populous Country?
Yes—very populous.

Are there not conſiderable towns there?
Yes—a good many.

Whence are thoſe towns ſupplied with proviſions?
From the back parts of the Country.

Do you mean the parts of the Country immediately contiguous to the towns, or from great diſtances?

I have already ſaid that the Gold Coaſt in general is a rocky ſoil, and therefore would not admit of ſuch cultivation, and the Natives are obliged to go a good way inland to fetch the Corn, which they bring down on their heads in baſkets; others make uſe of canoes, and bring theſe things by water from ſome other parts of the Coaſt.—That is the mode of their being ſupplied.

Stating the extent of the Gold Coaſt to be 400 miles, where do the Natives who live at a diſtance from either extremity of it fetch their proviſions or are ſupplied with them?

They fetch their proviſions from the inland parts behind them, in baſkets as I have ſtated on their heads, or in canoes by water. —They are ſometimes obliged to go thirty or forty miles by water on the Coaſt to fetch Corn and Yams.

Stating the extent of the coaſt to be 400 miles, how can the inhabitants of the central parts be ſupplied with proviſions by going in canoes only thirty or forty miles?

When I ſaid they were obliged to go thirty or forty miles to fetch Corn and Yams, I meant thereby to ſhew, that although the Country was cultivated behind thoſe towns, to ſome diſtance as I ſuppoſe, yet that the ſoil was not already productive for the maintenance of the inhabitants.

Then is the Committee to underſtand that the thirty or forty miles is not on the Coaſt but up the Country?

How can it be, when I mention canoes, which muſt go on the water?

Do they go along the Coaſt, or up the Country?
Along the Coaſt, no doubt.

From

From what diſtance do you ſuppoſe they fetch their food from behind them?

I do not know—but very often, when I have been under the neceſſity to purchaſe proviſions from them, they have brought Corn to me from the diſtance of five, ſix, or ſeven miles—which they bring, as I ſaid before, on their heads in baſkets.

Is the Committee then to underſtand that the Natives on the Coaſt fetch their Corn from no greater diſtance than five, ſix, or ſeven miles, for the ſupplying thoſe populous diſtricts?

I cannot ſpeak poſitively to the diſtance—it may be greater—it may be thirty miles inland for what I know.

Do you ſuppoſe that the Corn is cultivated by the Slaves of the perſon for whoſe benefit it is ſold?

They have no idea of cultivation at all—The method of making a plantation in that Country is, after having picked out the ſpot which they intend for this plantation, to cut down all the ſmall and green trees that are upon it, without grubbing or giving themſelves the trouble to root them up—they ſuffer thoſe buſhes and ſmall trees to dry in the ſun—when they are ſufficiently dry they ſet fire to them—the aſhes remaining on the ground, they throw the Corn promiſcuouſly on the aſhes, without digging the ground, or any thing of that ſort, and they truſt to futurity for its coming up.

Do you mean that this is the mode of cultivation in the interior parts of the Country, or on the Coaſt only?

I ſpeak from ocular demonſtration on the Gold Coaſt.

By whom are the trees cut down and burnt, in the manner you have deſcribed?

By the perſon who has a mind to rear the Corn—if he has Slaves they help him; if not, he and his family do it.

Are famines frequent in that Country?

Yes—I have known Indian Corn exceedingly ſcarce indeed.

Are the Canoe-men on the Gold Coaſt Negroes?

All Negroes.

Do not the Natives ſometimes work in the ſhips of the Europeans?

I believe it never happened, but when from ſickneſs or other

ſcauſes they are obliged to employ them—they do on thoſe occaſions; but they are often employed in boats on the Coaſt, in order to ſave the ſeamen in the ſhips.

Have not ſome of the Natives a conſiderable number of Slaves in that country?

Some of them have, as I ſaid before—it is the number of the Slaves that enhances the conſequence of the man.

In what ſervices are they employed?

I cannot poſitively ſay in what they are employed—it depends, I ſuppoſe, on the will of the maſter.

If it were not for the barrenneſs of the ſoil, might they not be advantageouſly employed in the cultivation of Cotton and other articles?

I have already ſaid that the Dutch attempted the cultivation of Cotton; and in order to induce the Natives to follow their example, they had a number of their own Slaves on this Cotton Plantation, and they invited a number of Free Natives to come and aſſiſt thoſe Slaves, hoping in time, I ſuppoſe, that the Natives would take a liking to the cultivation of Cotton; but inſtead of that, the Natives, ſo far from aſſiſting, they never gave themſelves any trouble about it, and the plantations dwindled away to nothing.

Did not the Dutch continue to carry on the Slave Trade at the ſame time that they tried this experiment of inducing the Natives to cultivate Cotton?

At this part of the Coaſt where this Plantation was attempted there is very little Slave Trade—the trade there chiefly conſiſts of Gold and Ivory.

How is the Ivory brought down to that part of the Coaſt?

By Black Traders.

In what manner?

On their ſhoulders—either with people that come with them to fetch their goods back again, or, if they have Slaves to ſell, on the ſhoulders of the Slaves.—I would beg leave to remark, at the ſame time that I ſaid the trade for Gold there was the chief trade, they are obliged to bring down a number of people to carry back the goods ſo purchaſed with that Gold; and therefore, when they have no Slaves to ſell, thoſe people that are to carry the goods back again bring down the Ivory to the market.

If

If any articles of produce could be found, which notwithſtanding the natural barrenneſs of the Coaſt might be produced in conſiderable quantities, might it not be hoped that a deſire of being ſupplied with European manufactures would induce the cultivation of thoſe articles?

I have already ſaid the natural indolence of the Natives is a total bar to any induſtry whatever.

Is the Gold and Ivory brought down to the Coaſt from any conſiderable diſtance?

I do not know the diſtance—I have heard them talk of the Gold Mines being a great way inland, how far I cannot ſay—and I have every reaſon to believe the Teeth that are brought to the Gold Coaſt are brought a good way from the interior country.

Have they plenty of iron tools in that country?

They have none, or few, but what are imported from Europe.

Are thoſe few made from Native Iron, or from Bar Iron imported from Europe?

What tools I have ſeen were made of Bar Iron imported from Europe; but when I ſpeak of tools, I mean to be underſtood a kind of Hoe—I do not know whether they can make a Hatchet in that Country.

Are thoſe Hoes, be they made how they may, in plenty?

No, not at all—they cannot be plentiful, becauſe the cultivation is not great.—They are obliged to have Hoes when they cultivate Yams.

Of what claſs of the people are the perſons uſually accuſed of Witchcraft?

I do not know they are of any particular claſs.

Do you know whether any perſons of the higher claſſes of ſociety are ever accuſed of Witchcraft?

I dare ſay they may be accuſed of it, as well as thoſe of an inferior order.

Do you know whether in point of fact any ſuch perſons ever are ſo accuſed?

I never ſaw an inſtance that came within my own knowledge of a perſon being convicted of Witchcraft, but that family which I have already mentioned, and they were neither of the ſuperior claſs nor inferior claſs of people.

If one of a family is accuſed of Witchcraft, are any others of the ſame family conſidered as principals?

They are ſo much ſo that the whole family are always extirpated, without regard to perſons.—I mean to ſay, that no favour is ſhewn to any one of the family.

Are then ſuch other perſons conſidered as actually guilty, or are they puniſhed merely as belonging to the guilty perſon?

I apprehend the fear of the family being all concerned in Witchcraft is the reaſon they are all extirpated.

Were the ſale of Slaves prevented, would perſons convicted of Witchcraft be ſacrificed?

Certainly.

Would the innocent relations of a perſon convicted of Witchcraft be ſacrificed?

Yes—I am certain they would.

Why do you believe ſo?

Becauſe it is a caſe which has happened within my knowledge whilſt I commanded at the fort of Anamaboe.—A woman who was accuſed of Witchcraft, or the wife of a man accuſed of Witchcraft was brought to me (ſhe was very old) to purchaſe.—I did not know then if I refuſed to purchaſe her that ſhe would be put to death, I therefore refuſed her.—She went away with the perſons who brought her; and upon being informed by one of my ſervants that it was the intent of the people in town to cut her head off, I ſent a meſſenger immediately after thoſe people, to ſay I would take the woman, and give them ſomething for her, rather than ſhe ſhould loſe her life; but unfortunately my meſſenger arrived five minutes too late, and her head was off her ſhoulders.

Are the Slaves made in war ever incorporated into the nation which has taken them?

I do not know I ever bought a Slave that had been a priſoner of war, and therefore cannot ſpeak to that ſubject.

Are you at preſent engaged in the Slave Trade?

I am.

Can you form any idea of the total population of the Gold Coaſt?

I cannot.

Did

Did you hear of women being ſent out by men, who either were or pretended to be their huſbands, to ſeduce men, whom they afterwards accuſed of adultery?

In order to anſwer this queſtion I muſt, in the firſt place, inform the Committee, that upon the Gold Coaſt the men of conſequence generally have a number of wives, ſome more, ſome leſs—ſometimes twenty, two dozen, three dozen—I have not a doubt but many of theſe women may go out and entrap the unwary—I dare ſay it is as common on the Coaſt as it may be here in London—there is only this difference, that in Africa it is attended with the loſs of liberty.

Have you not reaſon to believe that they are ſometimes ſent out by their chiefs (their huſbands) for the purpoſe of entrapping men?

I do not believe it is done—there may be ſome abandoned characters, but I do not believe it is uſual.

Then do you mean to ſay it is not ſometimes the caſe?

I can neither aſſert nor deny it—it is not a fact that has come within my knowledge.

When there has been a deficiency of ſlaves on the Coaſt brought from the interior Country, did you hear it at the time imputed to the exiſtence of wars?

I have been told ſo—but I did not hear of a war while I was in Africa—I have been told that wars put a ſtop to the trade.

Do you recollect that ſuch occaſional ſcarcities have ever been ſucceeded by a more than ordinary plenty?

I cannot ſay that while I was on the Coaſt there was a ſcarcity—the quantity was nearly equal during the whole time I was on the Coaſt.

While the ſhips are ſlaving on the Coaſt, are there many Black Brokers in the ſhip at once?

Yes; there are three, four, five, or ſix, according to the ſize of the ſhip.

Do they all uſually remain on board till the ſhip ſails?

They attend on the ſhip from the day of her arrival to the day of her departure—they are paid ſo much per day, or in ſome other manner.

Does the European Trader ever enquire of the Black Broker in what manner his Slaves are procured?

I believe he very ſeldom makes the enquiry—the Slaves being brought on board in canoes, they know that the Slave is fairly brought, and therefore they give themſelves no further trouble about it.

At which of the Dutch factories was the cultivation of cotton attempted?

At the fort called Axim.

To what extent was that attempt made?

I cannot ſpeak as to the extent of the cultivation; but it was pretty conſiderable.

Does the difficulty of landing on the Gold Coaſt exiſt throughout the year?

There is more or leſs difficulty throughout the year—the landings generally are very bad.

Whereabouts is the burthen or ſize of the largeſt canoe employed on that coaſt?

The largeſt canoe I have ſeen employed was one paddled by twenty-one Blacks—and I believe I have ſeen only two of that deſcription during the fourteen years I was in Africa—I cannot ſpeak as to the burthen.

Might not ſugar be as eaſily packed in ſmall caſks as in hogſheads?

I know nothing of the proceſs of packing or unpacking of ſugar—therefore am no judge.

Do you know the ſize of a hogſhead of ſugar?

I have ſeen them on the quays, but cannot ſay exactly what was the ſize.

Do you not think that it would be very poſſible to convey a barrel of ſugar, of a ſize much inferior to a hogſhead, from the Coaſt to a veſſel lying off for the purpoſe of trade?

No doubt, the caſk of the ſize of a common water-caſk, filled with ſugar, might be carried on board in the ſame manner as the water itſelf is.

In what manner are the five forts, of which you were governor, fortified?

The Fort of Anamaboe, the principal fort of trade, is a ſquare fort.

Then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Witneſs was aſked,

Are there not cannon mounted on all thoſe forts?
Certainly, elſe they would be of no uſe.

Do you know in what manner theſe cannon were conveyed on ſhore?
I have ſeen ſome conveyed on ſhore on I believe it is called a Cattamaran.—I believe there were four or ſix 42-pounders ſent from England—they were about a month in landing them on this Cattamaran, with all aſſiſtance they could get from on ſhore and the ſhip too.

What is the weight of a 42-pounder?
I cannot ſay.

Is there not a blackſmith's ſhop in the Caſtle Yard at Cape Coaſt Caſtle?
Yes, there is.

Who work there?
The Slaves belonging to the Company.

What kind of work do they perform?
That which belongs to the profeſſion of a blackſmith—making hinges, &c.

Do they not do heavy work?
I do not know what is meant by heavy work.

Do they not work up large bar-iron into a variety of tools and implements?
Common bar-iron they do.

You have ſtated that ſacrifices take place on the death of conſiderable perſons, and that they regard it as a religious duty to the Manes of the deceaſed—do they make human ſacrifices on any other occaſion?
I believe not, on the Gold Coaſt.

Are the ſacrifices on thoſe occaſions which you mentioned numerous?

It depends entirely on the rank and condition of the perſon who is the object of the ſacrifice.

Do they ſacrifice any other beſides his confidential Slaves?

Certainly they do—it depends entirely on the number they mean to ſacrifice to add to the confidential Slaves any number they think proper.

Is it in your power to give any idea of the number to which theſe ſacrifices may extend annually in that diſtrict of which you ſpeak?

I cannot ſay any thing about the numbers.

Are you at all acquainted with the average number of Slaves annually exported from the whole Coaſt of Africa to the different European Settlements?

It is impoſſible for me to ſay, never having been in any other part but the Gold Coaſt.

If the demand for Slaves on the Gold Coaſt were greater do you apprehend a larger number could be furniſhed?

I have found that upon the Gold Coaſt, when there was a great number of ſhips there, they have not gone off ſo quick with their cargo as they would have done if there had been a leſs number—from which I apprehend if the demand was increaſed, unleſs they came from ſome other part, there would be ſtill nearly the ſame number.

Do you apprehend that if there was no market for Slaves on the Gold Coaſt, Thefts of the ſmalleſt deſcription would be puniſhed with death?

No—I do not apprehend Thefts would be puniſhed with death—they would be ſold for Slaves to ſome of the inland tribes.

Do any of the inland tribes now come down to the Gold Coaſt for the purpoſe of buying Slaves?

No, becauſe they cannot afford to give the price; nor can they give the goods the Natives want for them.

Mention the comparative number of the Slaves ſold off the Gold Coaſt, of thoſe which belong to that Country, and of thoſe which are brought from the interior Country?

I believe

I believe I have already anſwered that—I believe it is about one-third belonging to the Gold Coaſt, but I cannot be accurate.

If the Europeans were to attempt to extend the cultivation of Cotton, Indigo, or Sugar, or any produce congenial to the ſoil of the Country, could they carry it on by any other means than by the purchaſe of Slaves?

They certainly could never carry it on by themſelves, and therefore I am of opinion they muſt employ Slaves.

Was it the general prevailing opinion on the Coaſt that Slaves brought from the interior Country were bred Slaves, and not Convicts?

I do not know what the opinion on the Coaſt may be, but it is my opinion they are both.

Was it the head of the family you bought who was tried and convicted of Witchcraft?

The perſon convicted of courſe was executed, he had his head cut off—his father, mother, two wives, and his ſiſter and three children, which were all that remained of the family, were ſold to me, on condition that they ſhould never return to that country again.

Did you ever hear of the diſeaſe called the Locked Jaw on the Coaſt of Africa?

No—I never heard of ſuch a diſorder.

Do you believe that female Slaves could be procured on the Gold Coaſt in numbers equal to male Slaves?

I think not.

Why do you think ſo?

Becauſe every man of the leaſt independency keeps two or three wives, or as many as he likes, and theſe women do all the drudgery of fetching water and proviſions—they very ſeldom work in the field, but they bring in the corn, and fetch water.

Did you ever know of an inſurrection on board of a Slave ſhip on the Coaſt of Africa, where the Slaves overcame the crew, and got back to ſhore?

I have heard of ſuch a thing, but never ſaw it.

Did you hear what became of thoſe Slaves who ſo got back?

I fancy they were all taken up again by the Natives on ſhore, and re-ſold.

Do you believe that the communication which the Africans on the Sea Coaſt have had with Europeans, has tended to give them a more equitable government than they would otherwiſe have had?

It has had ſome little effect on their outward appearance and manner; but as to government or morals, or any thing of that ſort, I believe they are exactly in the ſame ſtate now as they were ſome centuries ago.

Do you underſtand that the mode of trial which you have deſcribed has obtained on the Sea Coaſt of Africa for a great length of time?

I believe, from the tradition of the Natives, it has exiſted from time immemorial.

What cattle have they on the Gold Coaſt?

No cattle of burthen—very few Bulls and Cows—I might ſay none, for it is a luxury to poſſeſs any.

Have the Europeans any gardens or plantations on the Gold Coaſt?

They have gardens to raiſe ſuch vegetables as they may want for their own uſe, which they are at a great deal of trouble to cultivate.

What creates that great trouble?

The amazing heat and dryneſs of the ſoil, which makes it neceſſary to pay a great deal of attention to the plants.

Did you ſee any Africans ſettled on the Gold Coaſt, who had before been ſettled in Europe, or the Weſt Indies?

Yes—I have ſeen a good many free Blacks return that had taken their paſſage from Africa to the Weſt Indies, and from the Weſt Indies to London.

What courſe of life did they follow after their return?

For the firſt month they were very proud to ſhew themſelves to all their friends and relations in their European dreſs, and got drunk with them as often as they poſſibly could—then they got tired of their clothing, which they found too warm for them —they

—they then took to the two yards of cloth round their middle, and walked about naked like the reſt of them.

Have you ever enquired or aſked of the perſons of the family that you purchaſed what is the nature of the proofs that had been required to convict the principal of the family of Witchcraft?

That queſtion has been aſked and anſwered before, that I never ſaw a trial of the kind—I never aſked the perſons any thing about it—but from the circumſtance of the whole town attending their going off the Beach when they were ſo condemned, I preſume they would not have ſuffered them to depart ſo publickly if they had not conceived they had had a fair trial.

Was you ever preſent at the trial of any perſons convicted of any offences, for which they were afterwards ſold for Slaves?

No, never—it was not my buſineſs to attend ſuch trial.

Have you not ſaid that the whole town participated in the profit ariſing from the ſale of thoſe perſons condemned for Witchcraft?

In this inſtance it might be ſo, becauſe I fancy that this was a particular caſe, but in general I believe it is not ſo.

Wherein conſiſted the peculiarity of this inſtance?

Becauſe a number of people in that town had died from cauſes unknown, and it was laid to this man's charge.

Was not this the only inſtance of a condemnation for Witchcraft you ever knew?

That is the only one I had ocular demonſtration of.

Does it frequently happen that the largeſt canoes, which you have deſcribed, are overſet going off through the ſurf, and coming in?

I have generally obſerved that the large canoes are more eaſily overſet than the ſmall ones.—As to the twenty-one-hand canoes, I before obſerved I never ſaw but two, and thoſe I never ſaw overſet.

Does not the ſurf frequently break in upon thoſe large canoes, ſo as to deſtroy or damage any goods they may have on board?

Certainly.

Do you believe it practicable that either ſugar or ſalt, or any

commodity that is liable to melt, can be brought off or carried on ſhore in the craft that is uſed on that Coaſt?

No, not as long as the coaſt of Africa exiſts, I am ſure.

If ſugar were embarked in caſks, do you conceive they would be injured by the ſurf?

If they were tight caſks, ſo as to be impenetrable to the water, I have no doubt but ſugar might be carried through any ſurf.

Do you know the kind of caſks in which ſugar is embarked from the Weſt Indies?

I never had any thing to do directly or indirectly with ſugar—I have already ſaid ſo.

Do you think that in ſuch caſks as you have ſeen on the quays the ſugar could go ſafe through the ſurf?

There never was, I think, a canoe on the Gold Coaſt capable of taking in a hogſhead of ſugar, ſuch as I have ſeen on the quays.

In what manner is the Corn, and other Proviſions, carried from the ſhore to the ſhips?

Corn, the chief article, is generally carried on board in tight puncheons, well trimmed—Iron-bound caſks—that in caſe of being overſet, which is often the caſe with canoes, that they might not be damaged.

Are not the ſame canoes equally well adapted to the carriage of ſugar, indigo, or any other commodity?

Certainly I think the ſugar will be as dry in ſuch caſks as the corn.

Whether ſugar or indigo are commodities as valuable and as well able to bear the expence of ſuch a package, as Indian Corn?

As to the expence it is none—the caſks belong to the ſhip; they are water-caſks.

Do you confine your information to Cape Coaſt, or do you ſpeak to the whole Coaſt?

The whole Gold Coaſt.

Are there no landing-places on the Gold Coaſt where the canoes do not come through a great ſurf?

I know of none where there is not a ſurf more or leſs dangerous.

Was you ever at Dixcove?
I commanded upwards of two years as Chief of that fort.

Did you ever ſee a King's ſhip's boat on ſhore there?
Yes, I ſaw one there once.

Could one of thoſe boats land at Cape Coaſt?
No.

Do they not uſe ſugar on the coaſt of Guinea?
Yes.

How is it landed?
Generally landed in tight puncheons.

You mean all ſorts of ſugar?
They generally uſe loaf ſugar—fine ſugar.

Which is the greater riſk, the going on ſhore, or the coming off bringing a cargo?
The coming off ſhore is certainly the greateſt danger; and where a canoe is overſet once going aſhore, it is overſet ten times at leaſt in going off from the ſhore.

Did you ever know ten canoes overſet all the time you was at Dixcove?
I believe, beſides my own, there was not above one or two canoes belonging to the people of the town—When I ſpeak of ten to one, I ſpeak of the average of the Coaſt all along, good, bad, and indifferent.

Do not the King's ſhips wood and water off Cape Coaſt?
Yes.

In what is it brought on board?
In canoes from the ſhore.

Is it cuſtomary for thoſe canoes to be overſet?
Very often at ſome ſeaſons.

Do you mean carrying off the wood and water to the King's ſhips?
I cannot ſay they are more particularly overſet then than at any other time.

Will you ſpecify any inſtance where any ſuch boat was overſet?

I cannot ſpecify any particular occaſion, and a good cauſe why, becauſe the King's ſhips, while I was in Africa, had generally contrived to come there in the fine ſeaſon, when the ſea was very ſmooth, and there was very little ſurf—which is not the caſe at other times from May to the latter end of Auguſt.

Is there any wood to be got on the Coaſt of Guinea fit to ſplit into ſtaves to make tight caſks of?

I do not believe there is.

Was not the Fort of Anamaboe built by an Engineer ſent out under the direction of the Board of Ordnance?

I have been told ſo; and it is the beſt built Fort in Africa, without any exception.

Do you ſuppoſe the abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain would make any material alteration in the criminal law of that Country?

I ſaid before I thought the puniſhment could be the ſame.

Do you know what uſe the Arabs and Moors make of the Slaves they purchaſe?

I do not know—but I believe it is a traffic they carry on for their own benefit.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

JOHN

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

He has been in various capacities for ſome time paſt on the Gold Coaſt of Africa.

How long did you reſide on the Gold Coaſt?
Ever ſince the year 1778 to the 30th of January laſt, 1789.

Did you reſide in different parts of that Coaſt?
Only three parts—Cape Coaſt Caſtle, Tantum, and Accra.

In what capacity?
When I arrived firſt on the Coaſt, I took the command of the Company's troops there—after that I became a factor for the Company—then ſecond of Accra—and after that ſecond of Tantum—and laſtly Governor of Tantum.

Did you confine yourſelf to the forts, or go into the country to any diſtance?
Entirely to the forts, except in paſſing from one to the other.

What are the diſtances between the forts from one to the other?
Cape Coaſt is forty miles from Tantum, and from Cape Coaſt to Accra between eighty and ninety miles; it may be more from Cape Coaſt to Accra—ninety, or thereabouts.

Did you underſtand the language of the country?
I did not ſpeak it; but I comprehended moſt of what I heard from the Natives of the Fantee language.

Did you become acquainted with the manner in which perſons became Slaves in that country?
In part I have—they come under various deſcriptions, and are principally Convicts.—There are others made Slaves from an impropriety of conduct in their family, I allude to Gaming—and others for Witchcraft.

Do you conſider perſons made Slaves for Debt as coming under the deſcription of Convicts, or a different claſs?
By no means as coming under the deſcription of Convicts; but I conceive when the debt is incurred under the head of Gaming, it then produces many Slaves.

Do perſons enter into a ſtate of Slavery in conſequence of Debt?

No doubt; having not wherewith to pay, they are ſeized and made Slaves of by their creditors.

Do you know whether any are made Slaves in conſequence of being taken priſoners in war?

I cannot ſay I do—I have not heard of many wars on the Coaſt during my reſidence there.

Were there any wars on the Gold Coaſt during the eleven years you reſided there?

I have ſeen a kind of war among the Natives of different towns, but not of any duration—who have fought among themſelves, but it has been ſoon determined.

In what number did they meet?

Between three and four thouſand of them all together.

Did ſuch meeting produce many Slaves?

None at all.

Can you ſay in what manner perſons made Slaves for crimes were tried?

They are in general tried by the Pynims or Elders of each town or diſtrict where the crime is committed.

Is the trial open?

It is generally, I believe always, carried on in the open ſtreet, or in a large place open to every one who choſe to go there.

Do the Judges receive any benefit from their conviction?

I apprehend not—as far as comes within my own knowledge I believe not.

For whoſe benefit are they ſold as Slaves?

I believe it is for the benefit of thoſe perſons againſt whom the offence is committed.

Do you include the offence of Witchcraft in this account of the trial for offences?

Not generally—but in one particular inſtance I remember to have ſeen a ſimilar ſort of trial for Witchcraft, which happened at Tantum, about eight months ago.—A man was brought into the

the ſtreet, and offered for ſale—he was a man of ſome conſideration in the town.—After the Pynims had ſet on his trial, under the Palaver-tree, and they had condemned him, they brought him into the fort for ſale—but being an old man, and from a former acquaintance with him, being ſenſible that he was a great villain, I refuſed to have any thing to do with him—he was accordingly taken to Lagoo, a place dependent on Tantum, and ſold there.

Does a conviction for this crime involve in it other perſons beſides the perſon actually accuſed of the crime?

It generally involves the whole family.

Are they a ſuperſtitious people?

Very much ſo.

Does the belief of the exiſtence of Witchcraft prevail much in the Country?

It no doubt does: but I am led to believe that it oftentimes means poiſon.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Veneris, 12° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſſes examined,

JEROME BARN. WEUVES, Eſq;

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire.

N° 6.

Lunæ, 15° *die Junii* 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire, was again called in.

Are you at preſent concerned with the African Trade, or at all connected with it?
Not at all.

Did you, during your reſidence in that country, acquire any knowledge of the governments there?
In ſome degree I have.

Will you deſcribe the forms of government you was any ways acquainted with?
All perſons who are deemed offenders, are generally brought before the Pynims of any town or diſtrict in which they reſide. Perſons appear to make good the charge againſt the delinquent, and, upon full conviction, they are adjudged to puniſhment.

Does this practice extend far inland, or is it confined to the Gold Coaſt?

I have heard that offenders inland are tried in a ſimilar manner, but I cannot ſpeak to any thing but what I have ſeen or know on the Coaſt.

Have you any knowledge, or have you received good information, of the government of the interior parts of the country?

I cannot ſpeak to that queſtion, having no knowledge of the interior parts of the country.

Were wars frequent on the Coaſt during your reſidence there?

I never heard of any, excepting what I have deſcribed the laſt time I was at this Bar, between the inhabitants of Cape Coaſt Town—one diſtrict againſt the other;—but I ſhould apprehend, that if wars were frequent, from my long reſidence in that country I ſhould have been made acquainted with the circumſtance, which I never have been.

Can you ſay, whether the number of perſons made Slaves, in conſequence of capture in war, bear any, and what, proportion to the number of perſons made Slaves on other accounts?

I have already ſaid, that I have not heard of wars being frequent in Africa, I cannot therefore conceive that any very great number of the Slaves ſold off that Coaſt were priſoners of war, though I am led to believe ſome are.

Have you any reaſon to believe that wars are made for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

As far as the queſtion extends to the Whites, I am ſure they are not: with reſpect to the Blacks, I believe there are wars among them at times (though I am not juſtified in ſaying it from my own knowledge) and this may produce ſome Slaves.—The Blacks are naturally a turbulent unquiet people, and thence it is I take my opinion.

Did you ever know any Europeans aſſiſt in fomenting war amongſt the Africans?

I never did—on the contrary, I know that Europeans have frequently been aſſiſting in ſettling their palavers of quarrels and diſpute, which otherwiſe might have had bad conſequences.

Did you ever know villages pillaged for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I never heard of ſuch a thing, I ſhould think it impracticable—particularly by the Whites.

Did you ever know Europeans privately ſteal perſons for making Slaves—what we call kidnapping?

I never heard of ſuch a thing, nor do I conceive that ſuch a thing ever exiſted on the Coaſt.

Is the method of carrying on the trade in Slaves, between the Europeans and the Natives, ſuch as would diſcover and bring to light ſuch a practice if it prevailed there?

No doubt it would; and one European, experiencing a loſs of trade in conſequence of ſuch an act, would, as well from duty as intereſted motives, make his complaint to the Governor and Council on the Coaſt, as well as to perſons in England.

Will you deſcribe the method in which the trade is carried on, on the Coaſt?

When a Slave is brought down, he is generally conſigned to the care of a Black Broker; who, either on the day he arrives in the town, or the following, brings him, with the perſon to whom he belongs, to be purchaſed—the Goods are then ſhewn to the Broker, and the perſon who wants to ſell the Slave—and if there is any piece of Goods objectionable, or that he wiſhes to change, he is at liberty to do ſo, in order to ſatisfy the Trader.—I have been two hours, frequently, in the purchaſe of one Slave —Should he however decline the whole barter or aſſortment offered to him, he is at liberty to take the Slave away, and carry him to any other perſon.

Is it uſual for ſome of the free Natives of the country to continue on board the ſhip during the whole or greateſt part of the time this Trade is carrying on?

I believe, on an average, there are ſeldom leſs than ſix free People — uſually called Gold Takers—Natives and reſident of Anamaboe, who are conſtantly on board the ſhips.

If any Slave had been kidnapped, or unfairly taken, would he have an opportunity of making his complaint?

He no doubt would; and I am certain, having been a Member of the Council myſelf, it would have come within the compaſs of my knowledge if there ever had been ſuch a practice.

Do you then think that the practice of kidnapping prevails even amongſt the Natives themſelves?

I ſhould

I ſhould wiſh to ſpeak with caution—I never heard of ſuch a thing exiſting on the Coaſt, although it is poſſible ſuch a thing may have been among the Natives—but I know of no ſuch thing—and I never heard of it.

If it ſhould happen, would it be puniſhed in that country?
I ſhould apprehend it would—I am ſure it would on the Gold Coaſt.

Are the Natives themſelves in poſſeſſion of any great quantity of Slaves?
They are—ſome more and ſome leſs—according to the extent and magnitude of their kingdoms or poſſeſſions.

Are Slaves in that country conſidered as a common medium of traffick and merchandize?
They are.

Are there any diſtinctions among the Slaves which the inhabitants poſſeſs, as to domeſtic and other Slaves?
I know but of two diſtinctions—one, thoſe Slaves that they have poſſeſſed by hereditary right; theſe I know cannot be ſold unleſs for ſome crime, and then only by the general conſent of the other domeſtic Slaves—the others, are thoſe they have purchaſed themſelves, and whom, without any interference of their domeſtic Slaves, they are at liberty to diſpoſe of whenever they pleaſe.

Do you then mean to ſay, that the diſtinction between domeſtic and other Slaves does not relate to the ſervice in which they are employed, but to their having been inherited or purchaſed?
I mean to ſay, that one being hereditary property, incorporated with others of a ſimilar deſcription, are not diſpoſed of but by the concurrence of the reſt—that others, of the latter deſcription, may be ſold without this Form; ſubject however to trial before the Pynims and others.

If a free native of Africa has been convicted of any offence, in what manner is he puniſhed?
It depends in a great meaſure on the offence committed—I have known a man, who was made a priſoner in Cape Coaſt Caſtle, at the requeſt of his Maſter, and who I believe had committed little or no fault, taken from thence by his Maſter, and put to death in a very cruel manner;—the Black's name, very well known to reſidents, is John Quamina.

If

If a fine is impoſed on a man for an offence, is that fine to be paid in Slaves, or is it impoſed in a certain number of Slaves?

I really cannot ſpeak with any certainty, with reſpect to that—the Blacks are fined among themſelves, and the perſon againſt whom the ſuit is inſtituted (provided he is in the wrong) is obliged to make good all expences attendant on it—ſhould they not be able to ſettle this with gold, or any other article that might be received, I believe ſome of his family or Slaves would be ſeized, and made priſoners until he did it.

In ſuch caſe, can you ſay whether the domeſtic or hereditary Slaves might be ſo ſeized?

I apprehend both the hereditary and purchaſed Slaves.

When you ſay that both the hereditary and purchaſed Slaves might be ſo ſeized on—do you mean that ſuch Slave might be taken and ſold for the debt or puniſhment of his maſter?

I do not apprehend that the hereditary Slave is often ſold—there is a long proceſs before that can be the caſe, and a man will prefer oftentimes the ſeizing any of the perſon's own family, rather than his domeſtic Slaves—but I ſhould conceive all are liable to the debts he owes.

Is there a proceſs by which every man's domeſtic Slaves may be ſold for the debt or puniſhment of his maſter?

No doubt a man who has Slaves, committing an offence, or being involved in debt, makes his Slaves, or any other property he has, liable thereto.

May a man, condemned to ſlavery, redeem himſelf by finding another Slave in his place?

In moſt caſes he may—in one or two particular caſes he cannot.

Mention thoſe caſes?

In particular, if a man ſhould conceive himſelf to be bewitched, or, in other words, made ſick by poiſon, and he can fix it upon a particular perſon, ſo as to be aſſured that he had committed the offence—he will then ſell him, under a reſtriction, to the perſon to whom he ſells him, that he ſhall not be redeemed.

Do you mean to confine the ſuppoſed crime of Witchcraft to the caſe in which a man may conceive himſelf to be made ſick? or does it apply to other caſes, in which a man may conceive that either his perſon or his property has been injured by the exerciſe of ſome ſupernatural arts, by the perſon whom he accuſes?

I have known an inſtance very lately, in which a man by the name of Awiſhee, a man of conſiderable note, and one of the beſt traders reſiding at Tantum, was ſaid to be bewitched—a day or two after I heard this, I heard of his death; and the perſon accuſed, with his family, who himſelf was a Pynim, or Head of the town, had a formal trial—I ſaw the Pynims ſit under the Palaver-tree for that purpoſe, and paſſed them repeatedly—the reſult of the determination was, to ſell the old Pynim, and drive all the reſt of the family out of the town; which they did—I converſed with many of the Blacks who were at this trial, and who all ſeemed thoroughly ſenſible that what was called Witchcraft, in this particular inſtance was really poiſon—and they affirmed that Awiſhee was poiſoned.—There was another inſtance, of a ſimilar nature, with reſpect to the Cabboſheer of Tantum, whilſt I commanded there—he was taken ſick in the morning, reported to be bewitched; but died, as I was informed by many of the Natives, by poiſon, before ſix o'clock in the evening.

What was the mode of trial, in that caſe, of the offender, and what the puniſhment?

The Cabboſheer was a Mulatto man—he had been formerly a Company's ſoldier, but by hereditary right became Cabboſheer of Tantum. He himſelf being a Mulatto, and not having a very large family, or people in power to make the enquiry (which would have been done if he had been a Black man of any conſiderable note) the matter fell to the ground.

What is a Cabboſheer?

It is the name of office—the King—Head Man.

Are the trials for Witchcraft, in general, carried on in the manner in which you deſcribed the former trial, or in a more private manner?

I never ſaw any but the one I inſtanced; but I apprehend, and believe, and think I have been informed, that any perſon of any particular family, charged with this crime, is tried by his own family, in conjunction with the hereditary Slaves, provided he is a Slave—if a Free man, by the Pynims or Heads of the town.—But this is mere information.

Then you was never preſent but at one trial yourſelf?

I never was—nor was I preſent at that I have deſcribed—I paſſed through the town, and ſaw them ſitting, and was informed by the Natives, as well as my own ſervants, that it was on that account.

Is there any other crime, of which a perſon being convicted, and condemned to Slavery, is not permitted to redeem himſelf by finding another Slave in his room?

I believe in caſes of very ill behaviour, and of which a Slave has been frequently convicted, ſo as to become notorious, the perſon who ſells him will reſtrain the purchaſer from redeeming him.

In ſuch caſe, is it expreſsly ſtipulated, that ſuch Slaves ſhall be carried away from the country?

I have frequently experienced this to be the caſe.

In the crime of Adultery, is it ever ſtipulated that the offender ſhall not be permitted to remain in the country?

I have known it to be the caſe, and I have known it otherwiſe.

For ſuch crime, is a man ever puniſhed by a fine of ſeveral Slaves, in the caſe of his being wealthy? or is the puniſhment confined to his own perſonal loſs of liberty?

If a man is of any real conſequence or conſideration, they are not contented to ſeize him, but will take many Slaves; but if the Slave of a great man, or Prince, ſhould commit this crime with his (the Prince's) wives, I apprehend they would put him to death.

Do you know whether the practice of Human Sacrifices prevails in that country?

I know it does.—At Appolonia, I have been informed by the Governor himſelf, who was a very reſpectable man, that he has ſeen perſons, altogether unacquainted with any intention of their being to be put to death, ſeized in the market-place, by a rope being thrown over their heads, and, after being dragged near half a mile, put to death in various manners —I have heard him ſay, that ſome have had ſwords run croſs ways thro' them—others their heads ſawed off—this is a common practice, it has been done even near Cape Coaſt Caſtle.—I aſked him how many he had ſeem ſo ſacrificed—his anſwer was, That at the death of old Baw and Ammoneer, the two Cabboſheers, he believed that near 300 had been put to death, in various manners.

I remember alſo at Cape Coaſt, upon the death of the man I mentioned, John Quamina, as he was a great man, a great Cabboſheer, and lived near the Fort, the Governor, and the Whites reſident in the Fort, were fearful that ſome would be ſacrificed.

His family were therefore ſent to, and told, that in caſe they had any ſuch intention, the Fort, if it was done within reach of their Guns, would fire at the houſe; where he was ſitting in ſtate, powdered all over with Gold. I ſaw him, and heard the meſſage delivered to his family, and a promiſe on their parts that none ſhould be ſacrificed; notwithſtanding which, a very fine boy and girl were knocked on the head with an elephant's tooth—one was buried under his coffin, and the other on the top of it.

Was the Governor of Appolonia, with whom you had this converſation, the preſent or late Governor?

Neither—the Governor I allude to was Governor Dickſon, who is ſince dead; but I believe many in Africa, and in Europe, know the circumſtance to be as I have related it.

Does the practice of ſacrificing Slaves prevail, in a greater or leſs degree, on the death of all perſons of condition, in that country?

I believe it exiſted formerly much more than it has latterly—I have known two men lately—a month or two before I left the Coaſt, in January laſt—men of note—one the King of Ackin—the other was a Cabboſheer, not of ſo great note, who died;—but I did not hear of any human ſacrifices on thoſe occaſions.—I believe they are indebted to the Whites, in a great meaſure, for the practice being leſs; who take every opportunity of repreſenting to them the inhumanity and abſurdity of ſuch a proceeding —What I ſpeak to, however, is with reſpect to the places adjoining to the Coaſt—for in the interior parts of the country it certainly (as far as I can judge from report) exiſts in a very great degree.

Have you ſeen what has become of Slaves which the Europeans have refuſed to purchaſe?

I can ſpeak as to one particular fact—from which I ſhould draw a natural concluſion—that if they are not ſaleable they are put to death:—A woman was brought into Cape Coaſt Caſtle, to be purchaſed; who being very old, and very infirm, was rejected, as well by the reſidents, as by the ſhipping, Dutch, and others—after which, becauſe the Black trader would not be at the expence of her maintenance, he carried her into the Buſh—a field or kind of meadow which is overrun with weeds and buſhes, and therefore called a Buſh—where ſhe was murthered, and afterwards found.

Can

Can you then, from your experience and obſervations during your reſidence on the Coaſt, form any judgment, whether the purchaſe of Slaves by the Europeans does, or does not, contribute to preſerving them from being ſacrificed, or otherwiſe put to death?

I certainly do believe that it contributes much, not only to the ſafety of the Slaves, as far as it regards life, but alſo to their eaſe and comfort; for in many caſes, and particularly at Tantum, where I have had a number of Slaves in the Fort at one time, between 60 and 70, I have ſeen them infinitely happier, infinitely more healthy, than when they were firſt ſold to me—In proof of this, notwithſtanding I have bought numbers of Slaves, and have had 60 or 70 in the Fort, and that for two or three months, I never loſt a Slave by mortality in my life.

What nation traded on the Coaſt, during your reſidence there, beſides the Engliſh?

Many—French, Dutch, Americans, Danes, and Portugueſe.

Has the trade of any of thoſe nations, on that Coaſt, particularly increaſed of late years?

It moſt aſſuredly has, particularly among the French and Americans.

Do you know from what particular part of America they trade to that Coaſt?

I believe principally from Boſton and Salem—Boſton in particular.

Have the French puſhed that trade more of late years, and by what means?

They have; and, contrary to the law of nations, put themſelves into the poſſeſſion of a particular ſpot, adjacent to Anamaboe; and although, by the unhealthineſs of the climate, they have loſt great numbers of people, they ſtill perſevere in their determination to keep poſſeſſion of the ſpot, to replace the dead with others, ſent out frequently in their men of war.—I have ſeen two in a year there—They alſo ſend a great many more ſhips than they formerly did—I mean on the Gold Coaſt.

How many ſhips had the French on that Coaſt, during the laſt year of your reſidence there?

I cannot ſpeak with any certainty to that—I was chiefly confined to my Fort—had been exceedingly unwell during my two laſt years reſidence, ſo had no connection with them.

Can you ſay, whether any trade for Slaves is carried on to the Eaſtward of the Gold Coaſt—the Eaſtern part of Africa?

No doubt of it—from Whydah—all along the Coaſt—to Old Calabar, and New Calabar.

Did the Engliſh ſhips, particularly, ſail from the Coaſt ſecretly in the night?

I do not know that they made a practice of doing ſo: it might happen that one or two might get under way during a tornado, at the end of it, becauſe it would give them a good offing, as well as forward them in their paſſage: but the general cuſtom of ſhips departing from the Coaſt is, to looſe the fore-top ſail, hoiſt the enſign, and fire a gun—which they often repeat for three, four, or five weeks—I have known it two months before they ſail. This is done for the purpoſe of informing the natives that the ſhip is going to ſail, and that they muſt come on board and ſettle any accounts they may have with the Captain. So that the uſual time of getting under way is generally with the land wind, from two in the morning, as long as it ſhall laſt.

Whether are the ſhips moſt healthy which lie off the Coaſt, or thoſe which go up the rivers, and lie nearer land?

No doubt thoſe which lie off the Coaſt—they avoid the conſequences of the fogs.

Is it neceſſary to go up the rivers for Woods, the produce of the country?

I cannot ſpeak to that, I know nothing of that part of the Coaſt where they go for Woods—There are none on the Gold Coaſt.

Are there many rivers on the Gold Coaſt navigable for ſhips?

I know of none—I am ſure there are none—There are two rivers, Elmina and Shemar, but they would not admit a veſſel of fifty tons, or any thing like it, to go into them.

Are thoſe rivers in the hands of the Engliſh, or the Dutch?

Both in the hands of the Dutch.

Are there any rivers in which boats of any conſiderable burthen could navigate?

Not any, unleſs a boat under twenty tons—There is no navigation—ſhe might go in, but would be very ſoon aground, if ſhe was to purſue her courſe.

Is there any way by which goods of bulk could be brought to the Coaſt by water from the inland country?

I am ſure there is no ſuch navigation.

Is there much land carriage for bulky goods?

Not any—I have ſeen a tooth of one hundred and ſeventy pounds weight only, that was obliged to be cut into three pieces, for the purpoſe of bringing it down.

From what diſtance?

I cannot ſay.

In what manner was it brought?

I recollect one piece—the ſmalleſt—was ſmoother than the other two, which led me to conceive, and from the appearance of a notch or two having been made in order to fix a rope, that it had been dragged down in part, and carried occaſionally.

Are there any landing-places on the Coaſt?

There are many, though very indifferent ones—ſome exceeding bad indeed.

How many are there from whence heavy goods could ſafely be embarked on board ſhip?

I really know of none, that I could juſtifiably ſay, as they are all exceeding bad at one time of the year or other.

What is the beſt ſeaſon of the year for landing or embarking goods?

About Chriſtmas—January or February—but I do not mean to ſay, that thoſe are certain months—I have known the ſeaſon exceeding bad in all theſe months, but it is the beſt ſeaſon of the year.

How many miles of Coaſt do you ſpeak of, in which you ſay that there are no navigable rivers, and ſuch bad landing-places?

I ſpeak from Cape La Hou to the River Volga, or thereabouts.

How many miles of Coaſt is that?

I ſhould ſuppoſe about four hundred and twenty, or four hundred and thirty miles.

Is there a heavy ſurf on that Coaſt?

A very heavy one.

Does that ſurf render it more dangerous to carry goods off the Coaſt to the ſhips, or to land goods from the ſhips to the Coaſt?

I conceive it much ſafer to land goods than to take them off; although I have ſeen, even in landing ſmall canoes, fiſhing canoes (which are much the ſafeſt) ten in a day overſet.

During your reſidence on the Coaſt, did you know of any ſhips trading there for other articles of commerce, and not for Slaves?

No—I believe I might inſtance certain ſhips, which are ſent for Gold and Ivory, called "Ivory and Gold Ships;" but theſe alſo trade for Slaves.

Is any great quantity of Gold exported from that Coaſt?

I know of none, unleſs in the caſe of a reſident's realizing—he, like myſelf, might bring ſome away.—It is not an article of export—and the reaſon is evident, becauſe Gold in that country is worth four pounds ſterling per ounce, and in this country is not worth more than from three pounds eleven ſhillings, to three pounds fourteen ſhillings per ounce.

What quantity of Ivory is exported from that Coaſt?

I cannot ſay as to any ſpecific quantity—I have known a great deal of Ivory ſold to me, in one month, at Tantum, while I was ſecond—when I have not bought five teeth, the laſt time I was there, during two years.

Is Ivory then an uncertain produce?

From what I have ſaid, and ſeen, I ſhould conceive it was, and that there is not that quantity that there has formerly been, becauſe Tantum uſed to be a very good fort for that particular article.

Could Ivory be procured in ſufficient quantities to be an object of commerce, independant of the trade in Slaves?

No—I ſhould think the abolition of the Slave trade would effectually deſtroy the Ivory trade.

Why ſo?

Becauſe the native merchants, who bring it down, generally put on the heads or ſhoulders of the Slaves they bring down to ſell, ſuch Teeth and Ivory as they may have; whereas, ſo ſmall is their profit on the article of Ivory, that it would not pay them for their

their trouble—they would not think it worth their while to bring it, unleſs they at the ſame time brought with them Slaves.

Does the country produce any other articles of commerce beſides Gold and Ivory, which you have mentioned?

Not the Gold Coaſt, at leaſt of any value—There are ſome few Cloths, Mats, &c. but they are not purchaſed as articles of trade—I have ſeen a Cloth or two—The Cloths particularly are the produce of Whydah, which is not properly the Gold Coaſt.

What ſort of Cloths are they?

They are Cloths manufactured by them, with the threads that they draw out of our Cloths, or ſuch Cloths as are exported to that country—Theſe are principally what they make their colours with. In addition to this, ſome do ſpin Cotton, which they mix along with it.

Do they make many Cotton Cloths, except for their own conſumption?

I know of very few that are made at all—very few—and thoſe bear ſo conſiderable a price, being deemed a curioſity more than of any real uſe, that ſometimes a gentleman in the country will give a very extraordinary price for one.

What do you call an extraordinary price?

Two or three Slaves for a Cloth of four fathom by three fathom, or thereabouts.

What do you call a fathom?

Two yards.

Are theſe the kind of Cloths which the natives wear?

No—by no means.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Lunæ, 15° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire.

N° 7.

Martis, 16° die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire, was again called in.

Will that part of the Coaſt, which you are acquainted with, produce any articles of commerce, which might be carried on with advantage to this country, independent of the trade in Slaves?
None that I know of.

Does it produce Corn in any conſiderable quantity?
It produces Corn by no means equal to the annual conſumption.

Does it produce Cotton in any conſiderable quantity?
None, I believe, except what is uſed to ſpin to make wicks for lamps; and ſome cloths they make at Whydah, but not on the Gold Coaſt.

Has any attempt been ever made to extend the cultivation of Cotton?
I remember a ſort of attempt being made near Cape Coaſt, but it failed of ſucceſs, and the Blacks deſtroyed in the night what was done in the courſe of the day;—the reaſon they aſſigned was, that they conceived it prejudicial to their proviſion ground.

Does the country produce Rice in any quantity?

Not in any quantity—ſome is produced in Appolonia, and a little to Windward of it, but I know of none to Leeward.

Does it produce any Dying Wood?

Not any—to a certainty.

Does it produce any other articles beſides thoſe which have been enumerated?

None that I know of.

Did you reſide in that country during the laſt war?

Yes.

Was the trade in Slaves interrupted during the war?

It certainly was, in a degree; nor were ſo many Slaves brought down during that period, as in general when there was no war.

Was there a leſs demand for Slaves during the war, than there had been in time of peace?

The demand was certainly not ſo great, and conſequently Slaves not ſo dear.

During the war did you obſerve that more Corn, Rice, or Cotton, were produced in Africa, than had been produced in the time of peace?

I cannot ſay I perceived any material difference;—indeed I was rather out of the way, being confined, during the war, principally at Tantum.

Did you hear of any alteration being effected in the cultivation of the country, in conſequence of the war?

Not any.—The country was in the ſame ſtate then as now, and had been before for many years.

From your experience and obſervation are you enabled to form an opinion, whether the putting an end to the trade for Slaves would materially alter the ſtate of cultivation of the country?

I do not believe that it would make any alteration.—The Blacks are an indolent ſet of People, and I believe if it were not for the Slave and Ivory trade, they would rather ſtarve than cultivate any extenſive part of the country;—indeed, although they may command great extent of land, you ſeldom ſee them cultivate more than is abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport themſelves, family, and dependants, from year to year.

Are

Are there any articles manufactured in that country?
I know of none, except the Cloths and Mats I have before deſcribed.

Do you apprehend that the abolition of the Slave Trade would increaſe theſe manufactures, or produce any new manufactures?
I am certain it would not.

Does the country produce Iron?
None that I know of.

Whence are they ſupplied with iron?
From Europe.

Do they manufacture that into any articles of uſe?
None—unleſs it is a kind of coarſe bill or hoe, which they cultivate their land with; but they are made in ſo coarſe and untempered a manner that they ſeldom laſt any length of time.

Are they ſupplied with many articles of Iron from Europe?
With a great many.—Knives, guns, and iron bars ready to manufacture into bills and hoes, and for iron bars for their windows, and various other uſes.

If the Slave Trade with the Engliſh was to be put an end to, can you ſay what would become of thoſe Slaves now ſold to the Engliſh?
They would, no doubt, be ſold to other nations, who ſhew daily an eager deſire, particularly the French lately, to participate of our trade.

During the time of peace, has there always been a demand for Slaves equal or ſuperior to the ſupply by the country?
There certainly has, more than equal to the ſupply.

Do you think that the abolition of the trade would prevent a ſingle man being made a Slave, who is now made ſuch?
I do not think it would.

Do you think that the abolition of the trade would prevent any wars among the natives?
On the contrary, I ſhould rather be diſpoſed to think that it would occaſion wars, becauſe theſe people who come under the deſcription of convicts, would be left in the country (ſuppoſing

a total abolition) to do continual miſchief, and occaſion ferments among the natives, and conſequently produce more wars.

Do you think the abolition would be the means of ſaving the lives of the natives in that country?

On the contrary, I am ſure the total abolition of the trade by all nations, would produce a ſcene of carnage from one end of the coaſt to the other.—I mentioned a circumſtance yeſterday, of a man's being taken out of Cape Coaſt Caſtle, by a Cabboſheer of a more civilized diſpoſition than they generally are, whoſe name was John Quamina; and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrance of ſome gentlemen who particularly knew his intention in taking this man up for ſome trifling offence he had committed, he carried him up to his Croome or country houſe, and put him to death in a very cruel manner.

Do you think that a colony could be eſtabliſhed in that country, with any probability of advantage?

There are many obſtacles to ſuch an attempt, and I really do not believe it would be practicable, at leaſt until the country was conquered; and to do this would produce the loſs of lives to many thouſands; becauſe the country is overrun with underwood, very thick, and the natives, unleſs upon the ſea-coaſt, diſpoſed to be very hoſtile to us.

During your reſidence there, did you obſerve any inſtance of cruelty exerciſed by the Engliſh towards the Slaves they had purchaſed?

On the contrary, I have ſeen great marks of humanity obſerved towards them; and in ſickneſs, I have known them attended on, particularly in the night, at ſeveral different hours, when they have been ill of the Flux particularly.

Do you know whether the crews of ſeamen on board the Slave Ships are treated with any particular cruelty or ſeverity?

I have never ſeen any particular marks of cruelty towards them—but, as the country is not ſo healthy as other parts, they may poſſibly experience inconvenience from the ſeverity of the climate, common to every European who goes to that country?

Would that inconvenience from the ſeverity of the climate affect the crews of other ſhips, who ſhould trade on that coaſt for other commodities, as well as the crews of the ſhips trading for Slaves?

Equally the ſame.

Would

Would the inconvenience, from the ſeverity of the climate, affect any colonies of Engliſhmen who ſhould be planted there?

No doubt it would, in the ſtate in which the Coaſt is at preſent—I remember, a few years back, a ſeaſon produced great mortality at the Daniſh Fort at Accra—the Governor, Vice-preſident, and ſeven or eight other officers, together with 100 ſoldiers, fell a ſacrifice to a raging fever in the courſe of one month, and this on the ſea-coaſt.

In what ſhip did you go from England to Africa, in your firſt voyage?

I went, in March 1778, in the Symond, Captain Mackintoſh, who has been examined here—I returned home in 1783, at the requiſition of Lord North, to England, being at that time Commiſſary to the King's troops—in the latter end of 1784, and the beginning of 1785, I went out again to the Coaſt of Africa—in September 1785 I returned home in a Slave ſhip, by the way of Barbadoes.

How many times then have you gone from England to Africa, and how often from Africa to the Weſt Indies, in the courſe of your life?

I have been three voyages from England to Africa, and two from Africa to England, by the way of the Weſt Indies.

In the courſe of your voyages from England to Africa, did you obſerve any cruelty or ill-treatment exerciſed by the Captains towards the crew under their command?

I did not—I never ſaw people happier than they were on board.

In the firſt voyage you made from Africa to the Weſt Indies, what number of Slaves were on board?

I have ſaid about 300—more or leſs.

What was the name of the ſhip?

The Iris.

How were thoſe Slaves treated during the middle paſſage?

Exceedingly well indeed—we loſt but one.—And as for amuſement (I was frequently on the main deck with them) I had an opportunity to ſee that they were perfectly ſatisfied, and at all times very chearful.

During that voyage were the Slaves often upon deck, and how often?

We had a paſſage, to the beſt of my recollection, of ſix weeks and two days; and I believe that there were not above two days, in the whole of that paſſage, that the Slaves were not upon deck.

Were they ſufficiently ſupplied, during the voyage, with proviſion and water?

With great plenty of both.—I ſhould conceive it for the intereſt of the Owner and Captain to feed them well, becauſe if they are not kept in heart and good ſpirits it is odds but they ſicken and die: and although the veſſel ſtayed near 24 hours at Barbadoes, before ſhe proceeded to Jamaica, ſhe had plenty of water and proviſions to carry her down, nor did ſhe take any or either on board at Barbadoes.

Does the profit of the Captain and Surgeon of the ſhip depend on the health of the cargo of Slaves?—how was it before the late regulations?

The Captain would be benefited by the numbers which he landed, and a total loſs (as far as I have underſtood by Captains) of his 6 per cent. on ſuch as died.

At what iſland was the cargo of Slaves, carried in the Iris, landed?

Jamaica, and conſigned to Copple and Golding.

Were the Slaves well treated, after their arrival at Jamaica, on board that ſhip, and before they were landed?

I left the ſhip at Barbadoes; I have heard from the Captain repeatedly, that he did not loſe a ſingle Slave going from Barbadoes to Jamaica.

On board what ſhip did you make your ſecond voyage from Africa to the Weſt Indies?

The Friendſhip, laſt 30th of January.

Who was Captain?

Edward Lamb—Maſter.

How many Slaves had he on board?

We had but few; ſhe was not a Slave ſhip, but a ſtore ſhip; and

and in her paſſage to the Weſt Indies would have carried Slaves, as ſhe did a few, upon freight.

Was that ſhip better, or worſe, calculated for the conveyance of a number of Slaves than the common Slave ſhips?

In my opinion, much worſe, though ſhe was a large ſhip.—The coamings of her hatches were very low—had we met with any rough weather there ſhe would have ſhipped water, which would have gone down into the men's room—beſides which, ſhe had not the conveniencies, ſuch as drying pans to dry the men's rooms after they were waſhed, ſo as to make them equally comfortable with a regular Slave ſhip.

Was ſhe furniſhed with gratings and air ports, like a regular Slave ſhip?

She was not, being a ſtationed ſhip at Lucea in Jamaica—I mean that ſhe was a regular Weſt Indiaman.

How were the Slaves treated on board that ſhip during the voyage?

They were treated exceedingly well—we loſt none;—but I ſhould apprehend, that if any of them had been in a ſickly ſtate when received on board, they would not have been ſo ſkilfully treated as in a regular Guineaman.

How many Slaves died during that voyage?

Not one—nor indeed any perſon belonging to the ſhip.

Where was that cargo landed?

In Jamaica—to the beſt of my belief—I quitted the ſhip at Barbadoes.

Was there any mortality among the cargo after their arrival at Jamaica, and before they were landed?

I cannot ſay what happened after I left the veſſel at Barbadoes —they were in perfect health when the ſhip left Barbadoes.

Did you ever hear of any mortality amongſt them after you left them?

None—I never heard of any.

Had you any intereſt yourſelf in the Slaves on board this ſhip?

I had not a ſingle Slave in her, nor have I any connection whatever with the concern.

Have

Have you reſided at all in the Weſt Indies?
I have, for upwards of four years.

In what part?
In the pariſh of Hanover, in Jamaica.

Do you know of any means uſed by the Captain or Surgeon, after a Slave ſhip's arrival, to repel any diſorders with which the Slaves may be affected, whereby their health may be injured?
I cannot ſay I have known any ſuch practice to take place with reſpect to the Slaves.

During what years did you reſide in Jamaica?
I believe from the latter end of 1769, or commencement of 1770, to the year 1774.

During your reſidence there, did you know of any particular mortality taking place among the Slaves on board Slave ſhips, after their arrival off the Iſland, and before the landing of the Slaves?
No—I never ſaw any thing of the ſort. I have been on board of two or three Slave ſhips in the iſland—their cargoes were healthy, and I believe few of the two in particular I allude to—the Warwick Caſtle was one—I forget the name of the other—were in a very diſeaſed ſtate when they were ſold—I mean very few indeed, out of a very large cargo—the Warwick Caſtle had 500 nearly.

Are you then enabled, from your reſidence on the Coaſt of Africa, and from your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, to form a judgment what would be the probable effect of an abolition of the Slave Trade by this country, both in the Weſt Indies and the Coaſt of Africa?
On the Coaſt of Africa, I am convinced that it would tend to the deſtruction of many lives—in the Weſt Indies, the deſtruction of the Britiſh Colonies.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

What was the tonnage of the Iris, and the name of the Captain?
I cannot ſpeak correct to the tonnage, but I think about 220 or 230—the name of the Captain was Maſon—This was in 1785.
What was the ſize of the Symond?

I cannot

I cannot ſpeak to that—it was conſiderably larger, being a three-decker.

What was the number of Slaves on board the Symond?
I came a paſſenger from England in her, but was never on board, when ſhe had any Slaves.

Is there any thing peculiar in the conſtitution and government of Appolonia?
There certainly is—The King is deſpotic, and by his own ſingle authority has, and daily does take away the lives of many.

What is the extent of that diſtrict?
I cannot ſpeak to the breadth, but as to the length of Appolonia, from Axim, it is about 25 or 30 miles, more or leſs—Coaſtwiſe.

Had the Slave of Quamina, who was put to death by his maſter, been previouſly convicted by a legal proceſs?
I ſhould apprehend, that as Quamina ſent in his domeſtic Slaves in a public manner to demand him of the Governor of Cape Coaſt (without whoſe permiſſion no Slave once brought into the Fort can paſs the gates) the priſoner would, no doubt, before execution, have received the form of trial.

Was not Quamina a man of very great influence and authority in that country?
He certainly had great authority—although I have known him frequently overawed and intimidated by the reigning King and Captain of the Town.

Was the number of Slaves, taken off the Coaſt during the War, greater, or leſs, than is uſual in time of peace?
I cannot anſwer that queſtion, being confined at Tantum principally during the war.

Did you export as many, during the war?
I bought more than I have ever done ſince—but the reaſon was obvious—Cape Coaſt had been engaged in war with the Fort of Elmina, with the Dutch—The Fort of Mouree, belonging to the Dutch, had been taken by the Engliſh—The Fort of Anamaboe, and Cormartin, one belonging to the Engliſh and the other to the Dutch, were involved alſo in a ſtate of war—The Fort of Accra Crêve Coeur, belonging to the Dutch, was engaged in a war with James Fort, our Fort at Accra.—

—Hence it was, that on theſe accounts the natives were afraid to bring down their Slaves to theſe places, which were in a ſtate of warfare—and therefore choſe to bring them to Tantum, where they could not be moleſted.

Do you believe there are fewer ſacrifices of late years than formerly, through the extent of the Coaſt, according to the beſt of your information?

I ſpoke particularly the other evening, I believe it was yeſterday, with reſpect to Appolonia—The preſent King of Appolonia (Quaſhee) who ſucceeded the two that I mentioned yeſterday, is ſtill alive.—I know not whether the number would be equally great at his death, as were at the deaths of either of the two predeceſſors I have named.

The queſtion was, throughout the whole extent of the Coaſt, according to your information, and was not confined to Appolonia?

I believe it exiſts in the ſame degree a few miles from the Coaſt.—Nearer to our Forts, I ſhould conceive that there were not ſo many as had been formerly—as I believe the Blacks were aware that the Chiefs of Forts would fire in the middle of a croud that were making ſuch a ſacrifice.

By what motives are the natives induced to make theſe ſacrifices, and of what deſcription are the victims commonly?

I believe they have many motives for it—the principal one is, that their friends and relations may reſt quiet in their graves—the ſecond is, that they deem it neceſſary he ſhould be properly attended—hence it is, that they generally ſacrifice his Key-bearer, or Accraw, as they call it; and commonly provide him alſo with his head wench, by putting her to death.

Have not perſons of conſequence a conſiderable number of Slaves, in that country?

I beg leave to remark, on the preceding queſtion, that I do not mean to confine myſelf to theſe two or three particular perſons, who are ſacrificed to great men; for I have been in, and ſeen tombs and burial-places paved with ſculls of people, that had been made ſacrifices.

Queſtion now repeated.

Have not perſons of conſequence often a conſiderable number of Slaves belonging to them?

No doubt they have—it depends on their quality and property.

In what ſervices are theſe Slaves employed?

Many are in a ſtate of idleneſs from year's end to year's end; whilſt their wenches or wives provide them with water, and every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.

Would not theſe Slaves be liable to puniſhment, if they ſhould diſobey their maſters commands?

It would depend in great meaſure on the nature of the command—maſters (even the King himſelf of Cape Coaſt) are in the habit of ſuch familiarity with their Slaves, that unleſs it was really a capital fault, I do not apprehend a Slave would receive any puniſhment.

If a Slave were obſtinately to refuſe to obey his maſter, could not his maſter compel him to obedience, if the maſter wiſhed it?

No doubt of it—he might puniſh him.

Whence are the Natives of that part of the Country ſupplied with proviſions?

Along the Coaſt, it is the practice of the natives to plant annually as much as for the year may ſerve themſelves, their families, and dependants—but I have ſeen many inſtances which clearly prove to me, that they have little or no ſurplus—I have myſelf offered thirty-five or forty ſhillings for a cheſt of Corn, which is fifteen ſhillings more than the uſual price given for Corn, and I could not obtain it—but this I attribute to the indolence of the Natives.

Is your anſwer, reſpecting the Coaſt, applicable to the whole extent of the Coaſt?

As far as I have ſeen, which is as far as Accra, at which place in particular (although it is a prodigious large diſtrict of country) they plant little or no Corn, and are obliged to be ſupplied by their neighbours—this, during my reſidence at Accra—I have ſeen prodigious great want amongſt them.

Is it a conſiderable quantity that they are obliged to bring from their neighbours?

As much as is neceſſary, with ſome other proviſions which they plant for their ſubſiſtence.

From what diſtance is this ſupply of Corn brought?

I believe from as far as from Cape Coaſt to Accra, and all the way down.

Do you mean that this Corn is the produce of Cape Coaſt?

I mean that it is the produce of Cape Coaſt, Tantum, Anamaboe, &c. ſome more, ſome leſs.

What was given in exchange for this Corn?

Sometimes they will take cloth—part liquor and brandy—but this is only when Corn is plenty;—when it is ſcarce, they will ſcarcely take any thing elſe than gold-duſt for it.

How do the perſons in queſtion become poſſeſſed of this cloth, or liquor, or gold-duſt?

I apprehend this queſtion refers to the Blacks—the anſwer I gave referred to the purchaſes of the Whites.—I believe the anſwer may alſo in ſome degree extend to the Blacks, the natives of Accra—who give ſome cloth and ſome gold, together with a fiſh, which they call Aporge, and which is a great article of trade, as well as ſubſiſtence, among the Accras.

With what is the bulk of the ſupply of their proviſions purchaſed by the natives?

In moſt caſes, I believe, with the articles I have mentioned—I know of no other articles that they have to give in exchange.—Indeed Accra is not a country of Gold—what they therefore paſs, is acquired by them in trade from other nations.

With what then do the natives purchaſe theſe commodities, which they exchange for proviſions, as you have ſtated before?

With Slaves and Ivory;—principally Ivory—for there is more ſold in that country, than in any other part of the Coaſt.

Whether any part of the proviſions is brought from the interior part of the country—and if it is, from what diſtance?

I ſhould ſuppoſe there is a great deal brought from the interior part of the country—becauſe I have already ſaid, that the natives adjacent to the forts are too indolent to plant more than is neceſſary for their own conſumption.

Have you known any more trials for Witchcraft, than the two you mentioned before?

I have not—though I know there are ſuch exiſting every day amongſt the Blacks; but, as I have already obſerved, I am convinced that the word "Witchcraft," amongſt the Blacks, means literally, "Poiſon."

By " every day," you mean very frequently?
Yes.

Are the trials public?
I cannot ſay—if I ſhould judge from what I have ſeen and deſcribed, I ſhould be led to think that they were public, although the Whites may not have frequent opportunities of ſeeing them.

What circumſtances would deprive the Whites of the opportunity of ſeeing them, if they were frequent?
I never heard it was cuſtomary for the Whites ever to introduce themſelves at ſuch trials, or indeed at any others, among the Blacks; although, in returning from our walks, we frequently ſee the Pynims, and Heads of the town, ſeated in the public Palaver Place, and on enquiry, a White may be informed of the nature of the offence which is brought before them.

Do not you think, that there is a peculiar mode of trial in the caſe of what is called " Witchcraft?"
I ſhould really think not, from what I have ſeen.

Have you not known many inſtances of trials for various other offences, during your reſidence in that country?
No doubt I have—I have had people, convicted of faults before the Blacks tribunal, brought into Tantum Fort, and, at the requiſition of the perſons who brought them in, they were detained until the Palaver was ſettled in ſome way or other.

What do you apprehend is the total number of delinquents exported from that Coaſt?
It is impoſſible for me to ſay.

Have you not heard it ſtated, however erroneouſly, that trials for Witchcraft are often conducted in a different manner from other trials?
I have, no doubt, and that very recently; but I believe it was from people who have not ſeen the circumſtances I have related, with reſpect to the death of Awiſhee, at Tantum.

Is the circumſtance of Awiſhee's caſe the only ground of your opinion reſpecting the mode of trial for Witchcraft?
That, and the univerſal voice of the people charging a whole family of note and diſtinction with Witchcraft, and ſelling a Pynim

who had been the principal, are the reaſons which induced me to believe as I have deſcribed.

Whether the rank and conſequence of the convict, in this inſtance, might not have been the occaſion of his having had a public trial, though not always had in the caſe of perſons of inferior condition?

I ſhould apprehend not, Awiſhee being inferior—he was a trader, but a man of no great note—not equal in rank to Coquanza the Pynim, who was ſold for the offence.

Is not the whole family of a perſon, convicted for Witchcraft, ſold?

In general, I believe, they are—but in this inſtance they were not;—the Tantum people contented themſelves with ſelling the old Pynim, and driving the reſt of his family from amongſt them, out of the town.

What is done with the price for which the family is ſold, on occaſion of theſe common convictions for Witchcraft?

In general, the price is applied to the injured family, ſubject however to ſome expences on account of the trial.—I know this to be the caſe in this inſtance, and I believe it to be ſo in general.

Is it the caſe in convictions for other offences?

I believe it is—I know it is in regard to theft.

Are ſlight thefts puniſhed with the loſs of liberty?

Among the Blacks I believe it is in ſome degree cuſtomary for them to require more in point of value than what is taken; but in regard to the theft of gold, and ſome other articles, the perſon committing the theft is ſold.—In other caſes they may be ſatisfied with a compenſation—as for ſtealing of brandy, and ſuch things.

What is the general temper and diſpoſition of the natives of that country?

From what I have ſeen of them, I ſhould judge them to be a very quarrelſome, turbulent, and ungrateful people—forgetful of obligation, be it of ever ſo great benefit to themſelves or families.

If a ſhip were on the point of departure from the Coaſt, and the Black Broker were to bring off one or more Slaves, offering them for ſale, would the Captain, if he had ſufficient goods left to buy them, refuſe to make the purchaſe?

He certainly would not—but I ſpeak prior to the preſent reſtrictions.

Would the Captain have aſked any queſtions of ſuch Broker, reſpecting the mode in which he acquired ſuch Slaves?

That is a queſtion which is never aſked; becauſe the native himſelf is well aware, if he comes by a Slave illegally, he is liable to be ſeverely puniſhed—he himſelf and his whole family would be ſold for Slaves for ſuch an offence.

Why are the Free natives called Gold-takers?

It is another name for trading men—however they do take gold, and are employed in the purchaſe of every Slave that is brought on board—they, therefore, ſpeaking the language, in general, which is ſpoken even by Slaves themſelves, after they have been a little time among the Fantees, would certainly learn from thoſe Slaves if they had been captured or kidnapped by the perſons who brought them for ſale.

Are Slaves ever redeemed out of the ſhips?

They are frequently—provided their offences are not ſo great as to render it inadmiſſible or improper.

By what means are they redeemed?

By being replaced with another Slave.

At whoſe requeſt are they redeemed—at their own, or at that of their families?

At the requeſt of their family, who are intereſted in their behalf—this moſt commonly takes place, however, in the caſe of Adultery, provided it is not a great man's wife with whom the offender has been connected.

Is any crime, excepting Witchcraft, in the principal, puniſhed with death?

In general, I ſhould ſuppoſe none—in ſome particular caſes, where a domeſtic Slave has rendered himſelf obnoxious to the reſt of his fraternity, he may be put to death, as in the particular caſe which I have adverted to, of the Slave taken out of Cape Coaſt Caſtle.

Are domeſtic Slaves ſold from one family to another, among the natives, unleſs for crimes?

It is not a cuſtomary practice—they muſt be guilty of ſome offence, and that rather capital than otherwiſe.

In

In what manner are the domeſtic Slaves uſually treated, in the families to which they belong?

Not conceiving themſelves altogether in the ſtate of ſlavery, but rather as the attendants on the great men whom they ſerve, they lead an indolent life, and are generally employed in making Cuſtom, that is, performing funeral ceremonies for the dead; or in diverſions, or in gaming.

Do you apprehend that the practice of offering human ſacrifices has at all diminiſhed, out of the reach of the guns of the Fort?

No, I apprehend that they practiſe the ſame cuſtom, in that reſpect, as they did a century paſt.

You are deſired to ſay, whether you apprehend that the practice of making human ſacrifices has at all diminiſhed in extent, among thoſe natives who have frequent intercourſe with Europeans, but who live out of the actual reach of the guns of the Fort?

Not any difference at all—there are full as many human ſacrifices, at ſome diſtance from a Fort, as there ever were.

Do not the natives of the Gold Coaſt, whether Freemen or domeſtic Slaves, conſider it as a heavy puniſhment to be ſold to the Europeans?

Domeſtic Slaves, no doubt, conceive it ſuch—particularly ſuch as have been reſident near the Forts, and in the habit of coming backward and forward to them; but for Slaves that are brought down from the interior parts of the country, I am confident, from their own aſſertions, as well as by their general appearance, that they rejoice, and do not lament, in the change of maſters.—I have ſeen them in a ſtate in which none, but he who knew a Slave perfectly, would have ventured to have bought them—they are in general very poor in fleſh, with great eruptions all over their ſkin, very ſcrophulous, and have frequently, when ſold to us, very bad ulcers—In this ſtate we purchaſe them.—When we ſell them again to the Captain, they are ſleek and fat frequently, and in much better health than when we receive them—this I ſpeak of in general: in other caſes they are ſold to us in better health.—I have bought many of them in the deſcription I have given of them—I have ſeen them alſo very low and dejected, when brought into the Fort to be ſold to us, and I have ſeen the ſame Slaves very chearful half an hour after they have been bought, and I have been entreated by ſeveral of them to buy them.—I ſhould ſuppoſe Freemen, coming under the deſcription of being ſold as Slaves for crimes, being ſenſible that they have deſerved it, may lament and be ſorry

ſorry for their ſituation—The Freemen do certainly conſider this as a heavy puniſhment, but, conſcious that they have deſerved it, they ſeldom or never complained, becauſe they well know, that if their crimes are atrocious, that inſtead of being ſold they might have been put to death.

Have you not ſtated, that perſons guilty of very ſmall thefts are generally ſold for Slaves?

I have ſaid, that in ſome caſes, if the crime is not of great magnitude, the offence may be compromiſed; but in the caſe of Theft, Adultery, and Witchcraft, they are very ſeldom compromiſed—they never are.

If Theft, Adultery, and Witchcraft, are not compromiſed, what are the deſcription of crimes which are?

The petty offences I ſpeak of, are what I have mentioned before; ſtealing of brandy, or a ſingle cloth, or any trivial offence of that ſort—going into his houſe, making a riot, taking an ear of corn, ſtealing his braſs pan, or any thing of that ſort.

Have you never heard, that, on the Gold Coaſt, the ſmalleſt thefts are puniſhed with ſlavery?

I know to the contrary.

Have you never heard that a man who ſhould ſteal an ear of corn would be ſold for a Slave?

Such things I believe do exiſt, and have been—but I know other inſtances, particularly one, of a man who ſtole that preciſe article—he was taken, and a Slave demanded of his maſter for him; but the affair was compromiſed for an ounce of gold and ſome liquor.

Do you apprehend that the man who ſhould have been condemned to ſlavery for having ſtolen an ear of corn, would be ſatisfied with the juſtice of his ſentence?

No doubt he would—becauſe he knows the laws of the Blacks are to that effect, if the perſon from whom he has ſtolen chuſes to be ſevere; for it lies intirely in his breaſt.

Are not the Slaves in ſome manner confined, when taken from the ſhore, on board the ſhips?

It depends upon what nations they are of.—Duncoes are never put in irons—they ſupply a great number of the Slaves.—The Fantees are always put in irons—the Aſhantees and other nations as it may be neceſſary, and according to the offence they have committed.

Do you know whether the Slaves, when taken on board the veſſels, are not kept in irons during their ſtay on the Coaſt?

I believe in general they are; although on board the ſhips I have occaſionally been in, I have ſeen many of them out of irons.—The women and boys are never in irons.

Is it a common thing for the men to be out of irons?

It is by no means a common thing.

Is it not uſual to have a netting round the gunnel of the ſlave ſhips?

In the two ſhips that I went off in, and in many others I have been on board previous to their ſailing, after the cargo is complete, I never ſaw any netting above the railing.

Is it not uſual to have ſuch netting?

It depends on the manner the ſhips are built.—If the rails are high, there is no occaſion for it;—and I believe, where, in any particular caſe, they are made uſe of, it is to prevent the Slaves, from any accident, falling overboard, and perhaps to cut off all communication between the Slaves and the Annamaboe trader, who, for the purpoſe of re-ſelling them, might excite them to cut off the veſſel.

Can you ſpeak to the proportion which the Slaves of the Fantee nations, which are ſold off the Coaſt, bear to all the others?

I really cannot—it would be a very difficult thing, even to gueſs at.

If the Slaves from the interior country, which are the largeſt proportion, appear glad to exchange their black maſters for white ones, for what purpoſe are they confined in irons?

Certainly, for the purpoſe of keeping them from any connection with people living under or dependent on the Forts, who are very great rogues, and might excite them to run away—in other reſpects they are never locked up, but are allowed to amuſe themſelves in any way they pleaſe about the Fort, except at night.

On board the ſhips, why are they kept in irons?

For the better ſecurity of them, leſt they ſhould be induced, from a communication with the canoe men, and ſtragglers of various deſcriptions, to cut off the ſhip or jump overboard, which they would never have thought of themſelves.

When

When the war prevented the demand for Slaves on the Coaſt, was there any increaſed demand for the production of the country?

There was always a demand for more Slaves than could be furniſhed, in my remembrance of the Coaſt—if that was not the caſe, the ſhipping would not be under the neceſſity of bringing out with them a conſiderable quantity of proviſion for the middle paſſage.

Was there any increaſed demand at that time, for the production of the country, during the war, when there were fewer Slave ſhips?

I cannot ſay there was any increaſed demand, unleſs it might be by ſome of His Majeſty's ſhips that came there, which might increaſe the demand in ſome degree.

During the whole time of the war, when there were very few Slave ſhips on the Coaſt, was there, during that period, a greater demand for the production of the country than during other years, when the Slave trade was carried on to its greateſt extent?

I really am not competent to anſwer that queſtion—At ſome particular times there was, when 220 and odd troops were fed wholly on corn and fiſh, and alſo when 1,000 or 1,500 Blacks, engaged on our ſide againſt the Dutch, were maintained by us with this article of Corn.

Do you recollect for how long a period this extraordinary demand continued?

For two or three months, I ſuppoſe, and afterwards; for the conſumption of that corn might laſt longer.—I never knew corn very plenty—more plenty than could be made uſe of; nor have I ever bought any for leſs than twenty-five ſhillings (ſometimes thirty-five ſhillings) for 55 gallons, which is thought a great price.

Do you recollect how long the Slave trade ſuffered interruption by the war?

I can't ſay it ſuffered at all by the war, at Tantum. I purchaſed more Slaves during the war than I have ever done ſince.

Have you been ever far up any of the rivers on the Gold Coaſt?

I know of no rivers on the Gold Coaſt that go into the interior parts of the country. There is a large river called Elmina River, and another called Shamar River; but I believe when you go any diſtance, a couple of miles, it will be found to be a narrow gut

of

of water—not a navigable river by any means;—and even theſe rivers are not without danger—the river Elmina has a bar ſometimes impaſſable.

When you ſay not navigable, do you mean not navigable for canoes?

I mean not even navigable for a three-hand canoe at any diſtance.

Was you ever any diſtance up thoſe rivers, or on the banks, or from what information do you make that aſſertion?

I have ſeen the river Elmina dry twenty yards from the draw-bridge.

How are the natives from the interior country paid for the Slaves and Ivory they bring down from thence?

In various articles.—In cloth—in liquor—guns—powder—gold—braſs pans—and pewter.—Of pewter and braſs they are exceedingly fond, and will take a very large proportion.

Do they not alſo receive bar iron, or manufactured, in payment?

I have ſeldom known a trader take more than one iron bar, and lately I have known them to reject it altogether. For theſe laſt two years, it has not been in very great demand from Cape Coaſt to Tantum, and, as a proof of this, it has been cuſtomary to pay iron for proviſions, wherever we could prevail on the Blacks to take it.

In what manner are the commodities you have ſpecified, which the natives take in exchange for Slaves, conveyed up the country?

Upon people's heads, made up in ſmall bundles.

Why do the Governors of the Forts endeavour to prevent human ſacrifices?

Becauſe, poſſeſſing the feeling of men, they cannot but condemn ſuch practices.

Do the Europeans frequently refuſe to buy Slaves on account of ſmall defects?

The loſs of a tooth would make a Slave objectionable, as a prime Slave, but he would not be refuſed for that defect;—and alſo a blemiſh in his eye, tho' he might not be blind; the loſs of a toe or finger, tho' he might not be lame, and have the uſe of his hand, would prevent his being a prime Slave; but he would not be refuſed for any of thoſe defects, altho' the price would not be the ſame given for him as if he was a prime Slave.

Then

Then it does not frequently happen that Europeans will refuſe to buy one Slave in a lot of ſeveral, on account of ſmall defects, ſuch as the loſs of a tooth, or a ſpeck in his eye, if he be otherwiſe ſtrong and fit for labour?

No—I think not.

Can you ſay, that the number of Negroes in the Weſt India iſlands would certainly decreaſe annually, if they had not freſh ſupplies?

I ſhould conceive they would decreaſe as well from age as mortality.

Did you not ſay, that Negroes, when taken on board ſhip on the Coaſt, are frequently fettered and handcuffed, on their tranſit from the ſhore to the ſhip?

They have ſometimes an iron on their legs, or, if they have not that, they have a log on their hands, to prevent them running away; from which however they are releaſed, as ſoon as they are purchaſed, provided they are not Fantees, of infamous characters; becauſe there are ſometimes ſome waterſide people ſold of this deſcription, whom it is neceſſary to ſecure in this manner, I conceive, for the preſervation of the reſt.

Are other fetters put on when they come on board?

In general they are.

What is the nature of the amuſements of the Negroes on board the ſhip?

I believe I have mentioned before particularly what thoſe amuſements are.

What did you mean by the words, "that ſituation," when you ſaid, that Negroes not well fed on board ſhip, "in that "ſituation," pine away and die?

I meant their ſtate of ſlavery—having none to feed them but the Captain.

Did you ever hear or know of Africa trading ſhips carrying off Free Negroes againſt their inclination?

I never heard of any ſuch a thing in my life—I however do know, that ſome time ago a man by the name of Griffiths did, from St. Andrews or ſome part to Windward, take off two people, which were intruſted to his care, whom he never brought again to their place of reſidence when he returned—he reported to the Blacks, however, that either one or both had died of the ſmall-pox; but

they not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, abſolutely put Griffiths to death—I alſo know, that, on account of theſe two men not being produced, and Griffiths having a very bad character, the act was ſeverely reprobated by the Governor and Council, and reſidents on the Coaſt, who wrote home about it.—This is the only inſtance I ever heard of.

In what year, ſince 1780, have you reſided at Cape Coaſt?

In 1781, 1782, part of 1785, and from July 1787 to 30th January 1789.

In what manner are the Negroes compelled to ſhew that they have no defects in their legs and arms, when they are purchaſed?

I know of none, but ſtamping their foot boldly on the ground and ſtretching out their arms.

Are they not examined as a horſe is in this country?

I certainly ſhould look to a Negro's eyes, to ſee whether he was blind, as I ſhould to a horſe in this country, if I was about to purchaſe him, and alſo to his limbs.—The blacks are very cunning, and commit various frauds in their trade with the Europeans—for inſtance, I have known a man brought in for ſale, on a very wet day, when he with propriety might be conceived to have travelled a great way, and part of his legs and feet covered with mud—this was done to hide the leproſy, which had made the bottoms of his legs and feet perfectly white—the Slave was accordingly purchaſed; but when he came to waſh himſelf the next morning, and appear before the Chief, this great defect, which rendered him unſaleable, made its appearance. So that it is neceſſary to examine when we purchaſe.

Are you acquainted with the Gold Mines, which are ſaid to be on the Gold Coaſt?

I am not—I know of no ſuch mines:—that there are ſome I am certain, in the interior part of the country—as we receive gold—but I know of none.

Have not you heard that gold is procured in two different modes, in Africa?

Yes—by waſhing, and digging.

Is not the gold procured by digging, procured, according to the beſt information, by great labour—does it lie deep, or near the ſurface?

From the eſtimation in which gold is held by the natives, I ſhould

ſhould ſuppoſe that they did not make uſe of great labour to obtain it—otherwiſe, I ſhould apprehend, there would be larger quantities of it.

Do not you think then that it would riſe in its value in proportion as the labour to obtain it was greater rather than leſs?

From what I have gathered from the Blacks on this queſtion, I have learnt that there are but very few, and theſe are people of a very particular deſcription, and in particular places only, who are allowed to dig for gold—I have heard of a man near Cape Coaſt Caſtle, or within 100 yards of it, for only making an attempt of the ſort, put to death—on a place called the Devil's Hill.

Are the Gold Mines wrought by other inſtruments, made by the natives, than by the iron inſtruments you mentioned ſome time ago?

I do not know with what inſtruments they dig for gold—but I know that the Bills and Hoes made by the natives, which, as I ſaid before, are very coarſe, are applied ſolely to the culture of the land.

In what ſtate does the gold appear when it is offered to the Europeans in barter—is it in a pure and perfect ſtate?

I have already obſerved, that the Blacks not being the moſt honeſt people in the world, they ſeek frequently to deceive us—hence it is, that they bring the gold frequently mixed with filings of braſs pans and dirt or ſand—our Gold-takers therefore are employed in ſifting and cleanſing this gold, ſome of which is larger—ſome duſt—after which it is marketable, and looks pure and clean.

Do you not conceive that much ſkill and ingenuity is required to ſeparate the gold from the foreign ſubſtances that may adhere to it in the mine—and do you not conceive that the Negro has knowledge ſufficient to effect that, where he has no intent of fraud?

I do not conceive there is any ingenuity neceſſary to ſeparate the gold from the foreign ſubſtances, as they waſh for the ſmaller and dig for the larger.—I know of nothing that adheres or ſticks to it but dirt, which is very eaſily taken away.—With regard to the intent of the Blacks to defraud, I am fully qualified to ſay they take every meaſure to do ſo; and, as a very ſtrong inſtance that they do ſo, there is at this moment in Appolonia Fort, in three caniſters, upwards of 300 ounces of gold—of braſs taken for gold—

which

which was paſſed to a Captain of the name of Merigan, in the way of trade.—This was not actually paid him by one man, but by many different traders. When the man brought down the gold to Cape Coaſt, and was made acquainted that it was braſs, and clearly proved it was ſo, he delivered it, I believe, to the Governor, that it might be returned to Appolonia, where it now is.—The Captain ſickened and died at the diſappointment.

Have you not heard, that though it be eaſy to ſeparate the gold waſhed down by the torrents from foreign matter, yet it is very difficult to diſengage gold from ſuch matter when it is dug out of mines; and that the proceſs neceſſary in the gold mines is ſuch as to exceed the ingenuity and ſkill uſually aſcribed to the natives?

Indeed I ſhould be at a loſs to know of whom to demand ſuch information—for I believe the Blacks themſelves would not tell any European any thing at all about it.

How high are thoſe nettings, you have mentioned, round the ſhip?

I cannot ſay how high they are—I never made any accurate obſervation upon it, going on board only occaſionally to ſee the Slaves.

How many Slaves, on an average, are brought to the Coaſt, for ſale to Europeans, in a plentiful market, in the courſe of the year, on the Gold Coaſt?

It would be impoſſible to anſwer to that queſtion without a reference to the books, and taking the numbers from thence.—Thoſe brought by the Forts bear a ſmall proportion to the whole number—it is impoſſible for me to ſay what that number is.

If you cannot ſpeak poſitively to this point, can you give a rough eſtimate or general idea of the number?

I would not venture a riſk of miſinforming the Committee.

What are the defects which induced Britiſh Merchants to refuſe the Slaves offered to them by the Black Broker?

The Blacks are ſubject in particular to one diſorder, which renders them unſaleable, becauſe it is incurable—this is frequent to the Blacks—it is a rupture—The loſs of an hand—of the total loſs of an eye—old age—theſe might make them objectionable—but where there have been four or five of a family ſold for any offence, and one of the foregoing deſcription among them, I have known the trader, rather than ſeparate him from his family, buy him.

Whether many perſons, ſo diſeaſed and defective, are brought for ſale?

I cannot ſay that there are a great many—there are ſometimes ſome—I have known two or three of that deſcription in the courſe of the year.

When they are brought for ſale, are they generally rejected by the trader?

By the European trader they no doubt are, unleſs ſomething is taken off from their price, ſo as not to make them as high in price as prime ſlaves; but in caſe of ruptures they are never purchaſed, at leaſt if the defect be known.

Whence comes it, that, being convinced that Slaves ſo rejected will be murdered by the Black Brokers, the Britiſh traders ſuffer ſo many to return to certain death, rather than make an indifferent purchaſe?

It is not in the power of the White trader to prevent what a Black man privately does with his Slave.—I have been ſix months myſelf, without ſeeing the face of an European, amongſt 17 or 18,000 Blacks—the town of Tantum containing that number;—had they been diſpoſed to put any man to death within the reach of my guns, and I had known it, I ſhould moſt aſſuredly, after ſending them notice of my intention, have fired among them; but if they choſe to go out at a greater diſtance, I could not, as an individual, uſe force amongſt hundreds or thouſands.—I would beg leave to add alſo, that I could not, even in the cauſe of humanity, purchaſe what would be by me unſaleable, and by ſuch repeated purchaſes make myſelf a beggar.

You ſaid that the people of Accra, when they wanted Corn, were ſupplied from Cape Coaſt—in what manner was the Corn conveyed from Cape Coaſt to Accra?

In ſmall canoes.—I ſaid not only from Cape Coaſt, but from all down the Coaſt, which is a Corn country, and all carried in canoes.

Is it fetched by thoſe who want it, or carried by thoſe who want to ſell it?

It is oftener ſolicited by the perſons who are in want of it—they in general ſend their canoes—but I have known the caſe contrarywiſe.

How is it carried, when conveyed by land from one country to another?

In ſmall baſkets, upon Negroes heads.

Is not war among the natives injurious to the trade?

No doubt of it—it ſtops all kind of trade whatever—it ſtops all the paths, and prevents every thing from coming down—Ivory as well as Slaves.

Does the Engliſh trader endeavour to promote peace, or war, among the natives?

We endeavour as much as lies in our power, and at a very great expence to us individually, and for which we receive no compenſation from the Company, and pay large ſums to a conſiderable amount, in order to make up any breach among the natives; for war is always productive of this diſagreeable circumſtance—a total ſtagnation and ſtoppage of trade;—and the reaſon is obvious—the traders are afraid to paſs through the villages where there is war.

Have you known any quantities of Cotton or Indigo exported from the Gold Coaſt?

I never knew a pound of either.

Have we any command or influence over the natives, to make them grow any particular articles, or to alter their cuſtoms?

Not any in the world—We have no kind of controul or command over them; and they are ſo ſenſible of this, that they oftentimes behave with a great deal of audacity—even to the Chiefs themſelves—I mean the European Chiefs.

Are there more males, or females, exported from the Gold Coaſt?

I believe five to one, males to females.

It has been ſaid, that the European traders could procure more females if they choſe it—is that true?

It is certainly miſrepreſented—it is not true:—the reaſon is obvious—whenever a nation, like the Africans, are allowed a plurality of wives, and they uſe this privilege to a great extent, it is impoſſible that the women for exportation can be ſo numerous as the men.

Do you think that their affection for their families are ſo ſtrong in the Africans as in the Europeans?

By no means—I do not apprehend they have any ſuch fine feelings—if they had, they would not treat them in the manner they do—A Black woman would think very little of pouring a ſpoonful of brandy into a child's mouth of two or three months old, at the breaſt—in ſhort, they ſeem to have very little affection for their children—I take this to be owing to polygamy.

It has been ſaid, that wars are frequently ſtirred up for the ſake of brandy from the Europeans—do you know, or have you heard, of any ſuch practice?

I have already ſaid it is the intereſt of the Europeans to keep the natives in profound peace; and I do know that Governor Miles, in particular, has expended ſome conſiderable ſums of money for that very purpoſe.

Do the natives on the Coaſt appear to increaſe, or decreaſe, in population?

They rather ſeem to increaſe.

Does not that prove as great a degree of natural affection there as in other parts of the world?

I ſhould conceive not, by any means—becauſe the Black man, having a plurality of wives, may have children by them all; he cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to have ſo real an affection for them, having them by ſeveral women, as if they were all children of one woman.

Do you not know that it is a doubtful point, whether polygamy tends to increaſe, or decreaſe, population?

As far as I have ſeen, there is no doubt of it—it certainly tends to increaſe—I know a man of Tantum who has five wives, and twenty-five or twenty-ſix children, and yet he is a young man.

Do you not know that the Dutch have a ſettlement on the Gold Coaſt, where they have a conſiderable trade for Gold and Ivory, but very little trade in Slaves?

I do not know the ſettlement alluded to, unleſs it is Accra; but even there, though not equal in point of numbers to Annamaboe and Tantum, there are many Slaves bought and ſold.

Do you think, that if, by any circumſtance, the demand for Slaves on the Coaſt were leſſened, the ſame number as at preſent would be brought down from the interior country?

No doubt, if there was no market for them, they would not bring them down.

Whether you do not conſider, that the redemption of one of a family from Slavery, when on board a veſſel, is a proof of their being poſſeſſed of attachment to each other?

Not at all—it is oftentimes political for the perſon to redeem him, becauſe perhaps the offence he has committed may have ſome reference to the perſon who wiſhes to redeem him; and in caſe of his being ſent away, the perſon required to redeem him might be involved in a great deal of trouble.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Martis, 16° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

JOHN FOUNTAIN, Eſquire.

N° 8.

Jovis, 18° *die Junii* 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

Captain WILLIAM LITTLETON.

Have you been at Gambia?
Yes.

In what capacity did you go?
As Mate.

In what Year?
In 1762.

How long did you continue there?
Eleven Years—trading there as a Merchant.

In the courſe of your trade did you go up the river Gambia?
Yes.

Frequently?
Yes.—I went about 300 leagues, by eſtimation, by water.

Was you acquainted with the Language of the country?
Sufficiently ſo to do my buſineſs with the natives.

Are you acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms?
Tolerably ſo—as much as a man could be who reſided chiefly on board his veſſel.

Have you made obſervations on the form of the Governments there?
A few obſervations, ſuch as I could make from the ſituation I was in.

What is the form of Government there, on the banks of the Gambia, where you were beſt acquainted?
There are various forms in the different parts of the river—none of them are hereditary.

Are they monarchical—have they Kings there?
They have Kings.

How are the Kings elected, or how do they ſucceed?
Generally in rotation from one tribe to another—ſometimes from one town or diſtrict to another.—They are for life.

Is there any regular ſyſtem of ſucceſſion?
In ſome of the Governments there is.

Is the line of ſucceſſion, the general plan for the Government of the country, ever broken?
Sometimes.

By what means?
From the capriciouſneſs of the natives, that the next in ſucceſſion is not a proper man to govern.

Is Slavery known in that Country as a general condition?
Yes.

Do the Freemen keep many Slaves?
Some do.

How are the Slaves obtained, which are ſold to the Europeans?
By various modes—a great proportion of them from the Black traders, who are Mahometans, and traverſe the interior part of the Country to get Slaves.

How do thoſe perſons ſold by the Black traders become Slaves originally?

Some of them are captives, taken in war—a large proportion of them are convicted of crimes, and a ſtill greater proportion become ſo from famine, which in that part of the world is frequent from the want of a ſufficient quantity of rain, and the immenſe quantities of locuſts which ſpread devaſtation in that part of the world—from various crimes—the crimes are numerous for which they are ſold—I believe this particularly from my own knowledge, and particularly from the information of people of veracity, whoſe information I could depend on.

Have you had an opportunity of knowing, from your own knowledge, that a famine has occaſioned perſons to become Slaves?

An inſtance happened in my knowledge, in 1786—a famine happened in the ſouth-weſt part of the entrance of the river Gambia, in conſequence of the failure of the rain, and the devaſtation of the locuſts—the natives ſubſiſted for ſome months on eſculent roots, and whatever the country produced that had nouriſhment in it, till no more proviſions were to be obtained in the Country; they were then driven to the dreadful neceſſity of ſelling each other to procure ſubſiſtence—the Mandingoes purchaſed them from the Phroops, who inhabit that part of Africa between Cape Saint Mary's and Cape Roxo, about the latitude of 12° 20′.—The Mandingoes bought them for Corn and European goods, and ſold them to the White traders on the river, through which means a large proportion came into my poſſeſſion—that is one inſtance in my own knowledge, but I have been told by the Mahometans that traverſe the interior parts of Africa, that the circumſtance of famine frequently occurs in various parts of Africa, which drives them ſometimes to the neceſſity of ſubſiſting on each other, ſometimes by killing and eating them, and often by ſelling them.

Do the locuſts often make dreadful havock of the crops?

They do—but it is generally partial—often confined within the ſpot of forty or fifty miles.

What is the effect of the Locuſts ſettling in any Diſtrict?

They generally deſtroy all the Corn and Herbage.

Is there a blade or leaf left after them?

Sometimes very little—on the Corn particularly.

You ſaid that ſome of the Slaves become ſo by common Crimes; what are the Crimes?

Adultery, Theft, imputation of Witchcraft, and various other Crimes, for which they are amenable to the laws of their country.

Are they regularly tried for theſe Crimes?

Yes.

By whom?

By the leading men of the country, and have generally an impartial trial—they are ſeldom without their friends and advocates in thoſe caſes.

In what manner are they puniſhed when convicted?

Adultery is puniſhed with the loſs of life, or the liberty of the offender—if he eſcapes, ſome of the family are ſeized and detained till the offender is taken—if he has no property or Slaves to redeem himſelf, and his friends do not aſſiſt him with any, he is ſold—and ſometimes the White people are enjoined by the perſons who ſell them, who are generally the parties injured, not to ſuffer them to be redeemed on any terms—People for Witchcraft are alſo ſold—they undergo a trial, and on conviction are ſold—after being ſeverely tortured ſometimes—even to the loſs of their lives—The puniſhment for theft, (if it is a conſiderable theft) is the loſs of liberty—ſometimes they are fined, and if not able to pay the fine, they are ſold.

You mentioned, that for adultery they might ſometimes ranſom themſelves; how could they ranſom themſelves?

They ranſom themſelves with Slaves.

Who has the benefit of the conviction of thoſe crimes?

The injured party.

In what manner is the trial for Witchcraft conducted?

I have never been preſent—but from what I have learnt from the natives, the principal people are aſſembled, where they uſually tranſact their buſineſs, under a large tree, called the Palaver Tree—I ſhould have mentioned, that ſometimes previouſly to their trial, they are dragged into the Woods, and whipped to that degree, that in order to get quit of the puniſhment for the time, they have acknowledged themſelves guilty of the Witchcraft of which they have been accuſed, and they are often condemned by their confeſſion made under torture, though they were innocent

innocent—ſometimes they endeavour to prove their innocence, by undergoing a kind of ordeal by fire, or by water, which is an infuſion of a root which they drink on thoſe occaſions.

In what manner is the ordeal by fire conducted?

The accuſed perſon is generally placed on a wooden mortar, or ſomething to raiſe him above the reſt of the people, a hot iron is applied to any part of the body that the perſon who applies it thinks proper—if he bears it with fortitude, ſo as not to appear to ſuffer greatly, he is generally deemed innocent, if otherwiſe, he is put in irons, and ſold, and not unfrequently put to death.

What is the ordeal by water?

The offender is elevated in a ſimilar manner, and the water is adminiſtered to him—Red Water—a root or bark of a tree of a malignant nature is infuſed in it—ſometimes he dies under the operation—if he ſurvives he is acquitted, but he ſeldom ſurvives it long.

You ſaid that ſome part of the Slaves are priſoners taken in war—are they numerous?

Very few of the priſoners taken in war, in the parts contiguous to the river, are ſold to the White people, I believe they ſeldom take many priſoners—if they do, they generally fall victims to the ferocity of the captors, and a few are ſacrificed to the deceaſed manes of the friends of the victorious party.

Are females ever taken priſoners in war?

But few I believe—a very ſmall proportion.

Are many females convicted of crimes?

I have known them ſometimes convicted of Witchcraft and Adultery.

Are thoſe females, priſoners of war, or convicted of crimes, exchanged for other Slaves, Male Slaves?

Frequently.—Thoſe convicted of Witchcraft are very ſeldom exchanged.

Are the females convicted of Witchcraft ever redeemed?

I don't recollect an inſtance of it that came within my knowledge.

Can the owners of domeſtic Slaves diſpoſe of thoſe Slaves?
They can do it, but very ſeldom do it, when they have been guilty of ſome enormous crime; in which caſe they have generally the approbation of the other Slaves to ſell them.

How are the domeſtic Slaves tried, when accuſed?
I have been told they are generally tried by the other Slaves.

Do you know of any wars being carried on for the purpoſe of obtaining Slaves to ſell to the Europeans?
I never heard of any carried on for that purpoſe.—The wars have always originated from their own diſſentions.

Are wars beneficial, or otherwiſe, to the Slave trade carried on by the Europeans?
Wars in the vicinity of the trading ports are always injurious to the trade in articles of every kind; and I have been told by the Black Merchants, that they have gone 3 or 400 miles to avoid thoſe countries where wars exiſted.

Were there any wars in that country during your reſidence there?
Yes—between the nations bordering on the Gambia.

Do you know of the practice of kidnapping Slaves, or that they are taken by fraud or violence, by Blacks or Whites?
I never heard that a Whiteman ever kidnapped a Slave; if he did, it would put a total end to that man's trading.—I never heard of ſuch a thing.—I ſpeak of the river Gambia only, I don't know what is done on the other parts of the Coaſt.—I never heard that of any of the natives in that part where I reſided and did buſineſs.—If they made any attempt of that kind, they would be ſold themſelves.

Have you ever heard of any parties going out armed at night to take Slaves?
Never, but againſt their enemies, with whom they were at open war.

Do you know any thing of the King of Barbeſſin's territories?
I don't know any country of that name.

Have you ever heard of the breaking up, or ſurpriſing villages, to make Slaves?
Never, but in caſes of open war.

Are ſuch wars frequent?

Not ſo frequent in thoſe countries bordering on the Gambia as might be expected from the nature of their governments; but in the interior parts, wars are perpetually carrying on in one country or another.

What are the natural productions of the country about the river Gambia?

Country Corn, which is a ſpecies of millet, Indian Corn, and Rice.

Are theſe articles produced in ſuch quantities as to be a ſubject of export?

Not that I ever heard of.

Is the ſugar cane produced there?

I never heard of it.

Is the climate fit for the culture of the Sugar Cane?

I believe not—on account of the long continuance of dry weather, from October to the beginning of June.

Are there any other articles which might be exported from that country?

None of export but Bees Wax and a little Ivory, and a ſmall quantity of Gold Duſt, which is not worth mentioning.

How is the Ivory brought down to the Coaſt?

Generally on the heads of the Slaves who are brought down for ſale.

What is the quantity of Ivory which may be ſo brought in the courſe of a year?

The quantity varies annually—but I believe ſeldom above two ton.—I cannot ſay poſitively.

Where does the wax come from?

Moſt from the ſouth ſide of the River Gambia, and chiefly about thirty or forty leagues from the entrance—but in ſmaller quantities two or three hundred leagues up the river—the principal part from the Phroops.

Are the bees that produced that Wax taken care of by the natives, or is the Wax caſually found in the honeycomb in the woods?

The greateſt part is taken out of hollow trees in the woods—I believe there is a ſmall quantity taken in hives.

Where are thoſe hives?

Contiguous to their houſes—I never ſaw above two or three—the quantity is very ſmall.

Are the hives confined to places near the Sea Coaſt?

What I ſaw were near the Sea Coaſt—never heard of any in the interior parts of the country.

Could the quantity of Ivory exported be increaſed, if the Slave Trade was aboliſhed?

I apprehend the contrary—becauſe what we receive from the interior parts of the country is brought ſome hundred miles, I ſuppoſe, and is brought from thence becauſe they have Slaves to carry it.

Would it be worth the while of any traders to bring down Ivory only?

Not from any conſiderable diſtance, I apprehend—there are very few elephants in the neighbourhood of the trading ports.

Could the quantity of Bees Wax exported be much increaſed?

I do not apprehend that it can; becauſe, within theſe few years, the Whites have given a great price for the Wax, and I have not learnt that the quantity has increaſed in conſequence of it.

Are there any other articles of any ſort that might be exported as articles of commerce?

None, ſufficient to be worth the attention of any White perſon—they raiſe a little Cotton, and a ſmall quantity of Indigo—not ſufficient for their own purpoſes—they purchaſe our manufactures to ſupply the deficiency.

Why do not they raiſe more Cotton and Indigo?

They are naturally of that indolent diſpoſition, that every attempt of the White perſons to encourage the cultivation of Cotton and Indigo has proved abortive.

Do they cultivate the Indigo plant, or does it grow wild?

What little they raiſe they cultivate—they do not reduce it to the ſtate of Indigo which comes from other parts.

What do they do with it, before they make uſe of it?
They cut it, and pound it in a wooden mortar, and hang it up in the form of ſugar-loaves in their houſes, and then make uſe of it?

Do they preſs out the juice of it, or make uſe of the leaves?
They make up the leaves and branches in thoſe forms.

What uſe do they apply it to afterwards?
They infuſe it in water, or a lye made of aſhes, and dye their cloth with it.

What ſort of cloths are thoſe?
They are woven in narrow breadths, about five or ſix inches in breadth, and then ſewn together for the purpoſe of covering themſelves.

Is there a conſiderable market of thoſe cloths in that country?
Very few manufacturers.

Could thoſe cloths be made an article of commerce?
By no means—not among the White people.

Have you been ſeveral voyages from Africa to the Weſt Indies, and North America?
I have been two voyages to Carolina, and three or four voyages to different iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

Can you ſtate the number of Slaves you had on board in each voyage?
I cannot preciſely—the two laſt voyages I can nearly.—In the firſt voyage to Charles Town, from the commencement of the purchaſe in Africa, till the concluſion of the ſale in Charles Town, I loſt about thirteen out of about one hundred and forty—I look upon that as a very great and uncommon mortality.—The laſt voyage I was detained in the country from the beginning of May to the beginning of November following—and loſt, from the beginning of May to the cloſe of the ſale of the cargo at Jamaica, thirty-eight out of two hundred and forty-two—my ſhip has ſince made a voyage to Jamaica, and loſt only three out of two hundred and ſixteen.—It was the ſame ſhip which went all the voyages—ſhe was regiſtered at one hundred and thirty-ſix tons.

To what cauſe do you attribute the extraordinary mortality in the voyage, when you loſt 38?

The Slaves conſiſted of people of various Nations, and ſome of them were very meagre when I received them on board, owing to the great ſcarcity of proviſions in the country from which they came, particularly a number of the Phroops, who had a famine in the country.

What was the occaſion of the extraordinary mortality, on the Voyage, when you loſt 13?

My ſhip was then ſingle decked; and I met with very bad weather on coming off the Coaſt—in conſequence of which many of them got ſick.

What in general is the food provided for the negroes, exported from Gambia?

We carry from hence ſplit and kiln-dried horſe-beans, and a large quantity of Biſcuit and Flour, and in the Country we purchaſe all the Grain we can, of the Country Corn, and Rice.

What is the Food of the Slaves intended for ſale, whilſt in the hands of the Black traders?

When they can get it, the Country Corn—they never taſte any Rice, unleſs they get it by ſtealth.

Do you then mean that they feed on the Indian corn?

Not the Indian corn—but Guinea corn, as it is called—chiefly on Guinea corn, or any thing elſe their maſters can procure for them.

Could the Ships procure on the Coaſt a ſufficient quantity of Guinea corn, for the ſupply of the Negroes during the voyage?

Seldom a ſufficient quantity of that alone.

In what manner are the beans you have mentioned dreſſed for the Negroes, during the paſſage?

The huſks are all taken off in England—they are boiled, and we uſually put a few pieces of ſhip's beef, or ſalt fiſh amongſt them—after eating them once or twice, they become fond of them—ſo as to requeſt ſometimes to have them inſtead of their own country Food.—

In what manner are the Slaves accommodated on board the ſhip?

In

In the beſt manner we poſſibly can, to render their ſituation as comfortable as poſſible.

Give a general account of the arrangement and management of them on board the ſhip?

When they are firſt brought on board by the Black Merchants, they have a chain round their necks, which they have generally worn from the place they have been brought from—when we have completed our purchaſe of them, we take the chain off their necks, and put a pair of ſhackles on their legs—which ſhackles have generally a ring upon them between their legs—through which we reeve a chain, by which chain we keep them, to ſecure them whilſt they are on deck—the men are put below, between decks—they lay cloſe to each other, juſt allowing room for a perſon to ſtep between them—The men are generally in that part of the ſhip before the main hatchway—the boys, in the main hatchway—the women, girls, and children are all at liberty abaft, except when we put them below at night, and lock them down.

When are they permitted to come on deck, and for how long in the day?

As early as we can conveniently get them on deck—every morning, when the weather admits of it, and they remain there till the evening, except the weather renders it neceſſary to put them off the deck.

Are there air ports and gratings to give air between decks?

There are in all Guinea ſhips, I believe, and ſometimes ſo much air, that they beg to have part of the tarpaulins laid over them.—

Is not the weather, in croſſing the Atlantic, generally fair and pleaſant?

Generally ſo, after we get to the windward of the Cape de Verd Iſlands—I am ſpeaking of the Voyage from Gambia.—

Then, after leaving the Cape de Verd Iſlands?

We have generally good weather—we fall in with the Trade Winds.

Then, after leaving the Cape de Verd Iſlands, does it often happen that the Slaves are prevented by the weather from being on deck every day?

Very ſeldom—ſcarce ever—we have ſometimes heavy ſqualls of rain,

rain, but of ſmall duration, when we ſpread the awnings over them.—If the rain continues and the Slaves expreſs a diſlike of continuing on deck, we put them below—but it is a general rule to keep them on deck as much as we can conſiſtently with prudence.

Is a particular attention paid to the cleanlineſs of the ſhip between decks?

That is one of the firſt objects we attend to—as ſoon as the Slaves are on deck, the White people, the ſeamen belonging to the ſhip, and generally ſome of the boys, are ſent down below to ſcrape and ſwab the rooms, and if we find there is occaſion to uſe a wet ſwab, we generally air the rooms afterwards with fire pans made for that purpoſe, and fumigate them ſometimes with vinegar—two or three times a week we waſh the rooms with vinegar, and fumigate them, by putting a red hot loggerhead into vinegar, and confining the ſmoke.

In what manner are the Slaves uſually fed, and at what time of the day?

Early in the morning, ſoon after day-light, they have ſome biſcuit diſtributed to every man and woman and perſon on board, and a glaſs of inferior brandy or rum, diluted with water half and half; when their firſt general meal is ready, that is generally ſerved to them, and they have generally more than they can eat—ſome is left—In the evening again, about Four or Five o'clock, they have a ſecond meal of another kind of food—we ſeldom ſerve them with the ſame ſort of food twice in the ſame day—we vary it as often as we can, and give them all regularly their allowance of water as often as we find it neceſſary—this depends on the heat of the weather.

Is there then care taken that they ſhall be ſupplied daily with a ſufficiency of food and water?

It is a principal part of the ſhip's company's employment—particularly after they get out to ſea—of the ſailors as well as officers.

Do the officers ſee that the ſailors do their duty in that reſpect?

Always—they are enjoined to it, as their duty ſo to do—the officers have an intereſt in the health of the cargo.

What is that intereſt?

A privileged Slave or two—it depends on the agreement between the maſter and officers—the chief mate and ſurgeon particularly are paid on the groſs average of the Slaves at the place of ſale.

Is it not almoſt the entire buſineſs of both officers and crew, after the ſhip has left the Coaſt, to keep up the health and ſpirits of the Slaves?

It is their principal employment in the Middle paſſage—the ſails requiring but little attendance—therefore the ſailors are wholly employed in their attention to the Slaves.

Do not the Slaves oftener complain of cold than of heat in the Middle paſſage?

They do—and we ſometimes, when we think it too cold for them, put them down below, and even there they beg to have part of the tarpaulin laid over them.

When they are on the deck, do they themſelves ever requeſt to go down below?

Frequently—when it blows a freſh breeze, and they happen to be on the ſhady ſide of the deck.

In caſe of ſickneſs, are the Slaves ſupplied with medicines, and taken care of?

They are.—We take out medicines for that purpoſe, and the Surgeon every morning viſits them below, to know if any of them have any complaints; and frequently adminiſters medicines to them below, as well as upon deck.

When the ſhips arrive in the Weſt Indies, how ſoon after their arrival, in the ſhips you have been in, has the Sale taken place?

We uſually immediately advertiſe a day of Sale, to take place four or five days or a week after our arrival, as is moſt convenient. —Some of the purchaſers live at a remote diſtance from the place of Sale.

In ſome of the voyages, you ſaid, you went as paſſenger, in others as Maſter.—In either of thoſe voyages do you know of any means being uſed to repel any diſorders amongſt the Slaves before the Sale?

I never heard of any.

In all thoſe voyages, were the Slaves treated with humanity and tenderneſs?

Always.

Do you recollect what mortality there was amongſt the Seamen in thoſe reſpective voyages?

I can only ſpeak to the two laſt.—In the voyage to Carolina, I think I loſt two out of ſixteen or eighteen—in the laſt voyage, which was to Jamaica, in conſequence of my being detained in the country, I loſt ſeven in the river Gambia, and two or three in the Middle paſſage.—The crew altogether, including myſelf, conſiſted originally of twenty-one.—My Surgeon was the firſt perſon who died—to his death I attribute the increaſe of the loſs of both my Seamen and Slaves.

In the voyage to Carolina, can you recollect whether it was ſixteen or eighteen?

I think it was eighteen, including myſelf.

In the ſeveral voyages which you have mentioned, was the health of the Seamen attended to?

As much as poſſible—It is our intereſt to take care of the Seamen, the ſucceſs of the voyage depending upon it.

What time of the day do ſhips uſually leave the river Gambia?

It depends on the time of the tide—when we enter Gambia, we have two or three Black Linguiſts, a Black meſſenger or two, to ſend to different parts of the country, and ſix or eight other people, for the purpoſe of rowing the boats, with a view of preſerving the health of the Seamen—We do not ſuffer a Seaman to go into a boat if we can avoid it—the Black people attend us out of the river, and return in the ſhip's long boat, which is generally left behind, or in one of their own canoes.—We uſually ſtop a tide at the laſt port in the river, to fill up our water.

Is the time of the ſhip's departure known to the people on board, or to the people on ſhore?

Always to the natives, ſometime before the ſhip comes down.

How is the Climate, on the parts of the coaſt where you have been?

In general noxious to European conſtitutions—I found no difference in the Climate two or three hundred leagues up the river, and down at the entrance of it.

Are there periodical Rains and dry weather in that country?

There are.

Does the rainy ſeaſon continue many months?

From the latter end of May, or beginning of June, till the latter end of October—The exact time of the coming in of the rain depends upon the change of the Moon in the latter end of May.

Does the dry weather laſt the remainder of the year?

It does—there is ſeldom or ever any Rain from the latter end of October, till the latter end of May.

Is the rainy ſeaſon prejudicial to health?

I believe it is—but I have generally enjoyed my health in time of rain, as well as during the dry ſeaſon.—I avoided expoſing myſelf to the rains and dews, which we cannot prevail on our ſeamen to do.

Whether the rainy ſeaſon or dry weather is moſt prejudicial in general to the health of the Europeans?

The rains are moſt prejudicial.

Is the climate more prejudicial up the Country than upon the Coaſt?

I never lay upon the Coaſt.

Do you mean to ſay, that the climate is as noxious to the ſeamen in general at the mouth of the Gambia, as three or four hundred leagues up the river?

I have found it exactly the ſame.

Did the ſeamen find it the ſame?

We never carried the ſeamen up above 140 leagues, and there we found that they were as healthy as at the mouth of the river—The French and ſome of our Engliſh ſhips proceed no further up than James Fort and Albadar—we found they met with as much or more mortality than the ſhips which have lain 150 leagues up the river.

Did you return to the port of London in any of the voyages you have mentioned?

Some—once to Liverpool—once to Briſtol—and the other times to London.

Upon the arrival of the ſhips in the port of London, have you reaſon to know that there are perſons always ready to invite the ſeamen to make complaints againſt their captain?

I believe there are people who make it their buſineſs to go on board every ſhip for the purpoſe of obtaining litigious caſes, by enquiring how the people have been treated by the maſters and mates

mates—if the people have the leaſt complaint imaginable, they take them to their houſes, and the people by whom they are employed, commence an action againſt the maſter or mate, as the caſe may be—I never had an action commenced againſt me.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

In that ſhip where you deſcribed the ſtowage of the Slaves, was it with or without a platform?

In the ſingle deck ſhip, we had what we call a platform deck, but in the other ſhip we had no platform.

In that ſhip where you ſaid there was room to ſtep between the Slaves, was that a platform ſhip?

No.

What quantity of water, per day, to each man, White and Negro, do you compute ſufficient for a voyage in the Middle paſſage?

At ſea, including alſo what we boil our proviſion in, a gallon per Man—we have a ſhort paſſage from Gambia and have plenty of water, and allow them as much as we think proper—generally three or four times a day.

What quantity of wood do you ſtow in your hold for dreſſing the proviſions?

We never confine ourſelves to any quantity in Gambia—we have an opportunity of taking in as much as we chuſe.

You will ſpecify in cords what that quantity ſhould be in a ſhip of 200 tons, in any ſhip from the Coaſt of Guinea, as near as you can?

I cannot ſay, we never buy it in cords—we ſend our Black people, whom we hire at our entrance into the river to ſupply the ſhip with wood—and we generally bring ſome of that wood home with us to England.

Have the Negroes ever any water in the night?

They have it if they call for it—they have generally ſomething to hold water in amongſt them below, and we pour it through the gratings through a funnel.

Do you not imagine it is owing to the extreme heat of the Negroes ſituation, and their being naked, that makes them ſo ſuſceptible of cold when they come on deck?

Poſſibly

Poſſibly it may—we do not allow them cloaths—we could not keep them clean or preſerve their health if they had cloaths.

When they are deſirous of going below, is there not a clear ſpace below—are not the reſt on deck?

The apartment at that time is clear—it is cleared for the purpoſe of cleaning it.

In the loſs of ſeamen did you include the loſs from England to the Weſt Indies, or during the Middle paſſage only?

From England to the Weſt Indies.

Is it cuſtomary at Liverpool and Briſtol, as well as London, for people to come on board the ſhips, for the purpoſe of encouraging the ſeamen to make complaints againſt the maſter and officers?

I cannot ſpeak to Briſtol or Liverpool, but to London I have been an eye witneſs—I have ſeen it.

Do the woods on the part of the Coaſt with which you are converſant conſiſt chiefly of ſmall underwood or of large timber trees?

More of timber than of underwood—and ſome of the mahogany that grows there, has been brought home for trial, and has not anſwered.

Would the ſoil, if cleared, be capable of being cultivated with Corn, Rice, or other Proviſions?

In that part of the country where the ſoil is adapted for the cultivation of Corn it would.

Is the ſoil generally fit for the cultivation of Corn?

Some leagues, about 30 or 40 up the River Gambia, the Soil is not adapted to the cultivation of Corn, and produces very little.

Do you think that if the land, now overgrown with wood, was properly cultivated, it would produce Corn, Rice, and other Proviſions?

The natives have endeavoured to cultivate the parts contiguous to the lower parts of the river—they cultivate as much as they can of it—it produces ſome little corn, but not ſufficient to laſt them from ſeaſon to ſeaſon—on which account they ſend the canoes up the river to procure corn.

Do you think that if this land were cultivated by Europeans, as land in Europe is cultivated, it would be productive?

If the cultivation was aſſiſted by manure—not elſe.

Of what nature is the land of which you ſpeak?

Of a looſe ſandy ſoil generally at the entrance of the river—up the river it is a more loomy ſoil.

Do you think that if this land were cleared, it would be capable of receiving the plough?

I believe it might—if it was cleared from the roots—the natives do not take up the roots.

Can you form any judgment, from what you have ſeen of the ſoil, and know of the climate, whether European Corn could be raiſed in the places you have mentioned?

I do not apprehend it could.

Why?

From the nature of the Soil and the Climate.

Cannot European Corn be raiſed on a looſe ſandy Soil?

In that part of the world they have rain only ſix months in the year, and that only at intervals—the heat of the ſun is ſo intenſe, that I apprehend our European Corn could not grow there.

During that ſeaſon of the year does the native Corn grow, the Millet, and Turkey Corn?

They uſually ſow their Corn at the beginning of June, after the firſt ſetting in of the rain—their early Corn they cut in September —which is their Indian Corn—their greateſt Crop is about the latter end of October.

Do the Millet and Turkey Corn come to perfection in that Country?

Their Indian Corn they generally cut before it is ripe—the other Corn comes to perfection.

Why do they cut their Indian Corn before it is ripe?

They uſually eat it before it is ripe—it is to ſupply them in the early ſeaſon—the Crop they depend on is the October Corn.

Do theſe ſorts of Corn grow on the looſe ſandy ſoil you have ſpoken of?

I believe

I believe it does—they plant a little of it near the entrance of the river.

Do the natives employ manure in cultivating this Corn?
They have little or no manure—they have ſcarce any horſes—they make faſt their Cows on their Corn ground during the dry ſeaſon.

Have they a good many cows?
They have—they belong to a particular claſs of people—a nation of people called Phoolas.

How are theſe cows and horſes ſupported?
By driving them about the Country—through the woods.

What do they eat?
Graſs—ſometimes leaves of trees—ſometimes they give their horſes Corn.

Are many female Slaves purchaſed by our traders on that Coaſt?
But a ſmall proportion, ſeldom above one-third—we purchaſe all that are fit for market who offer.

Can you form any eſtimate of the groſs number of female Slaves ſo purchaſed on that part of the Coaſt in a year?
I cannot—it varies every year—the trade of Gambia is very much reduced.

Can you make a groſs eſtimate of the general number of Slaves purchaſed by European traders on that Coaſt in any given year?
I have heard eſtimates made ſome years ago, at about 3,000, and I believe it does not now average 1,000.

According to the proportion mentioned by you, muſt not the number of female Slaves ſo purchaſed, when the total number of Slaves was 3,000, have amounted to 1,000?
I do not apprehend it could—we always find female Slaves ſcarce, when the Slaves in general are plenty.

Then among 3,000 Slaves ſo purchaſed, how many females do you ſuppoſe there might have been?
Perhaps about one-fourth, as near as I can gueſs.

Have you not ſaid, that very few females are taken in war?
I believe I have.

Have you not ſaid, that few women are convicted of Adultery or Witchcraft?
I have ſaid, that the few women who were convicted, were convicted of Adultery or Witchcraft.

Is the number of ſuch female convicts ſmall?
Not a great many, I believe.

Did you not ſay, that women ſo convicted were often exchanged for men?
I believe I ſaid, except thoſe that are accuſed of Witchcraft —then they are never redeemed.

Can you give any probable eſtimate of the number of women convicted of Witchcraft?
I cannot—a great proportion of the women we receive are ſold under that idea.

Having ſaid that the number of convicted women is ſmall, and that many of them, when convicted, are redeemed or exchanged for men, by what means can ſo large a number as 750, the fourth part of the groſs number you have mentioned, be procured for the market?
I cannot ſay—ſome of them are brought from the interior parts of the country, and we are not always acquainted with the crime for which they are ſold.

Are the gratings over the hatchways in the Slave ſhips always kept open?
Always, when the Slaves are on board.

Are they kept open when it rains?
Except when the Negroes deſire that they may be covered, and then a tarpaulin is laid upon ſome booms over the gratings, at ſome diſtance from them—but ſometimes I have known them deſire it to be laid on the gratings, to keep them warm.

Do you mean to ſay, that the gratings are left open when it rains?
Always—but covered ſo as to prevent the rain from coming down, by the tarpaulin I have before mentioned.

How is it poſſible to keep the gratings open, and at the ſame time to cover them ſo as to keep out the rain?

I mean by the tarpaulin being ſpread over the gratings, in the nature of an awning.

At what height from the level of the deck are the booms upon which the tarpaulin is ſpread?

Some of them ſeven or eight feet—we bring the tarpaulin down on the weather ſide to keep the rain out, and admit the air.

Do the Slaves, when confined, ever complain of foul air?

I never heard them—If they think themſelves at any time too warm, we get a number of them on deck.

Do the Surgeons, Officers, or Sailors, who go below among the Slaves, when their apartments are firſt opened in a morning, ever complain of the noiſomeneſs and foulneſs of the air?

Not particularly.—I never heard them complain—they might ſay ſometimes that it was very warm, and at ſome particular times that there was a particular ſmell there.—We never ſuffer any thing to remain below long to occaſion any offenſive ſmell.

Do you not know that the air of the Slaves apartments, when they are firſt opened in a morning, is foul and offenſive?

At ſea it is generally ventilated by the wind that blows down through the gratings.

Is there a thorough draught of air between decks, when the Slaves are confined at night?

There is, by means of the air ports—in light winds, when we can open the air ports.

Can the air ports be opened in a freſh gale, or in a high ſea?

The weather air ports we can open—they ſeldom want the air ports open in a freſh gale, when they complain of the cold.

Can there be a thorough air through thoſe apartments when the air ports are ſhut?

It is very ſeldom that they are all ſhut.—The weather ones are generally open—there is ſeldom ſo high a ſea or ſo much wind as to render the ſhutting them neceſſary.

Queſtion repeated?

Not a thorough air when all the air ports are ſhut—but there is a current of air going always through the gratings, ſo much that they

they beg to have the tarpaulins laid over the gratings to prevent too much wind coming down.

In the Slave Ships of which you lately ſpoke, what was the heighth between decks?

I cannot ſay exactly—I ſuppoſe the loweſt about four feet.

Had you a platform in your ſhip?

None.

Have you been on board a ſhip where platforms were uſed?

I have been on board other ſhips, and ſeen platforms.

Can you ſay what was the diſtance between the platform and the ceiling, and between the platform and the floor?

I cannot ſay—the platform was the midway, as near as I could judge.—Theſe Slave Ships are uſually built high between decks, for the purpoſe of having theſe platforms.

In ſhips built for platforms, what is the general heighth between decks?

I really cannot ſay—never having frequented other veſſels but my own.

In thoſe ſhips you have ſeen, where there were platforms, was the heighth more than ſix feet?

I think it was ſeven feet.—I never was on board above two ſhips, as I recollect—they were ſeven feet between deck and deck.

Could the men Slaves on the Middle paſſage, in ſuch ſhips as you have been acquainted with, lay on their backs at night?

In the ſhips that I have been in they could—though perhaps they would have found it difficult, all of them, to have lain on their backs at the ſame time.

Are not Africans taken on ſhip-board very ſubject to ſea ſickneſs?

Some of them are for two or three days.

Are they not often excoriated by their chains?

Very ſeldom.—We take care to prevent the irons of the chains galling them—whenever we ſee them likely to gall, we put ſomething round their legs, in order to prevent the irons galling them.

Are they not in fact ſometimes conſiderably galled?

Not

Not conſiderably.—I never ſaw any ſo.—We take the earlieſt opportunity to prevent any thing of the kind.

Can it in fact be prevented?
Yes.

Have you not ſaid, that it is the endeavour of commanders in the Slave trade, and it was your endeavour, to render the ſituation of the Slaves on board, as comfortable as poſſible?
I have.

What are your ideas of comfort, as applied to Slaves, in a Slave ſhip?
By giving them plenty of Food, Victuals and Drink, and the beſt lodgings we can.

Are the circumſtances of being chained two and two, of not having room to lay on their backs, of ſea ſickneſs, excoriation, ſhackles, rings reeved through the chains, kiln-dried Horſe-beans for food, confinement between decks, lying crouded together in a cloſe hold in a tropical climate, confining them all night in a fetid atmoſphere, and keeping them there all day when the weather is bad, articles of comfort?

The queſtion being objected to, the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the queſtion being put, that the Counſel and Witneſs be again called in, and the Witneſs aſked the ſaid queſtion;
It paſſed in the negative.

Then the Counſel and Witneſs were again called in; and the Witneſs was aſked,

Whether the perſons ſuppoſed to be engaged in Witchcraft, do not diſtribute drugs or medicine?
They are ſuſpected to do ſo.

Whether medicines occaſioning abortion are not reckoned part of their myſtery?
I have heard them ſay, it is a part of their myſtery.

What do you think would be the probable effect in Africa of the abolition of the Slave trade by this country?

I believe it would encourage many of the evils which the abolition is meant to relieve.

State thoſe evils?

The evils that originate in Famine—from the Captures in War—and perſons convicted of Crimes—who would be put to Death—It is the maxim among the Blacks never to give a man an opportunity of revenging an injury.

What do you mean by the evils that originate in Famine?

The human Sacrifices, that exiſt among the Anthropophagi, in the interior part of Africa.

Would human ſacrifices be encreaſed by the abolition of the Slave trade?

I believe they would.

Do you think the natives could be induced to cultivate the land for produce to exchange for European commodities?

I do not think any conſideration whatever would tempt them to raiſe any produce that would be worth the attention of this Country.

Could Europeans ſtand the climate in the clearing the woods and cultivating the land?

I do not think they could.

Have the Europeans influence and power over the natives to make them cut down the woods and grow Corn, without they choſe to do it themſelves?

The Europeans have not the power—the natives are not to be influenced by any thing but ſelf-intereſt.

Do the natives regard the European commodities they now obtain as neceſſaries of life, or as luxuries only?

Some of them as neceſſaries, others as luxuries.

Do you apprehend, that if the natives could not procure thoſe commodities which they eſteem as neceſſary, any otherwiſe than in exchange for produce, they would not then cultivate the land to raiſe that neceſſary produce?

Not to a ſufficient degree to encourage any European to go there in queſt of that produce.

Whether

Whether the Climate and Soil are not capable of producing, and do they not in a certain degree produce Cotton of a very excellent quality?

They do.

Is any very great degree of labour neceſſary to the cultivation of Cotton?

They beſtow very little on it.

To what ſickneſs did you allude, as produced by the bad weather at the beginning of your voyage, mentioned in a former part of your evidence; was it ſea ſickneſs or any diſorder?

I mentioned, that ſome of my Slaves were captives in war, and the others ſold in conſequence of a famine, and when I received them on board I hoped they would have improved from being taken better care of and better fed—I had ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, that being too well fed was the occaſion of their illneſs—the quick tranſition from hunger to plenty—and I believe that the ſea ſickneſs prevented their recovery.

Did you mean to ſtate the bad weather as the cauſe of the illneſs?

It did not originate from the weather—but the bad weather increaſed it.

How did the bad weather act ſo as to increaſe the ſickneſs of the cargo?

The bad weather increaſed the ſea ſickneſs, and made it neceſſary to keep part of them below, and to get them upon deck alternately.

Do you not apprehend that the Slave trade in general is unhealthy to the ſeamen who are employed in it?

I generally found that the ſeamen on board the Slave ſhips had their health as well as on board of other ſhips which had not Slaves on board—not more unhealthy than in other trades carried on on the ſame Coaſt—my ſhip did not loſe a ſeaman the laſt voyage—ſhe returned in November laſt.

Have you ever uſed any other trade, or have you ever ſailed to the coaſt of Africa in a wood ſhip?

Neither.

May not European ſeamen preſerve their health tolerably on the Coaſt of Africa, if a proper attention be paid to their diet, and ſheltered from the inclemency of the weather?

I believe

I believe their bad ſtate of health does not originate from their manner of living, or the nature of the food—our ſeamen in Gambia have generally freſh meat during the whole time they are in the river—with reſpect to their ſhelter, it is impoſſible to prevail on a ſeaman not to expoſe himſelf to the dews which are prevalent in that part of the world—they bring their beds upon deck, and will not ſleep under cover if they can ſleep cool, and the dews are often attended with more pernicious effects than the rain.

Do the ſhips employed in the wood trade, uſually take on board Slaves?

I know nothing of the wood trade.

Did you ſuffer very much in point of loſs of ſeamen in more than one voyage in the river Gambia?

I have mentioned twice that I ſuffered.

In that voyage, where ſeven died out of twenty-one, and two or three more on the Middle paſſage, in what ſtate of health were the remainder of the crew who did not die?

One or two of them, who took more care of their health, did tolerably well—the reſt were in a relaxed ſtate.

Were thoſe, of whom you ſpeak as having been in a relaxed ſtate, capable of doing their duty?

Only taking their trick at the helm.

Did you take on board any freſh men, to replace the ſeven who died, and to do the duty of the others who were incapable of performing theirs?

No.

How many Negroes had you on board when you left the Coaſt that voyage?

Two hundred and thirty-ſix, or two hundred and thirty-eight. —I cannot recollect which.

Then do you apprehend that the remaining fourteen of your crew, in the weak ſituation in which you deſcribed them, were ſufficient to navigate the veſſel, and to guard two hundred and thirty-ſix, or two hundred and thirty-eight Negroes?

I was obliged to make the beſt ſhift I could with them—I had no other alternative.

Were

Were the Negroes permitted to come on deck as frequently, and in as great numbers, as if the crew were as ſtrong as it had been?

Juſt the ſame.—I thought it prudent to get them upon deck as often as poſſible, for the purpoſe of examining them, to ſee they were in health and ſecure, and for cleaning the room.

Had they no additional Irons on that account?

None at all.—I took ſome of the Irons off, after they got to ſea.

Were the rooms kept as clean as they otherwiſe would have been?

I believe they were—we made the Negro boys aſſiſt in cleaning the rooms.

Then was not the crew, of which you have ſtated, that only two or three were in good health, extremely harraſſed by the performance of ſuch duty?

The duty was increaſed, but not beyond their ſtrength.

Whether you have not been acquainted with inſtances of notorious cruelty in the Captain of a Slave ſhip—has not ſuch circumſtance fallen under your immediate knowledge?

I cannot ſay they have—ſome Captains are more ſevere than others—but it is the intereſt of every man to treat his Slaves well.

Do you mean to ſay, that the general treatment of the Slaves, on board the Slave ſhips, is, in point of fact, humane and proper?

I can only ſpeak as to the ſhips that have frequented the Gambia Trade, and I have always obſerved that they ſeem to be well treated.

Did you never hear of a Captain of a veſſel in the river Gambia having treated one Slave with enormous cruelty?

If I have I do not recollect it.

Did you know a gentleman of the name of Dillwyn, of Walthamſtow?

I have ſeen him two or three times, but I am not acquainted with him.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Jovis, 18° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

Captain WILLIAM LITTLETON.

N° 9.

Veneris, 19° *die Junii* 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

THOMAS KING, Eſquire, a Merchant of London.

Have you been in Africa?
I have—I went there firſt in 1766, as Second Mate of the Royal Charlotte;—ſhe was about 300 tons—we carried out the African Company's ſtores to Cape Coaſt.

Was that a regular Slave ſhip?
No.

Did you ſtay any time on the Coaſt that voyage?
About two months.

Did you take in a cargo of Slaves?
We took about 120—landed them in Jamaica.

What was the number of the crew of ſailors?
I believe ſeventeen in all.

What was the ſtate of the health of the ſailors during that voyage?

The ſailors were healthy the whole voyage—loſt none from the time we left London until our return to London again.

What was the ſtate of the health of the Slaves?

In general very healthy;—we loſt only two or three from the time they were taken on board till landed in Jamaica.

On what part of the Coaſt of Africa did you take the cargo of Slaves?

The Gold Coaſt.

How long did you ſtay at Jamaica before you landed the Slaves?

I believe about fourteen days from the arrival to the landing of the laſt man.

Were any means uſed after their arrival in Jamaica, and previous to their being landed, to repel diſorders the Slaves might have on them?

None whatever.

When did you make another voyage to the Coaſt of Africa?

In 1768.—We ſailed from London the latter part of 1767, in the ſame ſhip;—I was in the ſame ſtation as Second Mate, it was to carry ſtores as before;—we had eighteen ſailors to the beſt of my recollection.

Did you take Slaves on board on the Coaſt of Africa?

Yes, 455 I think—They were carried from the ſame part, the Gold Coaſt, to Grenada.

What was the ſtate of the health of the ſailors during that voyage?

Alſo very healthy—no ſickneſs on board the ſhip amongſt the ſailors, and we loſt none on our arrival, nor while we ſtaid at Grenada—there I left the ſhip.

What was the ſtate of the health of the Slaves during that voyage?

In general very healthy—I think to the beſt of my memory we loſt ten out of the 455.

Did you loſe any during the ſhip's ſtay at Grenada—after her arrival there?

No, I believe not—the Slaves were on board only about a week before they were landed.

When did you ſail again for the Coaſt of Africa?

I ſailed from Grenada to the Coaſt of Africa I think about the beginning of October, 1768, as Commander of a ſhip called the Molly, about 110 tons.

To what part of Africa did you ſail?

To the Gold Coaſt, touching at America, where we took in the cargo which was intended to purchaſe the Slaves in Africa.

How many Slaves did you take on board?

One hundred and five I think.

How many ſailors had you on board?

I think twelve or thirteen.

Did you ſtay long on the Coaſt of Africa that voyage?

I did—I was very near twelve months on the Gold Coaſt, and near it.

Was that a fortunate voyage or not with reſpect to the health of the ſailors and Slaves?

Very contrary, to both.

How many did you loſe of the crew?

Either ſix or ſeven.

How many Slaves did you loſe?

I believe I loſt about half the Slaves.

To what do you attribute the mortality of the crew and of the Slaves during that voyage?

Notwithſtanding I was near twelve months on the Coaſt, I loſt but few, either of Slaves or the crew, during the time I remained on the Coaſt—but on the paſſage my ſhip ſailed exceeding badly, and I had the misfortune to loſe ſome of the maſts, by which I was driven into the Bite of Bonny, on the Coaſt of Africa, and was ſeven months on my paſſage from the Gold Coaſt to Grenada——In the time I was on the paſſage I was under the neceſſity of putting into different places for proviſions—I could get but very

ſcantily

ſcantily ſupplied; and we were two or three times in that paſſage reduced to a very ſcanty allowance both for Whites and Negroes, to which I principally attributed the great mortality both of the one and the other.

Is the Bite of Bonny a particularly unhealthy part of the Coaſt?

No doubt it is—it is generally eſteemed ſo.

Do you then attribute the misfortune of that voyage in part to the extreme delay and accidents of the veſſel you have mentioned?

Moſt undoubtedly—particularly ſo.

When did you go your next voyage to Africa?

In 1771.—We ſailed from London the latter end of 1770, in the brig called the Ferret, about 70 tons, with twelve or thirteen men, I believe—went to the river Cameroon, in the Bite of Bonny—purchaſed 105 Slaves there, and carried them to Grenada.

What was the ſtate of the health of the ſailors during that voyage?

In general pretty healthy—I believe I loſt two or three.

What, of the Slaves?

Alſo pretty healthy—I believe four or five were loſt.

How long did you ſtay on the Coaſt?

I believe about eight months on the Coaſt.

What was the length of your voyage from the Coaſt to the Weſt Indies?

About two months.

When did you make the next voyage to the Coaſt of Africa?

In 1772.—We ſailed from London in December 1771, on board the Surrey, of 180 tons, twenty-five Sailors, to the river Cameroon—took on board 255 Slaves—ſtaid on the Coaſt ſix months in that river—went to Grenada.

How long was your paſſage?

I think eight weeks.

What was the ſtate of the health of the ſailors during that voyage?

During the time we lay in the river Cameroon moſt of the ſhip's crew, myſelf alſo, and officers, were unwell, at one period or other, and we loſt in the river three ſailors and the ſurgeon.—During the Middle Paſſage the ſeamen were very healthy.

Is the river Cameroon more unhealthy to Europeans than lying at ſea on the open Coaſt?
Yes.

What was the health of the Slaves during that voyage?
The Slaves were in general very healthy—We had no particular diſorder on board—we loſt ten out of the 255.

When did you next go to Africa?
In the beginning of 1773, in the Three Friends—a ſmall veſſel of about 70 tons—there were twelve ſailors, I think, myſelf and the whole crew included;—went to the Gold Coaſt—took on board 144 Slaves—ſtaid on the Coaſt about three months—went to the Iſland of St. Vincent's.

Did you loſe any of the crew?
I believe I loſt two in the whole voyage.

Where did they die?
On the Coaſt.

How many Slaves died?
Eight.

Does that include the whole time, from the Slaves being taken on board till they landed at St. Vincent's?
It does.

When was your next voyage?
In 1775—from London, in the Venus, about 150 tons, between 150 and 160 tons—21 or 22 ſailors, the whole crew, including all—went to the Gold Coaſt—took 321 Slaves—ſtaid on the Coaſt four months—went to Jamaica.

How many of the crew died during the whole voyage from London?
I think I loſt one or two.

Where did you loſe them, and how?

I had no accident—I think we loſt them upon the Coaſt, from fevers.

How many Slaves did you loſe?

Ten out of 321—including the whole time till the Slaves landed.

When was your next voyage?

In 1776—from London, in the Harriet, of about 135 tons—Eighteen men I believe—to the Gold Coaſt—277 Slaves were taken on board—they were ſold in the iſland of Jamaica—we loſt none of the crew—ſtaid on the Coaſt between three and four months, loſt ſeven Slaves out of the 277—I take the whole number from the time they were purchaſed to the time they were actually ſold.

In all the numbers of the Slaves you loſt, have you included the Slaves which died from the time of their being firſt carried on board the ſhip till the time of their being actually landed and ſold in the Weſt Indies?

I do—I include the whole mortality of all the Negroes, from the time the firſt was taken on board on the Coaſt to the time the laſt was landed in the Weſt Indies.

When was your next voyage?

I did not ſail on the next voyage till November 1780—then I went from London to the Gold Coaſt in the Camden, of 335 tons, 65 ſailors, the whole crew—We ſtaid on the Coaſt of Africa about ſix months—purchaſed 580 Slaves—went to Jamaica,—all except the two firſt in which I went were regular Slave ſhips—four ſailors died, of thoſe only two of natural deaths, the other two by accident—we loſt fifty or fifty-one Slaves, including the time from the firſt taken on board to the landing of the laſt.

Was the loſs of the number of Slaves during the voyage owing to any particular diſorder or accident?

To a particular diſorder, a diarrhœa.

Did they contract that diſorder on board ſhip, or did they bring it on board with them?

We apprehend ſome of them brought it on board with them.

Did the diſorder attack them on the Coaſt ſoon after they came on board?
It did.

Was this your laſt voyage to Africa?
Yes.

In what line of life have you been ſince?
I have been ſettled in the City of London ever ſince as a Merchant.

During the voyages you have given an account of, did you ever know of any particular mortality among the Slaves during their continuance on board the ſhip, after their arrival in the Weſt Indies, and before they were landed?
No, I never did.—As to the ſhips I commanded whilſt I was in the trade myſelf, and to all other ſhips I have had concern in, I am ſure they never buried one per cent. after their arrival in the Weſt Indies and before their landing—I mean before they were ſold.

Did you ever know of any means uſed by the Surgeon or others, to repel the diſorders of Slaves, previous to their landing?
I never knew of any ſuch a thing.

During the ſeveral years in which you was concerned in the trade to Africa, as Commander or Officer on board ſhip, had you an opportunity of being on ſhore in Africa, and of obſerving the courſe of the trade in Slaves?
I had frequent opportunities of being on ſhore in Africa during the time I traded there; and ſo far as could be learnt from the Natives reſiding on the Coaſt, I have had opportunities of hearing from them how they became Slaves.

Will you communicate that account to the Committee?
The principal part for crimes—Witchcraft included—and ſome few as priſoners of war.

Did you ever know or hear of wars being made on the Coaſt for the purpoſe of making Slaves?
No—I never did.

Did you ever know or hear of any ſuch wars being ſtirred up by the Europeans for that purpoſe?
By no means.

Did

Did you ever know or hear of towns or villages being pillaged or deſtroyed for that purpoſe?

No, I never did.

Did you ever know or hear of the Natives being ſtolen or ſeduced away, for the purpoſe of being made Slaves?

No, I never did, except from Slaves themſelves, who had come from the interior parts of the Country.

What was the account which you received from ſuch Slaves?

I have heard from them, in ſome very few inſtances, that they were ſtolen or taken away; but I believe, when aſked how they became Slaves, that they rather choſe to tell that ſtory, than to tell what the real fact was.

Was the trade on the Coaſt carried on with the ſhipping in ſuch a manner that if the Natives had been kidnapped, or improperly obtained, they would have had opportunities of making complaints, and being redreſſed?

No doubt of it, ſo far as relates to the Water-ſide People.

Were many of the Free Natives continually on board the ſhips during their ſtay and trading on the Coaſt?

No doubt of it, daily.

Had the Slaves on board opportunities of communicating any thing to ſuch Free Negroes on board?

Certainly.

Did the Slave ſhips ſail from the Coaſt privately, or in the night, or in the morning, and after notive given of their intention to ſail?

It is cuſtomary for ſhips in all parts of Africa where I have been to give notice at leaſt for a week, more commonly for a month, before they mean to ſail; and it is cuſtomary for ſhips to ſail from the Coaſt in the morning; and the reaſon of it is, becauſe during the principal part of the day the breeze blows from the ſea, and it is inconvenient for the ſhips to ſtretch off while ſuch breeze blows.—From early in the morning until 9 or 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the breeze rather blows from the land, ſometimes directly off of it—that is the reaſon the ſhips take the advantage of the morning to leave the Coaſt.

Of the ſhips in which you have ſailed, was the crew compoſed

entirely of ſeamen, or were there many landſmen amongſt them?

In the ſhips in which I have ſailed, and in which I have been generally concerned, as nearly as I can calculate, one-half of the number of the crew conſiſts of the captain, officers, and ſeamen, and the other half of landſmen—men who may have been one or two voyages at ſea, and boys.

Is that the uſual proportion on board all the African ſhips?

I think it is, as far as I have ſeen or known, nearly ſo.

Did you carry from England proviſions for the Slaves during their voyage?

A certain proportion is always taken.

Is that becauſe the Coaſt of Africa does not furniſh it in ſufficient quantities, or for what other reaſon?

It is particularly becauſe Africa does not furniſh ſufficient quantities; and at certain Times (though not frequently) you can get none at all—I am now ſpeaking to the Gold Coaſt—and for the further reaſon that they prefer a change in their food.

What are the articles of food for the Slaves which are carried from England?

Principally ſplit-beans, ſome little matter of rice, and I have known wheat taken, but it is now altogether laid aſide.

Are ſuch beans a wholeſome food, and ſuch as the Slaves are fond of?

They certainly are a very wholeſome food, and ſuch as the Slaves are very fond of.

Do they often prefer that food to the food produced in their own country?

They do—the Gold Coaſt Negroes prefer it to the Indian Corn, which is their native food.—With reſpect to beans, I wiſh to relate a circumſtance which happened to us—When I firſt went to Africa, inſtead of beans, it was uſual to carry the greateſt proportion (at leaſt two-thirds) of the white pea. It was found, on the report of the Surgeons, that they did not very well agree with the Negroes; and we were adviſed by the Surgeons to ſend an equal quantity of peas and beans, and to have them mixed together for their food—and that was alſo found not to agree with them ſo well as when the beans were given to them alone—ſo

from time to time we have diminiſhed the peaſe, till at laſt we ſend none.

What ſort of beans are they, and in what manner prepared?

They are (I am informed) a ſpecies of the Windſor beans—they are called uſually, in the Corn Market, Tick Beans—Theſe beans are ſplit and kiln-dried, and paſſed through a mill, and the huſks ſeparated from them. I have heard a great deal ſaid of ſending horſe-beans to Africa—I never carried them—I never have ſent them—nor did I ever hear or ſee what is in this country uſually termed horſe-beans ſent to Africa for the Negroes.

Do the White people ever eat theſe beans, which are ſent to Africa for the Negroes?

They do very commonly.

During the Middle Paſſage from Africa to the Weſt Indies, is all the care and attention paid to the Negroes on board which their ſituation will permit?

In a well-regulated African ſhip every poſſible care is taken of the Negroes, and their ſituation made as comfortable to them as poſſible.

How are they treated as to diet?

Very great attention is paid as to their having a proper quantity, and that well dreſt.

Is the diet on board ſhip as good as they have in their own country?

As far as I have ſeen of their diet in their own country, I mean the common people, their diet is much more comfortable on board ſhip—I mean that there is more care taken in dreſſing of it, having it well ſeaſoned, and ſerved in clean veſſels.

Is their health attended to on board ſhip?

It certainly is—very particular care is taken, every morning early, to enquire amongſt them for any complaints—and again, after they are upon deck, and their morning meal has been ſerved, that is, after their breakfaſts, it is the duty of the ſurgeon to examine through the whole of the Slaves on board particularly.

Is it the intereſt of the captain and ſurgeon, as well as their duty, to take care of the Negroes health?

Yes, certainly.

Had

Had you an opportunity, during your frequent viſits to the Coaſt of Africa, to obſerve the produce of that country?

I have not obſerved, in the parts of Africa where I have generally been, any produce, except proviſions.

Are thoſe proviſions produced in any very conſiderable quantity?

No, they are not—In general not ſo much, over and above what they want, as the ſhips wiſh to obtain from them.

Is there a conſtant demand, by the ſhips trading on the Coaſt, for a greater ſupply of proviſions than the country can afford to ſupply them with?

I think there is—and could the ſhips depend on being ſupplied with a greater quantity, they would not take ſo much from Europe.

Are there any other articles, beſides proviſions, produced in ſufficient quantities to become an object of commerce?

There are no other articles, the natural produce of the Country, to ſpeak of; but there is ſome Gold Duſt—Elephants Teeth—Bees Wax—Gum Copal—Barwood, and Camwood—Of theſe there are no conſiderable quantities, not ſufficient to become a conſiderable object of trade.

Are the manners, genius, or induſtry of the inhabitants ſuch as to improve theſe natural productions, or to encourage the introduction of others?

The genius of the people on the Gold Coaſt, I think, is equal to extending commerce in any thing that might be practicable—I ſpeak of the Gold Coaſt—but they are ſo indolent, that where induſtry would be neceſſary, I think no commerce could be extended or promoted amongſt them.

Is it a country where a Colony of Europeans might be ſettled with any proſpect of advantage?

On the Gold Coaſt I do not think that the diſpoſition of the Natives is ſuch as to render it poſſible to ſettle a colony of Europeans, unleſs by force of arms.

Is the Coaſt itſelf ſuch, in reſpect of rivers, harbours, or landing-places, as to be favourable for an extenſive commerce in various articles, if the country could be made capable of producing them?

No, the Coaſt is very unfavourable to ſuch a commerce—there are

are no harbours, no bays or creeks, where even a boat can land with ſafety, I mean the boats that go from hence.—On the Gold Coaſt, from one end to the other, excepting two places, there are no harbours, no creeks, nor any bays, that I know of, where even one of the boats from this country could land with ſafety, and thoſe two are very unſafe, except in very fine weather; —I wiſh to be underſtood, that when I ſpeak of theſe being the only two places on the Gold Coaſt, I ſpeak of that part where at preſent the Engliſh ſhips have a right to go.—Beſides that, under the Dutch ſettlements I believe there are one or two places where a boat may land, in the ſame manner as I have deſcribed in the two places belonging to the Engliſh.

Are there bars acroſs the mouths of all ſuch rivers as are upon that Coaſt?

Entirely.

What nations were there trading to the Coaſt of Africa beſides the Engliſh at the time you was acquainted with that Coaſt?

Whilſt I was in that trade there were ſome Dutch, French, Portugueſe, and by chance a Daniſh ſhip.

Is the trade of other nations increaſed or diminiſhed of late years?

The French trade to Africa is exceedingly increaſed within the laſt four years.

Have you any particular means of knowing that?

I have had occaſion frequently to be in France—I have had frequent occaſions to correſpond with French houſes—and have had frequent opportunities of ſeeing French people in this town, who are engaged in that Trade—by which I know it is exceedingly increaſed.

Have the Americans extended their trade for Slaves to the Coaſt of Africa of late years?

Before the laſt war the Americans carried on a conſiderable trade to the Coaſt of Africa—during the war it was given up by them altogether—but ſince the peace they have revived it again; and I believe at this time carry it on to the full or rather to a greater extent, than they ever did before.

What part of America do you ſpeak of?

I allude particularly to Boſton—Rhode Iſland—ſome trifle from New York, and ſome little from Philadelphia—but the principal

part is I believe at preſent carried on from Boſton—before the war the principal part was carried on from Rhode Iſland and New Providence.

Is the ſtate of the Slave Trade ſuch, that if the Engliſh were to aboliſh that Trade, the number of the Slaves now purchaſed by them would remain in the Country of Africa, or would they be bought up by other nations?

They would undoubtedly be bought up by other nations?

Are the Slaves purchaſed by other nations, either on board the ſhips, or during any other period which has come within your knowledge, better treated than they are by the Engliſh?

I have had frequent opportunities of viſiting the ſhips of other nations on the Coaſt of Africa, while I was in the trade, and I certainly am of opinion the treatment on board the Engliſh ſhips in general is preferable to that of any other nation.

Are you at all acquainted with the Windward Coaſt of Africa?

I have in my way to the Gold Coaſt ſeveral times touched on different parts of the Windward Coaſt, and ſtaid a few days.

Can you ſay whether the Slaves are procured in the ſame manner on that Coaſt as on the Gold Coaſt?

So far as my obſervation enables me to judge I think they are.

Is there any difference in the manner of their becoming Slaves in the river Cameroon?

No, I believe not.

What is the ſtate of the Country adjoining to the river Cameroon, with reſpect to its ſoil and produce?

I believe the ſoil is capable of producing in general what the climate will admit of.

Does it produce any articles in any great quantity?

No, it does not—they cultivate nothing but ground proviſions, and ſome little fruits and vegetables—they do not even produce any grain there.

Is it the practice of the Captains in the African trade to compel their Sailors to take their diſcharge in the Weſt Indies?

It never was the practice with me, nor in the ſhips in which I am and have been ſince I left the ſea concerned, nor do I know

it is the practice with any other ſhips—it is not our intereſt to do ſo.

Why?

Becauſe, although we have when we arrive in the Weſt Indies ſome few men in our ſhips more than are abſolutely neceſſary to navigate them to England, yet the additional charge of getting three men in the Weſt Indies, in lieu of nine men diſcharged, would be nearly equal, if not quite, to the expence of bringing the whole nine men home, I mean the charge to the ſhip—I will explain the meaning of this anſwer—The men are ſhipped for the voyage from England to the Coaſt of Africa—from thence to the Weſt Indies—and from the Weſt Indies to the port in England that they have ſailed from generally, at ſo much wages per month—I have before obſerved that about one-half of the crew of an African ſhip conſiſt of landſmen, men who have been one or two voyages at ſea, and boys—theſe go for lower wages than ſeamen, and I believe upon an average may be eſtimated at 21 *s.* or 22 *s.* per month;—admit that the nine men who might be diſcharged at the Weſt Indies ſhould conſiſt of a ſmall proportion of ſeamen, and a larger of landſmen, I ſhould eſtimate that the men ſo to be diſcharged, might have upon an average 24 *s.* or 25 *s.* per month—the paſſage, commonly ſpeaking, from the Weſt Indies to England, particularly to African ſhips, that generally ſail faſt and come home light, may not reaſonably be eſtimated at more than eight weeks, from the Weſt Indies to England, which is rather a long paſſage than otherwiſe—the three men to be obtained in lieu of the nine ſo diſcharged, taken upon a fair and moderate average, would have from ten to twelve guineas and ten to twelve gallons of rum for the run home, which I calculate would amount to the ſame as the nine men would have had if they had gone on with the voyage—I ſtate this proportion off hand, as it ſtruck me whilſt I am giving my evidence; but there are few ſhips from the Coaſt of Africa, that upon being obliged to diſcharge nine men in the Weſt Indies, would not be obliged to take more than three men in the room of them.

In the calculation you have given to the Committee, do you take it for granted that you muſt diſcharge all your ſailors in the Weſt Indies, and hire other ſailors to bring home the ſhip; or might not the captain of an African ſhip, if ſo diſpoſed, get rid of ſix of his ſailors in the Weſt Indies, and detain the other three to bring home the ſhip?

The captain of an African ſhip having engaged his ſeamen for the voyage to return to England again, the diſcharging one man in

in the Weſt Indies would, I conceive, and have always underſtood, entitle the reſt to have their diſcharge alſo.

Is it a common thing for the ſailors belonging to African ſhips to deſert their ſhips in the Weſt Indies?
It is very cuſtomary.

To what is that attributed?
The principal reaſon I know of is their receiving half their pay at the port where the Negroes are ſold—their getting on ſhore, and getting intoxicated—and having frequent opportunities of getting higher wages in their run home in the Weſt India ſhips and other African ſhips.

Have you ever known inſtances of the captains of African ſhips having uſed their men ill for the purpoſe of inducing them to run away in the Weſt Indies?
No, I have not—it was ever my wiſh to preſerve them as much as I could, knowing the additional expence, and ſometimes difficulty, of getting others at any rate in their room.

Is it a common thing for ſailors in the African trade to go ſeveral different voyages with the ſame captain in the ſame ſhip?
I believe it is not very common; at the ſame time we have had the ſame ſeamen that have gone many voyages, and in our employ.

Can you from your experience, both in the Weſt Indies and on the coaſt of Africa, ſay what would be the probable conſequence of putting an end to the Slave Trade from this country only?
I believe the ſame number of Negroes would be exported annually from Africa there now is—the trade would not be diminiſhed in the leaſt—With reſpect to our Weſt India Iſlands, I have not reſided long enough to be a judge how far they would be internally affected by the abolition, but they would undoubtedly be very materially affected, by loſing that moſt valuable branch of the trade, the exportation of a large proportion of the Negroes imported in Britiſh ſhips to foreigners, which are paid for generally either in ſpecie or in the produce of the Weſt Indies.

Could a greater number of female Slaves be procured on the Coaſt of Africa?
Formerly on the Gold Coaſt better than one-third females was procurable—for the laſt two years I believe every encouragement has been given that poſſibly could be deviſed to procure females, but

but at preſent they cannot obtain more generally than one-fourth —and by the laſt accounts that I have ſeen from thence, the price given for prime females, to induce them to bring greater numbers, exceeded by £. 5 per head what is given generally for the men.

Can you aſſign any reaſon for the ſcarcity of female Slaves?

I cannot give a ſufficient reaſon—but polygamy is tolerated throughout Africa, and I believe many of the prime young females are kept as wives in the countries they paſs through.—With reſpect to the price generally given on the Gold Coaſt for the male Slaves, more has been given by forty ſhillings per head for male Slaves than for females; but the want of females, there being ſo few ſold, has induced them to increaſe the price offered, with intent to get a greater proportion, if poſſible, there being a greater demand for them in the Iſland.

Have you ever made a calculation of the amount of the value of European commodities exported yearly to the Coaſt of Africa, in exchange for Slaves?

No.

Do you know to what amount any one houſe ſends goods to the Coaſt of Africa?

I know one houſe in London that has ſent, including the value of their ſhips, to the amount of £. 100,000 in a year.—I have been told there are houſes in Liverpool that ſend more.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have ſaid that you had reaſon to believe, that if a captain diſcharged one ſeaman of his crew in the Weſt Indies, the remaining ſailors were entitled to their diſcharge alſo—why do you think ſo?

Becauſe a certain number of ſeamen are engaged to go for the voyage, and ſign a joint agreement to perform that voyage.—I have underſtood that one man being diſcharged by the commander, before the voyage was completed according to the covenant, the whole were entitled to their diſcharge—and I think I have ſeen it tried in the Weſt Indies, as far as my memory furniſhes me.

You have ſtated that in the years 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776, and 1780, you commanded Slave ſhips, in which you went to the Coaſt of Africa to purchaſe Slaves, and conveyed them to the Weſt India Iſlands—were thoſe voyages profitable?

I believe they were all voyages that a certain profit attended.

Can you ſtate the average proportion between the number of the Slaves contained in thoſe ſix veſſels and the tonnage of the veſſels?

I have never calculated it.

Did you ever hear of a diſorder called the Locked Jaw, on the Coaſt of Africa?

It is not common in the parts of Africa where I have been—I have heard inſtances of it, but it is not common.

Or on board Slave Ships, on their paſſage to the Weſt Indies?

I do not recollect ever having had a Slave ill of that diſorder on board ſhip.

Do the Africans grow Yams on the Gold Coaſt?

Some few, at one or two particular places.

Potatoes?

Very few ſweet potatoes.

Rice?

Nor rice.

Any wheat?

None.

What is the difference in price between a buſhel of peaſe, and ſuch beans as you carry to feed the Slaves with?

Very little—I have ſometimes bought beans at an higher price than the peaſe were; but I think, commonly ſpeaking, they may be cheaper than the peaſe by about two ſhillings in the quarter of eight buſhels.

Is there any, and what difference, in the weight of a buſhel of peaſe and a buſhel of beans?

I cannot ſay I ever weighed them—but I ſhould think there was very little difference—I ſhould think the peaſe as heavy as the beans.

Is the cuſtomary allowance of peaſe and beans to the Slaves equal in point of quantity?

Exactly.

Is the land on the ſea ſhore of the Gold Coaſt high or low?

On the Coaſt it is generally low and rocky, but riſes as you go inland—ſome parts of it in the back of the country, within your view, is mountainous.

What is the depth of water, generally ſpeaking, within 100 yards of the beach?

It is impoſſible to reply to that generally—in the places where the canoes land it ſhoals more gradually than where ther ocks point out into the ſea.

What is the depth of water at the landing-places within 100 yards?

At the diſtance of 100 yards from the ſhore, in ſome parts, I think you might have ſix or eight feet water—in other places there is not more than that depth of water at nearly the diſtance of a mile; and taking one time, commonly ſpeaking, with another the ſea breaks 300 yards from the ſhore.—I would beg it to be underſtood, that there are particular ſeaſons in the year, and particular days in thoſe ſeaſons, when the ſea is ſmoother, and may not break twenty yards from the ſhore—there are other ſeaſons when the ſea breaks in ſix fathom water, and in general the ſea is worſe near the full and change of the moon.

Do the tides run ſtrong on the Gold Coaſt?

Where the ſhips lie at anchor you can perceive no tide;—upon the ſhore, I think, there is a riſe and fall of about three feet—at moſt I think three feet.

Do you ſpeak of three feet perpendicular riſing?

I ſpeak of perpendicular.

Do ſeamen in the African Trade leave any part of their monthly wages to be paid their wives during their abſence?

They do.

What proportion of their wages do they generally leave their wives?

We do not in common allow ſeamen to leave monthly money, only thoſe who have wives and families, or ſome relation dependent on them; and we allow them, under thoſe circumſtances, to leave from 10 to 15*s.* per month.

Are ſuch monthly allowances continued ſo to be paid until the

ſhips return, or advice comes of the death of the men, or of their having left the ſhip?

Always.

If a ſhip maſter diſcharges a ſeaman in the Weſt Indies, without his conſent, and without juſt cauſe for ſo doing, is he not ſubject to be proſecuted by ſuch ſeaman?

I believe he is; and I believe the ſeaman on his return to this country will have a right to demand from the maſter who has diſcharged him from the veſſel full wages until the arrival of the ſhip in this country, notwithſtanding he did not come in her.

Do you know, of your own knowledge, that ſuch proſecutions have been, and that the ſeaman ſo proſecuting has not only received his wages for the whole voyage, but his own expences during his abſence, and until his return home?

I do know that ſuch proſecutions have been had in this town, and that the ſeaman did recover the whole of his wages; but I do not recollect having heard that he received any thing for his paſſage home, though it might have happened and I not have heard it.

Do you reckon the tonnage of the ſix laſt veſſels in which you traded for Slaves according to the old or the new regiſter?

According to the old regiſter, nearly—I reckon the tonnage as nearly as I can recollect what it was—the laſt ſhip was her actual tonnage; ſhe was afterwards meaſured, and I have ſtated at what ſhe was meaſured—as far as I can recollect, I have given the tonnage what it was.

Have you got any of thoſe tick beans you mentioned?

I have by me ſome of thoſe beans.

Have you any about you now?

Yes.

[Then the Witneſs produced a parcel of the ſaid beans, which were brought up to the table; and he delivered in the anſwer of the perſon to whom he ſent for this ſample of beans, and who has always ſupplied him during the time he has been concerned in the African trade.]

The ſaid anſwer was read, and is as follows:

" Mr.

" Mr. Stray ſays theſe are the only ſort of beans " that are ſent to Africa, they are called tick-beans; " they are alſo ſent to the Weſt Indies for proviſion " for the Negroes.—If eat when green, they are " equal to the garden beans produced at this time " of the year.

" Horſe Beans are a different ſort, and not uſed " for Slaves proviſions.

" Mr. Stray alſo ſays, he does not know that the " tick beans are uſed for any other purpoſe than " for exportation to Africa and the Weſt Indies."

Can you ſay, of your own knowledge, whether the trade of the French to the coaſt of Africa is or is not increaſed within theſe two or three years?

I can ſay I do know, to my own knowledge, that it is very conſiderably increaſed within theſe two years, and that it is now in an increaſing ſtate.

Have the French given a bounty on the importation of Negroes into their Colonies?

They grant very conſiderable bounties; firſt, upon the ſhips that are fitted from France for that trade; and, ſecondly, upon the number of Negroes, on each Negro imported into their Weſt India Iſlands.—I believe there are only two or three places in the iſland of St. Domingo where there is no bounty granted on the head of the Negro imported—in all the reſt of their Weſtern Iſlands a bounty is always allowed.

Whether the idea of the abolition of the Slave Trade by this country has not given additional vigour to the trade of France to the Coaſt of Africa?

Undoubtedly; and there are many adventurers in the French trade who are anxiouſly watching the buſineſs now before this Houſe.

The former part of the Evidence, relating to beans, being read to the Witneſs; he was aſked,

Do you know the comparative prices of horſe and tick beans?

No.

Do

Do you not know that when horſe-beans ſell from one guinea to 22 *s.* and 6 *d.* that tick-beans are from 19 to 21 *s.*?

I do know that tick-beans, at leaſt the beans now on the table, have never been bought in this town, for the laſt five years, for leſs than 34 *s.* per quarter; but they have frequently been ſo high as 48 *s.* and we have bought them at 52 *s.* in that time.

Have you not ſtated, that the beans ſupplied for the uſe of the Negroes are what are uſually denominated on the Corn Market of London tick-beans?

I have ſo, and I have taken it from the information of perſons reſpectable in that market.

Do you not know that there are returns publiſhed of the prices of different grain on the Corn Market of London?

I believe there are—I would be underſtood to ſpeak to the price of theſe beans in the ſtate they are when we purchaſe them to put on board—what price they may be ſold at, before they are kiln-dried and ſplit, and their huſks ſeparated, I do not know.

Do you know what is the number of ſeamen uſually employed in a ſhip of 200 tons in the Weſt India trade?

I ſhould imagine about fourteen.

Do you know what is the uſual number of ſeamen employed in a ſhip to the Coaſt of Africa in the Slave Trade of the ſame tonnage?

That muſt depend in a great meaſure on the part of Africa the ſhip is bound to.

To any part of Africa, to the river Cameroon for inſtance?

About thirty, I ſhould ſuppoſe.

May not that veſſel, on her return from the Weſt Indies to London, be conveniently navigated by a number of ſeamen not exceeding fourteen?

Not of ſuch ſort of men as a crew of an African ſhip conſiſts of.

May not ſuch a veſſel, when light, be ſafely navigated by eight or ten able ſeamen and four or five landſmen?

With leſs.

Whether the concern you are engaged in have not a factory-ſhip on the Coaſt of Africa?

We had a ſhip that lay ſome time longer at Annamaboe than ſhe would have otherwiſe done, for the diſpatch of other ſh s.

Did ſhe not lie there to receive Slaves on board, for the greater diſpatch of your other veſſels which came to trade on the Coaſt?

She went out from England for the purpoſe of laying ſome time at Annamaboe to purchaſe Slaves—ſome part of which were diſpoſed of in other veſſels, in two or three veſſels.

How long did ſhe lie there?

I believe ſhe lay there about fifteen or ſixteen months.

How many were her crew when ſhe went out?

I believe thirty-five or thirty-ſix.

How many of thoſe thirty-five or thirty-ſix died during her ſixteen months ſtay?

I am informed by the perſon who commanded her that ſhe loſt four only in the ſixteen months.

Have you not heard that wars furniſh ſome part of the Slaves on the Coaſt?

I have.

Have you not heard that numbers are ſtolen by the Black People?

I have heard ſome of the Slaves who come from the interior parts of the Country ſay they had been ſtolen, but I never knew ſuch a practice any where near the Coaſt.

Do you not know of inſtances of Slave ſhips being cut off by the Natives, both in the rivers and in the Middle Paſſage?

Certainly, there have been inſtances of ſhips being cut off in the rivers by the Natives, and on the paſſage by the Slaves.

Do you ſpeak this of your own knowledge?

Certainly.—Not that it ever happened to myſelf.

Do you apprehend that the Slaves would attempt to cut off the veſſel, either in the river or on the Middle Paſſage, if they were perfectly ſatisfied at being tranſported from their Country, and with their treament on board the ſhip?

With reſpect to their treatment on board ſhip, I believe they are, in well-regulated ſhips, in general ſatisfied—but there are particular

particular Nations who have religious Prieſts among them, that induce them to make thoſe attempts, with the expectation that they ſhould get the ſhip to ſome ſhore, where they would form a little community of their own.—There are other Nations again in Africa, who have an idea that the White people purchaſe them with intent to take them to their own country, to kill and eat them.—Theſe Negroes are ſometimes on board the ſhip a conſiderable time before they are perfectly reconciled.—There are other Nations Slaves ſold for crimes in the Country near the Waterſide, who leaving their friends and families are for a time diſcontented, particularly while they lie near the ſhore, and do ſometimes attempt to cut the ſhip off, and by chance ſucceed, with a hope to get back to their family and country.—Theſe are the three particular cauſes of inſurrections in the ſhips.

As you have ſtated that the Negroes are ſometimes ſtolen who are brought down to be ſold, can you ſay that the perſons who endeavour to cauſe inſurrections, on account of their having been taken away from their friends and family, have been ſold for crimes, and not ſtolen?

I have ſtated that I have heard Slaves from the moſt interior part of the Country ſay that they were ſtolen, but I have my doubts whether that was the fact or no; and, ſo far as relates to the country adjoining the water, I never heard of ſuch a thing as Slaves being ſtolen.

Do you know any thing of the adminiſtration of juſtice in that Country from which you have juſt now ſtated Negroes to be ſold from their friends and families for crimes?

I have ſeen ſome little matter of it, though I did not reſide long enough on ſhore to be very competent to ſpeak to it.

Do you apprehend that a perſon, having been ſold on board the ſhip for a crime, would be permitted to remain with his friends and family, if he was to eſcape on ſhore and return to them?

Certainly I believe not.

Are not you at this preſent time engaged in the African trade?

Yes.

What became of the ſhips that were run away with in the Middle Paſſage, and how far from ſhore was it?

Thoſe inſtances after the ſhips had left the Coaſt have been extremely

tremely rare, and only from one part of Africa in particular, the river Gambia and its vicinity—They attempted to get the ſhips, and have generally deſtroyed all the Whites, except one or two, and thoſe they kept to navigate the ſhip to the firſt land they could make.

What land did they make?

I think I recollect one inſtance of their having got back to their Coaſt—and another of the ſhip's being met with at ſea, and taken poſſeſſion of.

How far had the ſhip which got back got from the Coaſt?

I do not know, but not far—but this only from information.

Are not the men Slaves in the Middle Paſſage generally fettered together by the legs?

There are a certain proportion of the men Slaves ſo fettered, but not all—out of a cargo from the Gold Coaſt of 500, 120 or 125 may be eſtimated to be women and girls—of the males at leaſt 100 to 125 are from the age of 15 downwards, thoſe are never put in Irons—and of the remainder there is a certain proportion who come from the moſt interior part of Africa who are quiet, and are never put in Irons at all—So that at moſt out of 500 I ſhould eſtimate there would not be more than 200 or 230, or at moſt 250, that at any one time on board the ſhip would be in fetters—and in the latter part of the paſſage near the Weſt Indies there would not be ſo many.

Deſcribe the manner in which they are fettered?

They are generally chained two and two together, the right leg of the one to the left leg of the other—ſome part of thoſe who are the moſt reſolute and dangerous their hands alſo.

What is the length of the ring-bolt between the fetters?

The bolt of the fetters is about fourteen or fifteen inches long—the ſpace between the two ſhackles might be about ſix inches, but they are not all of one length—they are proportioned to the ſtrength and ſize of the men.

What is the weight of the leg fetters?

Including the ſhackle and the bolt, from two to three pounds—I never weighed them, but I ſpeak from the price we pay for them—our cuſtomary price is one ſhilling for the leg, and eight-pence for the hand.

Are they fettered in the night as well as the day, and in the ſame manner?

No doubt they are.

What is the largeſt proportion of Negroes to the tonnage of the ſhip, that you had on board?

Rather better than two to a ton.

Had the Negroes room to lie on their backs in the night in thoſe veſſels?

Certainly.

What was the allowance of water per man per day which you took on board?

The calculation I always made on the Gold Coaſt, and that I believe is generally made, as far as my knowledge and experience goes, was from forty-five to fifty gallons per head for every perſon on board, Whites as well as Blacks, for the paſſage.

Was the allowance the ſame from the river Cameroon?

I believe it was rather more.

Are the voyages of equal length, or nearly ſo?

They are nearly ſo—That from Cameroon rather the longeſt and more uncertain, but very little difference.

For how many days is that allowance made?

The uſual paſſage is from ſeven to nine weeks—and the calculation when made is intended in caſes of neceſſity for ninety days, at half a gallon per day—Proviſions are calculated in the ſame way for ninety days; and when the ſhips firſt leave the Coaſt, for ſome time, till the time of the paſſage is more exactly aſcertained, attention is paid not far to exceed that allowance—but as the ſhips get into the South Eaſt trade winds, after which they can calculate pretty nearly on their paſſage there, if they have not been too long in reaching there, they have generally as much water as they chuſe, and proviſions the ſame.

Is not the water as well as proviſions ſtowed in the hold?

Yes.

Do you conceive it poſſible, that on board a Guinea ſhip on the Middle Paſſage a diſtilling machine could be placed, ſo as to procure an additional quantity of water?

No doubt it might—at preſent, out of London, in ſome of the ſhips that go for the greateſt number of Negroes, a ſtill-head and worm is fixed to the top of the Slaves boiler.

When you mentioned half a gallon of water a day, did you include what was uſed for boiling and other uſes, as well as drinking?

No doubt of it.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Veneris, 19° *die Junii* 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſs examined,

THOMAS KING, Eſquire.

N° 10.

Lunæ, 22° die Junii 1789.

COMMITTEE of the Whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Circumſtances of the Slave Trade, complained of in the ſeveral Petitions which were preſented to the Houſe in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, relative to the State of the African Slave Trade.

COunſel called in.

The Counſel for the Petitions from Liverpool proceeded in their Evidence; and called

ALEXANDER ANDERSON, Eſquire, a merchant; he and his brother John Anderſon are in partnerſhip together, and they are proprietors of Bance Iſland, in Sierra Leone, and have been ſo from four to five years.

Have you during that time ſhipped Slaves on your own account from thence to the Weſt Indies?
Yes—ſeveral cargoes in that time, to Tobago, Grenada, St. Chriſtopher's, and South Carolina.

What has been the mortality among the Slaves in thoſe voyages?
About $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Do you mean that average from the time they ſailed?
I mean from the time of ſailing to the time of their arrival at the port of delivery.

What has been the average of mortality in the Weſt Indies, between their arrival there and the time of the ſale in the Weſt Indies?
About $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. more.

What time has generally elapſed between the time of their arrival and the time of ſale?

About ten days on the average.

In the out-fit of theſe ſhips have you ſent out things neceſſary to ſupport the Negroes during the voyage?

Yes, what was conſidered ſufficient, with the addition of rice which the Captain of the ſhip might acquire on the Coaſt—and we have always ſupplied the ſhip with wine for the ſick Slaves, and alſo plenty of medicines.

Has your Houſe attempted to purchaſe the commodities of Africa at Bance Iſland?

We have, ſuch as Ivory and Camwood, the only produce in that part of the country fit for a European market.

Have you been able to purchaſe thoſe commodities in any great quantity?

No, not a very large quantity—I ſuppoſe about 120 tons of Camwood in a year, and about three or four tons of Ivory.

In order to induce your agents to purchaſe thoſe commodities, have you allowed them any advantages of commiſſion?

We have allowed them a commiſſion ſuperior to the purchaſe of Slaves—I ſuppoſe about three to one.

Does Camwood grow on Bance Iſland?

No.

Have you the calculation of the average of the mortality of the Slaves which you have mentioned?

I have it in my hand, and beg leave to produce it; which contains an account of the number of Slaves ſhipped in each ſhip on the Coaſt of Africa—the tonnage of the ſhip—the number of Slaves that died on board the ſhip, from her leaving Africa to her arrival at the port of ſale, amounting to $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.—and alſo an account of the Slaves that have died from the ſhip's arrival at the port of ſale until the cargo was diſpoſed of, which, as I mentioned, was about ten days, and amounts to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. which makes the mortality from the ſhip's leaving Africa till her cargo is ſold in the Weſt Indies under 3 per cent.—This ſtatement is taken from our books, bills of lading, and letters.

Then the ſaid ſtatement was delivered in at the table, and read; and is as follows; viz.

	Number of Slaves ſhipped.	Died on the Paſſages.	Landed in America and the Weſt Indies.	Died after landing, and before the Sales.	Sold.
The Snow Mary, 110 tons, Captain Bowie, left Bance Iſland, in Sierra Leon River, Africa, and arrived at Charleſtown, in South Carolina (the place of her deſtination) in 1785 — — — —	157	None	157	3	154
The ſame Snow, Captain M'Lean, left Ditto, and arrived at St. Kitt's, in 1786 — — — — — —	154	3	151	2	149
The ſame Snow, and ſame Captain, left Ditto, and arrived at Charleſtown, in South Carolina, the place of her deſtination; but upon her arrival there ſhe found their ports ſhut againſt the importation of Slaves, and ſhe was therefore obliged to proceed for St. Kitt's, where ſhe arrived in 1787, after performing a double voyage — — —	143	3	140	1	139
The Ship Concord, 130 tons, Captain Dove, left Bance Iſland, and arrived in Tobago, in 1787 — — — —	260	5	255	2	253
The ſame Ship, Captain Smith, left Ditto, and arrived in Grenada, in 1788 — — — — — —	231	2	229	1	228
The Ship Duke of Buccleugh, 240 tons, Captain M'Lean, left Ditto, and arrived in Grenada, 1789 — — — —	373	8	365	7	358
	1,318	21	1,297	16	1,281

Note.—That a Number of the above, per Duke of Buccleugh, were ſickly, and had bad Sores when ſhipped.

It appears from the above Statement, that there was not 1¾ per cent. loſt by deaths on the paſſages;
and not — 1¼ per cent. loſt by death after landing, and before the ſales of the cargoes.

in all not — — 3 per cent.

Does

Does your houſe keep factories and warehouſes on the iſland?
We keep warehouſes with goods to a conſiderable amount on the iſland—and factories with goods on other parts of the Coaſt.

Do you keep agents in the iſland to conduct your trade?
One agent, and ſeveral clerks.

In what way is that trade conducted?
Chiefly with the Natives—by purchaſing Slaves, Camwood, and Ivory, from them, and loading our own ſhips with thoſe goods; and when our own ſhips are not on the Coaſt, chartering with others.

Are there any inhabitants on the iſland but thoſe which are dependent upon you?
None.

Have you ever had it in contemplation to raiſe produce on the iſland for exportation?
We once had an intent of ſettling a Cotton plantation in the neighbourhood, and would have tried the experiment, but were diſſuaded from it by our friends who had a local knowledge of the country, on account of the impoſſibility of making the Natives of Africa labour; and I am certain that we could have made a good plantation from the land we had, and the number of Slaves we have conſtantly in our employment, could we make them work.

Was Mr. Richard Oſwald ever proprietor of Bance Iſland?
He was for about twenty or thirty years prior to our purchaſe, which was in 1785.

Do you know whether he ever had it in contemplation to make any plantation there?
I have heard he frequently regretted that he could not make the people labour—and, in 1783, he gave directions to one of his captains going upon the Coaſt, to offer a premium to the Natives for Indigo and Cotton; and gave him directions, that the Slaves upon Bance Iſland who conſtantly reſided there might be employed in the cultivation of Rice; but it was all without any effect.

Have you a copy of the order ſo given?
Yes.

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Was

Was Bance Iſland taken by the French?
Yes, in 1778, or thereabouts.

By what name are the Slaves on Bance Iſland diſtinguiſhed?
They are called Grumettas.

What became of them when the French took the Iſland?
They all abſconded and went into the woods; and after the French had left the river Sierra Leone they all returned, except one, who was ſuppoſed to have died in the woods.

How many of theſe Grumettas belonged to your houſe?
From 220 to 230.

In what manner are they employed?
A few of them are employed in navigating our craft along the Coaſt, and in ſupplying our out-factories with goods, and bringing back the returns to Bance Iſland.

Have you had any late accounts from Bance Iſland?
We frequently hear from thence—I heard to-day.

Have you had any account from your agent of the ſettlement of the Free Negroes ſent out from this country at the mouth of the river Sierra Leone?
Our laſt letters do not mention any thing of them; but other letters have.

What do thoſe letters mention about them?
They mention a great mortality that has been among theſe people; and I ſhould ſuppoſe, that of the number that left this country, which I believe was about 470, there are not now altogether alive above 100.

Have you any extracts of letters relative to them, and with reſpect to their conduct?

The witneſs informed the Committee, That he had copies of thoſe letters in his hand.

It was objected to in the Committee, that the original letters ought to be produced.

And the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

V. page 271.

And it being the ſenſe of the Committee, that the original ſhould be produced.

The Counſel were called, and acquainted therewith; and the Counſel proceeded to call

Captain JACOB LORAN, Maſter of a ſhip, a merchantman—has been engaged in the Weſt India Trade as Captain 20 years.

How many voyages have you made from Great Britain to the Weſt Indies, and how many from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain, in that time?
About fifty.

In that number do you reckon the voyage out and the voyage home as diſtinct voyages?
Yes—the voyage out as one, and the voyage home as another.

What is the practice in that trade, as to the captains of ſhips bringing home all the ſailors they carry out?
Very often when we arrive in the country the ſailors run away from us, and we are obliged to employ others to bring the ſhip home again.

Are you obliged by the laws of the iſlands in the Weſt Indies to bring home all the ſailors you carry out?
There is an act in the iſland of St. Chriſtophers, that we are to leave no ſailors on ſhore which we have carried out—We enter into a bond, with one ſecurity, in a penalty I think of £. 2,000 currency, that we will carry them off the iſland again.

Notwithſtanding that law and that penalty, have you been able to prevent the ſailors from deſerting in the Weſt Indies?
No.

Does the ſame law prevail in other iſlands, as well as at Saint Chriſtophers?
I cannot ſay.

Does it extend to ſhips coming to that iſland from other places, as well as from Great Britain?
Yes.

Have

Have you been often obliged to hire ſailors in the Weſt Indies, to aſſiſt in navigating your ſhip back to Great Britain?
Very often.

Did you know from what veſſels thoſe ſailors came to you?
Not particularly—ſome from merchantmen, ſome from Guinea-men.

Have you ever ſhipped many from Guinea-men?
I have had four, five, or ſix from Guinea-men at a time.

Do you know in what manner the ſailors quitted the Guinea-men to come on board your ſhip?
The ſailors in general look upon the Weſt Indies to be a ſecond port of delivery, where they inſiſt on their diſcharge, many of them—they come on board our ſhips, where we generally give them more money for the run home than they would get by their month's wages on board the ſhip they were in.

By that ſhip, do you mean an African ſhip?
I mean the merchant ſhips in general, African and others.

With reſpect to what ſhip, and in what trade, do you mean that the Weſt Indies is conſidered as the ſecond port of delivery?
The African trade in particular.

If the captain ſhould refuſe to diſcharge ſuch ſailors at the Weſt Indies, as the ſecond port of delivery, would the laws of the iſland compel him to do ſo?
I cannot ſay.

Are the ſailors then of the African ſhips deſirous of coming on board ſhips from the Weſt Indies in the Weſt India trade, for the ſake of the increaſe of wages in the run home to England?
Moſt certainly that is their reaſon.

What wages are given them for their run home to England?
I have known them as high as from 25 to 30 guineas, and the ſame number of gallons of Rum.

Do you ſpeak this of War time?
Yes.

What

What in general may be the wages of the run home in time of peace?

From ſeven or eight to ten guineas, according to the ſcarcity or plenty of hands.

Have the ſailors any rum beſides the eight or ten guineas?

They generally make their agreement for a gallon of rum for every guinea.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have ſtated, that it is a common practice for ſeamen to get eight or ten guineas for the run home from the Weſt Indies in the time of peace, can you ſtate an inſtance of that within your own knowledge?

I can.

State that inſtance.

In the year 1775, at Dominica, the ſhip Amherſt had four by the run—I was maſter, and gave eight guineas and eight gallons of rum.

Do you command a ſhip now?

Yes.

Has any ſuch thing happened within your knowledge in the courſe of this peace?

None.

Do they not engage the ſeamen, in every trade you have been in, to perform the voyage out and home?

We do.

Explain to the Committee what you mean by the Sailors coming home by the run, when men are engaged to perform that ſervice?

When we go to the Weſt Indies it is a general practice for ſailors to go on ſhore on our arrival—It is well known that what the ſailor firſt flies to is to get grog—they drink ſo much, and get ſo far intoxicated, that the firſt captain that is going away and wants men, by advancing them a little money (they having run in debt) they go along with him for the run.

Does this frequently happen before they are paid that part of their wages on their arrival in the Weſt Indies, or afterwards?

We pay them no half wages in the Weſt Indies; they are entitled to none until one month after their arrival in the river Thames on their return.

Do you mean that the number of men that run away in the Weſt Indies are the crews of the ſhips employed in the Weſt Indian or African trade?

Men I believe run from both of them.

Do you make no diſtinction?

I can make none.

Did you ever know an inſtance of the bond being carried into execution againſt the maſters for leaving their men in the Weſt Indies?

I have known the ſecurity being threatened; and I have ſeen a ſecurity pay for a maſter £. 40 for a Man who has been left.

Does this apply to the bond for £. 2,000, or is it by any other law?

It applies to the bond, which the Churchwardens threatened to ſue.

Do not ſeamen running away from their maſters in the Weſt Indies forfeit all their wages?

By the articles they ſign with us they do.

Are not ſeamen more ſcarce at Dominica than at the older eſtabliſhed Iſlands?

They happened to be ſcarce when I was there, and we ſhipped thoſe people.

Was it not owing to that circumſtance that you paid ſo much for the run?

Not altogether, I believe.

To what other cauſe was it owing?

When I ſee a good hearty fellow, that I can put a truſt in in a gale of wind, I always give him a guinea or two more than a man I cannot confide in.

Do you ever enquire where the ſeamen come from that you have?

I believe there was one or two came out of a Guinea ſhip, Captain Hannel—came to Mr. Vanſter, merchant.

Do you never employ thoſe belonging to the king's ſhips as well as the merchants ſhips?

I have employed them out of the king's ſhips, with the leave of the captains.

Do you ever ſerve the ſeamen with ſpirits, tobacco, and cloaths on their voyage to or from the Weſt Indies?

From the port of London I lay them in neceſſaries—on our arrival in the Weſt Indies I allow each man half a pint of rum a day.

The queſtion was, Do you ever ſell ſpirits, tobacco, and cloaths to the ſeamen?

Never in my life.

Have ſailors frequently quitted your ſhip in the Weſt Indies?

Not more than they generally do others.

Do they quit Weſt India ſhips in general in conſiderable numbers?

I know an inſtance, about four months ago, that the foremaſt men, all but one, left the ſhip.

Was you ever proſecuted yourſelf on this bond?

Not on account of ſailors, I have on account of a Negro—The bond ſtates, 'You are to bring nobody off the Iſland, or leave any on.'—The Negro ſtowed himſelf away in my ſhip—he was never perceived till three days after we ſailed—I brought him to London—cloathed him—took him home to my houſe—he ſtaid there about four weeks, and then ran away.—On my return to St. Chriſtopher's, I was ſued for ninety-eight pounds, the value of the Negro, which I was obliged to pay.

Have ſailors ever left your ſhip in the Weſt Indies?

Very often.

Is it cuſtomary for ſailors to leave their ſhips?

Very cuſtomary.

Do you know any reaſon why all thoſe foremaſt men left the ſhip?
No.

If their wages, forfeited by deſertion, were applied to the maintenance of Greenwich Hoſpital or the Merchant Seaman's Hoſpital, inſtead of putting it into the pockets of the maſters and owners, would deſertion, in your judgment, be as frequent as you have ſtated it to be at preſent?
In my opinion, neither owners or maſters get any of the deſertion money.

Do not the articles which you have made the ſeamen ſign ſtipulate that their wages, in caſe of deſertion, ſhall go to the maſter and owners?
They do.

Then how can you reconcile that to what you ſaid before?
When a ſeaman runs away, he generally applies to a lawyer, and the act is over-ruled generally.

When the ſailors run away, do you generally ſhip as many in their room, by the run?
We generally pick up our ſhip's company, if we can get them.

Is not the ſum you give them by the run adequate to what the owner or captain gets by their deſertion?
I never knew the owner or captain get a farthing by their deſertion in my life.

Is not what you give to a ſailor to come home by the run generally more than the amount of the wages due to him who deſerts?
A good deal more, and a very heavy charge to the ſhip it is to have their men run away.

What becomes of the forfeited wages?
I do not know.

Do not Weſt India ſhips, homeward-bound, deſire to come ſtronger handed home than they go out?
In general they do.

Is not the whole crew of a Weſt India ſhip paid their whole river pay, with a certain advance of wages, on their leaving Graveſend?

Always.

What is their advanced wages?

In general a month's pay in hand—and monthly notes left with ſeveral of the ſailors wives, for ſo much a month until the ſhip's arrival back in London.

Whether the month's pay in advance, and the monthly allowance left to the wives, and which is to continue till the ſhip's return, or advice from the maſter that the ſeaman has left the ſhip, does not in general amount to the whole wages due to ſeamen, when they run from their ſhips in the Weſt Indies?

Generally more.

Are not you of opinion that the intereſt of the owner is materially benefited by having all the people who go out in his ſhip return home again?

Certainly.

Whether ſhips of really equal tonnage by regiſter do not materially differ in the tonnage which they carry?

Very much.

Whether, ſuppoſing two ſhips of 300 tons each, carpenter's tonnage, conſequently regiſter tonnage, the one having nine feet depth of hold, the other twelve, would not the latter carry near eighty tons more than the former?

She would certainly carry more.

Does the difference in the depth of the hold make any difference in the meaſurement of the ſhip?

I cannot ſpeak to that at preſent, for they at preſent meaſure by two or three different ways.

Whether the mode of meaſuring a ſhip is not by the length of her keel, and the breadth of her beam?

The length of the keel, the breadth, and half breadth of her beam.

If that then is the mode of meaſuring a ſhip, can the depth of her hold have any thing to do with her tonnage?

No.

Are you acquainted with the general conſtruction of the African ſhips?
No, not particularly, I never was in the trade.

Are you generally acquainted with them, or at all?
I have been ſometimes on board an African ſhip.

Do you not know, that they are generally built much ſharper, and of leſs capacity in the hold, than Weſt India ſhips of the ſame tonnage by meaſurement?
The Weſt India merchantmen are built for burthen, full; and in general, I believe, the African ſhips are built for ſailing, ſharp built.

Did you ever ſail in a Weſt Indiaman of about 200 tons burthen?
No, none ſo ſmall.

What was your ſmalleſt?
About 320 tons.

State what was the heighth between decks, and the depth of the hold, in that veſſel?
Thirteen feet hold—ſix feet eight inches between decks, from deck to deck.

Can you ſtate in general terms what was the homeward-bound cargo of ſuch a veſſel?
When ſhe was full I have had 625 hogſheads of ſugar and puncheons of rum.

Can you diſtinguiſh how many hogſheads and how many puncheons?
525 hogſheads, and 100 puncheons of rum, beſides ſome other ſmall caſks.

What proportion of that cargo was ſtowed between decks, and how much in the hold?
About 480 hogſheads of ſugar in the hold, and the reſt between decks, and ſome rum on the deck.

What is the name of the ſhip from whence the foremaſt men deſerted, which you mentioned?
Captain Maynard, of Montſerrat, but I do not remember the name of the ſhip.

Do you mean to ſay, that all the ſhip's company indiſcriminately have all the monthly notes iſſued, or only to individuals that the captain is acquainted with, and can rely upon?

Not all the ſhip's company.

In what proportion then?

Sometimes one-third, ſometimes more, or ſometimes leſs, as they have wives and families.

Did you ever load the ſhip of 320 tons with meaſurement goods?

Never.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Mr. ANDERSON being again called in, he produced a letter, mentioned by him in the former part of his evidence, dated Bance Iſland, 18th July 1788; and ſo much thereof as relates to the ſubject in queſtion was read; and is as followeth; viz.

" The new ſettlers at Sierra Leone prove to be a very " dangerous bad ſet of people: On their firſt arrival they " acted in a very inſolent manner, firſt in maltreating " every perſon ſent out at a very great expence by go- " vernment for to aſſiſt and keep them in order, but " they looked upon themſelves better than any White " people that came out or was ſettled in the Country; " and after they ſold the tools, and every ſupply that " was ſo generouſly ſupplied by government, to enable " them to raiſe produce, and ſubſiſt themſelves in a de- " cent manner; inſtead of which they go over the " Country, ſome of the induſtrious, to pick up poultry, " or any refreſhments, to ſell to the ſhipping that fre- " quents this river, but the greateſt part for no other " purpoſe but to rob and plunder.—About ſix months " ago one of their canoes happening to ſtop at the " Iſland, inſulted the doctor of a veſſel belonging to " Briſtol, who was landing ſome goods for me at the " wharf, and with a drawn cutlaſs was going to cut " him down, had I not gone down and interfered, and " ordered them into their canoe, where one Smith, the

" principal, behaved in a very inſolent manner, and told
" the doctor, that if ever they ſhould catch him at the
" ſettlement, they would tie him up and flog him; for
" which behaviour I told Smith, that if he ever came
" aſhore again, I would put him in irons, as no perſon
" doing buſineſs here ſhould be inſulted.—On the In-
" diaman's arrival, I found him upon the Iſland, and
" again making ſome freſh diſturbance, upon which I
" ſent for him, and told him, that if he did not leave the
" Iſland directly, I would put him in irons; he went
" down to the beach, where he took a loaded muſket,
" and, in the hearing of five or ſix of the Grumetters,
" ſaid, that he would ſhoot me, or the firſt perſon that
" attempted to ſtop him; which threat being told me,
" I went down to him—he ſitting in a canoe with
" his muſket—I deſired him to deliver it up, inſtead
" of which he cocked it, and put himſelf in a firing
" poſition, but the Grumetters ſeeing his intentions,
" jumped into his canoe, and diſarmed him, when
" I ordered him to be put in irons, where he
" was confined on the Iſland for ſome time. Some
" others of them having behaved very badly, and al-
" ways for the moſt the place was peſtered with eight
" or ten of them, and they moſtly coming on the
" Iſland in the night-time, and frequently going like-
" wiſe under cloud at night, made me very uneaſy,
" though I had frequently told them they were neither
" to land nor leave the Iſland when landed but in the
" day-time; which deſire they paying no regard to,
" forced me to ſtop any of them coming upon the
" Iſland either by day or night, as I was afraid they
" would be committing ſome miſchief or other;
" which fears I ſoon found was well grounded, for,
" on the 17th June I found on the morning that the
" cloth-ſtore was broke open.—Incloſed you have a
" paper ſtating what meaſures I took to find out
" the thieves, and the proceedings thereupon, to which
" I refer. We were exceeding lucky in the detecting
" this robbery:—I commonly walking whenever I get
" up to ſee what canoes are going up or down the
" river to the ſouth-eaſt part of the Iſland, happening
" to walk there within two or three weeks of the rob-
" bery, twice found a canoe of the new ſettlers, who
" were concealing themſelves there, as I ſuſpected for

" no

" no good purpoſe, as they could not be ſeen till we
" were within two or three yards of them, or right over
" their heads. On the morning of the robbery, I
" happening to take my ordinary walk, was ſurpriſed
" at ſeeing a bunch of barley-corn-beads lying on the
" ground, and on looking round found five or ſix bunches
" more; upon which I got the keys of the ſtore, and
" found ſome pieces of cloth at the foot of a ladder,
" and on going up to the upper part, found they had
" burſt open a window, and on enquiring found a
" canoe that had come down with rice.—About two
" that morning ſaw a canoe lying under the point,
" the watch ſaw a canoe paſs down the river afterwards;
" from all which circumſtances I concluded it was the
" new ſettlers, and immediately ſent a canoe well man-
" ned with ſome of our moſt active people, offering
" 100 bars reward, and on their finding out the
" thieves, deſired them to tell the heads if they did
" not deliver them up, I would ſtop and catch every one
" belonging to the ſettlement that paſſed the Iſland; on
" which they delivered them up: They were a very deſ-
" perate ſet of blood-thirſty villains; and on my ſtopping
" them from coming on the Iſland, they had threatened,
" if they could get me in a proper place, they would
" make minced collops of me. Theſe threats, and
" their other bad behaviour, made me reſolve to ſend
" them off; and I have put them on board of a French
" veſſel for St. Domingo. I have ſome reaſon to think
" that there may be ſome reflections on me for ſending
" them off, particularly as they were ſent out under the
" ſanction of government. I firſt intended keeping
" them for a king's ſhip, but as there is but one called
" here theſe eight years, and the danger of keeping
" them upon the iſland, likewiſe their poiſoning the
" principles of the people of the iſland, as well as to
" deter others from the like attempts, as it was the
" moſt daring one that ever was committed in this
" country, it was neceſſary to act with reſolution in
" the ſuppreſſing of it; for where the people of this
" country ſee people afraid of them, they are con-
" ſtantly impoſing upon them; but when they ſee a
" perſon not afraid of them, and will reſent their in-
" ſults, there is no danger of their being inſulted.

(Signed) " James Bowie."

[Referred

[Referred to in the aforegoing extract.]

" The ſtore of Bance Iſland being broke open on the 17th
" inſtant, upon which James Bowie, agent of Bance
" Iſland, offered a reward of one hundred bars for the
" diſcovery of the offenders, who proves to be five of
" the new ſettlers at Sierra Leone, and were apprehended
" and delivered up to the ſaid James Bowie, by their
" own people, who collected the following gentlemen,
" and ſome of their own people, before whom the fol-
" lowing declarations were made, viz.

" John Ormond, merchant, Riopongas.
" Alexander Nichelſon, maſter, ſhip Martha, Liverpool.
" William Ballingall, maſter, ſhip Lively, London.
" Thomas Molineux, maſter, ſhip Eliza, Liverpool.
" Robert Sterling.
" George Rogers.
" Thomas Brown.
" And five of the new ſettlers.

" Lewis Sterling, one of the priſoners, declares, That
" Robert Moore, with the aſſiſtance of John Londen,
" and himſelf, they fixed a ladder oppoſite the window
" of a ſtore at Bance Iſland, and broke open the win-
" dow—then Robert Moore went into the ſtore and ſtole
" a quantity of goods, and delivered them to him and
" Londen, who carried them to the canoe—Richard
" Bradley was at ſame time keeping watch, and Adam
" Sab was taking care of the canoe, employed in the
" plunder."

" Robert Moore declares, That Bradley propoſed the
" people and canoe coming up the river to purchaſe
" neceſſaries, and ſtopped upon the back of the Iſland
" waiting for the tide—Sterling then came on ſhore,
" and ſaid, ' Let us try to get ſomething here out of the
" ſtore,' it being then about two o'clock in the morn-
" ing. Sterling bringing with him a hammer, endeavour-
" ed to break the lock of the ſtore, but could not.—
" Afterwards Sterling went to the back part of the
" ſtore, and diſcovered a window aloft on the upper
" ſtory

" ſtory—afterwards ran to Robert Moore and John
" London, and acquainted them that he had found
" a window, and ſaid ſomething might be done there;
" upon which all three laid hold of the ladder, which
" laid by, and reared the ſame againſt the wall, con-
" venient for the window—London went up firſt, who
" could not force open the window—then Sterling
" went to aſſiſt, and made a great deal of noiſe with
" the window, and broke it, but could not get the
" bolt out ſo as to open the window—when he went
" and got it out. Sterling afterwards tried to get in the
" window, but could not—he then went in himſelf, and
" opened different cheſts, and ſtole a number of different
" articles to a conſiderable amount, until he was called
" out by the others, and came down to the canoe,
" where he found the goods depoſited by his comrades—
" then they all proceeded to Captain Thompſon's Bay,
" and ſecreted their plunder in the Buſh—afterwards
" were divided into five equal parts, and each perſon
" took his proportion."

" Adam Sab declares, That he aſſiſted in bringing the
" canoe up the river, with intention to go to Tomba
" to purchaſe cloth and rice, for which purpoſe about
" two and half gallons rum was brought with them;
" but the tide being they came at the back of
" Bance Iſland; after which four of them came aſhore,
" he remaining with the canoe till the people returned
" with ſome pipes about two o'clock in the morning;
" after which they went away again, he remaining ſtill
" with the canoe, and heard a canoe paſſing with a
" number of people ſinging; ſoon the four people who
" were out returned with ſmall and the third
" time they completed the plunder, and immediately
" proceeded down to Captain Thompſon's Bay, and car-
" ried them into the Buſh; where, after dividing them
" in five ſhares, the people of the ſettlement ſeized
" upon them and the goods, as they were returning to
" their own habitations."

" John London declares, He was in the canoe with
" the other four, and aſſiſted in bringing her up to
" Bance Iſland, in expectation of getting rice, when
" Moore and Sterling went on ſhore about two o'clock

" in the morning, leaving the canoe to the other three;
" ſoon after they returned with ſome pipes, on which
" they all, except Sab, went up to the ſtore, and diſ-
" covered a ladder on the ground, when he aſſiſted the
" other three in rearing the ſame convenient for the
" window, after they found they could not break open
" the ſtore-door with a hammer; afterwards Moore or
" Sterling broke open the window, he is not certain
" which; when the window was open, Moore went in,
" and handed out the goods to him and Sterling, Brad-
" ley being upon the look-out, and Sab was in the ca-
" noe in waiting; and all except Sab aſſiſted in carrying
" down the ſame, and Sab receiving them."

" Richard Bradley declares, That he came with the
" others with an intention to buy cloth at Tomba, but
" not to his knowledge with a view to commit plun-
" der, but ſtood by, and was an eye-witneſs to the
" ſame; but ſays, he ſeveral times begged of them to
" deſiſt from taking the goods: he declares, that he
" had a cutlaſs, and Sterling and Moore had each a
" bayonet, and afterwards aſſiſted in carrying the canoe
" back to Captain Thompſon's Bay, and received a
" ſhare of the plunder."

The two following witneſſes depoſe as follows:

" The Governor, John Lucas, declares, That the next
" day after the canoe came from Bance Iſland, and the
" plunder was committed, I went up toward Robert
" Moore's houſe, who was within doors; I called to
" him, but I received no anſwer, ſo went away, not hav-
" ing any ſuſpicion of the robbery. I did not get far
" from his houſe before he called me back, and told me
" he was buſy within his room, which was the reaſon he
" did not give me an anſwer at firſt. I then enquired
" if he had nothing elſe to tell me; but at the ſame
" time a caſe bottle of rum was upon his table, and
" he offered me a drink of it. By the time I had made
" the grog, Adam Sab, one of the priſoners, come in
" likewiſe, to whom I ſaid 'You went out yeſterday and
" returned very early—where did you go?' he anſwered,
" He went no farther than King Nanbana's, who was

" indebted

" indebted to him, and he went to recover his debt,
" but did not receive it. After that, Moore made me
" a preſent of a couple of pipes for my wife, and Moore's
" wife further made me a preſent of two rings. I then
" went home to my houſe after receiving the preſent,
" and Moore's wife followed me, and aſked me to buy
" a pair of ear-rings for my wife. I told her if I ſaw
" them I would—ſhe ſhewed me an odd one—I ſaid, 'If
" you will bring the pair, I will buy them; and deſired
" ſhe would leave the one and fetch the other, and
" when I had them both would give her a bar; ſo ſhe
" went away, but did not return, leaving the one upon
" the table, where it remained till Smart came into the
" houſe; I was then ſleeping, but he awakened me;
" he ſaw the ring, and knew it, and enquired how I
" came by it, which I acquainted him. He then in-
" formed me Bance Iſland ſtore was broke open; that
" he knew the ring, having before ſeen it. I went out
" and informed Mr. Studdard and Mr. Cambridge. Af-
" ter the affair was generally known, a number was
" willing, and offered to aſſiſt in diſcovering the offen-
" ders, ſo I went with ſome of them, and ſeized upon
" Sterling as a ſuſpicious perſon;—he, after ſome con-
" verſation, came down to the place where the goods
" and other people were concerned in the robbery, and
" then confeſſed as being an accomplice. Myſelf, with
" others, went into his houſe, and found them dividing
" the ſpoils in five ſhares, and ſeized upon the ſame,
" and delivered the ſame to Smart, and all the five was
" accordingly put in irons; they afterwards got out,
" but was again apprehended and delivered to James
" Bowie; and the fifth, Bradley, delivered up himſelf.

" Charles Stadhart, chief juſtice of the ſettlement,
" declares as follows:

" I was at King Tom's Town; when I returned I
" was ſeized with a fever, which obliged me to take
" to my bed. The next morning, about 9 o'clock, Mr.
" Lucas, governor, and Mr. Richardſon, private ſettler,
" came to me, and ſaid, We wiſh you would call Mr.
" Cambridge, who with you come to me, as I wiſh
" to ſpeak to you; for Smart is juſt come to me, and

" tells

" tells me very bad news, of our people having broke " open Bance Iſland ſtore, and ſome rings are in Mrs. " Moore's poſſeſſion, who brought them to Mr. Lucas " to diſpoſe of; and when Smart came he found " a ring upon the table, and ſaid, the place where " that ring came from muſt be more things, as he " knew the ſaid ring to be Bance Iſland's property; " and directly after applied for a ſearch warrant, and " aſſembled all the people of the ſettlement, and they " all gave it as their opinion, that it was very proper " to endeavour to apprehend them who had committed " the robbery. They all ſaid they would endeavour " to diſcover the offenders, for the ſake of their own " characters, that it ſhould not be thought that it was " a general plan of the people of the ſettlement. They " then went in ſearch of the offenders, and met Sterling, " whom they ſeized upon ſuſpicion, who immediately " led them to the place where the goods were depo- " ſited, where was Moore, Londen, Sab, and Bradley, " whom they ſeized upon, with the goods, and deli- " vered them up, with Sterling, to Mr. Smart—the " ſaid five offenders confeſſing, before the whole ſet- " tlement, to have been guilty of plundering the ſtore " of Captain James Bowie at Bance Iſland, where they " procured the goods ſeized upon.

" The perſons whoſe names are hereto ſubſcribed, " having taken the afore-written evidences and decla- " rations into conſideration, it is their opinion, That " it would be highly imprudent and dangerous to ſuf- " fer ſuch notorious characters to remain longer in the " country, therefore ſentenced them to baniſhment, " being the mildeſt puniſhment that could be inflicted " upon crimes, which would in any other part of the " world be puniſhed with Death.

" John Ormond,
" Wm Ballingall,
" Robert Stirling,
" Thomas Brown,
" John Warriner,
" Thos Molineux,
" George Rogers,
" Alexander Nichelſon."

Signed at Bance Iſland, the 26th June 1788.

The Witneſs was then aſked,

Was Mr. Bowie your agent or manager at that time?
He was.

Was Mr. Smith afterwards your agent there?
No—he commanded one of our ſhips.

Did you receive any letter from him on the ſubject of ſettlers?
I have a letter from him, which I beg leave to produce.

The ſaid letter, dated Bance Iſland, the 8th February 1789, was delivered in at the table; and the following extract thereof read; viz.

" I landed the two paſſengers at the new ſettle-
" ment in good health; they find now that they are
" deceived, in coming to a country where it is almoſt
" impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt without the aſſiſtance
" of others. Theſe wretches at preſent can be deemed
" very little better than a den of thieves, or a gang
" of pirates; there has been ſeveral maſters of ſhips
" ſtopped by them, and obliged to pay five or ſix
" hundred bars before they releaſed them; but the
" moſt raſcally action they have been guilty of, was
" ſuffering themſelves to be hired, by a trader in the
" Country, for 200 bars, to go on board a craft, and
" cruize at ſea to take a captain out of his own ſhip,
" which they ſucceeded in, and brought him a priſoner
" to Sierra Leone. I ſhall embrace every opportunity
" that offers in writing to you, and acquainting you
" how we go on.

(Signed) " Joſiah Smith."

Examined by Members of the Committee.

You have delivered in a paper, in which you ſtate your having traded in the ſnow Mary for three voyages, in 1785, 1786, and 1787, and in the ſhip Concord for two voyages, in 1787 and 1788—were thoſe profitable voyages?
I ſhould conſider they were.

Were

Were thoſe two Negroes before-mentioned, which were put on board and baniſhed, ſold, or made a preſent of, or was any thing paid for them?

There were five of them.—I am informed by Captain Ballingall (who was one of the jury) that we received value for them; but I ſhould imagine we were put to a good deal of expence, from our ſtores being broke open, and the goods that were taken away, and the charge of bringing them to juſtice.

Did you ever hear of any other of thoſe ſettlers being ſold?

No.

Did you ever hear of King Tom ſelling ſome of them?

I have not; but I ſhould imagine, if they behaved improperly, the Kings would lay hold of them, and ſell them to the firſt ſhips.

You have ſaid, that the ſentence was baniſhment, was the meaning of that ſentence that they ſhould be ſold for Slaves?

I imagine they had no other way of ſending them away, but by ſelling them, as no ſhip would take them on freight.

Do you mean to ſay that the ſame perſons who bought them would not have received them without paying a price for them?

I dare ſay they would have received them without paying any conſideration for them, but they would have been ſold on their arrival in the French Weſt Indies.

Who pronounced that ſentence of baniſhment?

The jury that tried them—but I was not there.

Under what government were they tried, by what authority, and what law?

I cannot anſwer.

Does the iſland of Bance belong to you?

Yes—it belongs to our houſe.

Is Bance Iſland under any government?

The Slaves that live on it are ſubject to the government of our agent; and there was an inſtance of one of our own people that was tried for a mutiny, before one of the Kings of the country, who conſiders himſelf as the ſuperior of that Iſland, and to whom we pay an annual tribute.

Are

Are there any other Europeans on the Iſland except your agent?

None but our agent and clerks—ſometimes a doctor.

Who are the gentlemen mentioned in the paper delivered in by you?

One or two of them are captains of ſhips—one of them a clerk of our own—Mr. Ormond lives at Riopongas, about ſixty leagues to the northward—the others I know not.

Under what law do thoſe gentlemen live?

Under the Britiſh government; ſometimes ſubject to the laws of the Kings and Princes of the Country.

Do you ſuppoſe that under the laws of this country, five freemen can be ſold as Slaves?

I believe not—but I conſider this was done under the law of neceſſity.

Do you ſuppoſe that under ſuch a law of neceſſity a free Engliſhman, reſiding in Bance Iſland, can be ſold as a Slave?

I do believe not; but I conſider that a Black man can—a Native of Africa can.

State the diſtinction, either in law or common ſenſe, between the liberty of one free man and another, under the Britiſh government?

The queſtion being objected to;

The Counſel and witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And a motion being made, and the queſtion being put, That the Counſel and Witneſs be called in, and the Witneſs aſked the ſaid queſtion;

It paſſed in the negative.

And the Counſel and Witneſs being again called in;

The Witneſs was aſked,

Have you any other account of voyages for Slaves, beſides thoſe you have delivered in?

I have not.

Have you any accounts tranſmitted to you of the manner in which the Slaves who are purchaſed by your agent come into his hands?

They are brought to our different factories, for which our agent pays a valuable conſideration.

Are the Grumettas faithful and diligent ſervants?

I believe in general they are—though ſometimes we have complaints againſt them, and they are the better for having White people to ſuperintend them.

Have they ſhewn marks of attachment, affection and attention to their maſters?

They have—and ſometimes we have had ſeveral of them come home to this country as ſeamen in our ſhips—and from the conſideration of their being our Slaves I have felt ſome attachment for them.

Who received the money for which the five perſons were ſold, and for how much money were they ſold?

I mentioned before that I was told by one of the gentlemen who tried them, that we received a conſideration for them, but how much it was, and whether it was for our benefit, does not appear by the accounts we have received, as we do not receive the particulars of every tranſaction, but only balance at certain periods; and I have not a doubt, if our agent got the money for them, but that he carried it to our account; at the ſame time I do not think we gained much by them, from the expences we were put to, and the goods we loſt.

What was the value of the goods taken from Bance Iſland, by theſe people?

We have not had a particular ſtatement of that neither, other than what appears from the proceedings on the trial.

Can you form any opinion of the value?

I cannot, with certainty.

The Witneſs then delivered in to the Committee—the following memorandum, by Richard Oſwald, Eſquire, to Captain Griffiths, dated 4th July 1783.

"Memorandum

" Memorandum by Richard Oſwald, Eſquire, to
" Captain Griffiths, 4th July 1783.

" When you are at Bance Iſland, or while you remain " at Sierra Leone river, I ſhould be glad you would endeavour to ſatisfy yourſelf as much as poſſible with " reſpect to what uſe or ſervice moſt part of the Grumettas, male and female, can be put to, beſides " trade, which ſurely cannot find employment for one " half of them. As theſe Grumettas will not conſent " to go off the Coaſt, it will certainly be proper to ſet " ſome of them to work in raiſing rice, and other proviſions for themſelves, and the uſe of the ſettlement. " I would incline that a certain gang of theſe Grumettas be abſolutely devoted to ſuch cultivation, on " Bob's or Tumbo Iſland, and that the ſame ſhould be " kept under the direction of the agent of Bance Iſland; " but no way to mix in the trading concerns of the " ſettlement. I would have you enquire as to this, " and propoſe it only as from yourſelf.

" I deſire you will buy all the Cotton Wool you can " get, at a ſhilling ſterling per pound, in this trade with " the Natives, and endeavour to learn whether it may " not be poſſible to perſuade theſe people to increaſe " the culture of that article, as a commodity of exchange and commerce.

" They have very fine Indigo upon that Coaſt, al" though I believe not extracted from the weed while " green, but rather the green weed put up in balls, " and dried and laid by until wanted for uſe; when " the practice is to ſteep the dried plant in warm " water, by which the dye is extracted for immediate " uſe, and ſucceeds extremely well: you can eaſily purchaſe or procure from the Natives a few of theſe " balls, which I would be glad to have.

" I am, &c.
(Signed) " Richard Oſwald."

Do

Do you know what was done in conſequence of this Letter of Mr. Oſwald's, for the encouragement of the cultivation of Indigo and Cotton?

Captain Griffiths, to whom the letter was written, could do nothing, and did nothing in conſequence.

Do you mean that the Natives would not raiſe the articles in conſequence of the encouragement?

I certainly do.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Captain JOHN MAN called in; and examined:

Captain of the Grenville Bay, a Weſt India Ship.

How long have you been engaged in trade, as Captain of a Weſt Indiaman?

Nearly 20 Years.

To what particular iſland have you traded?

Nearly 16 years to the iſland of Grenada, and four years to Jamaica.

Was you ever concerned in the African trade?

Never.

Have you now any concern or connection with it?

None at all.

Is it the law or practice of the Weſt India Iſlands to which you traded, to compel the captains of the Weſt Indiamen to take back all the ſailors they carried out?

It is in the Iſland of Grenada, and Jamaica likewiſe.

Is it an object to the ſailors to get diſcharged from their ſhips in the Weſt Indies, for the purpoſe of coming home by the run?

In general very much ſo.

Is the Weſt India Iſland conſidered as the ſecond port of delivery in the African trade?

I have always underſtood ſo, but not from my own knowledge.

Is it the practice of the ſailors to demand their diſcharge at the ſecond port of delivery?

In common it is, and they never miſs it.

Is the pay they get by coming home by the run greater than their monthly wages in caſe they come in the ſhips to which they belong?

In war it is; but I believe in peace it ſeldom amounts to ſo much, or not much more.

How much can they get in war by the run?

It depends much on the number of people, and the neceſſity they are under to get hands.

How much have you ever known given to a ſailor in time of war for the run?

I have given from ten to eighteen guineas in war time—and have known them as high as from twenty-five to thirty—and generally rum, a gallon for every guinea.

Have you known the ſailors of African ſhips diſcharged in the Weſt Indies?

I have.

At their own deſire?

Yes—I have ſhipped them.

Had thoſe you ſhipped been diſcharged from the African ſhips at their own requeſt, and againſt the conſent of their maſter?

Yes.

Has that been ſo much the practice, that of late years a law has been made to regulate ſuch diſcharges?

Yes—in Grenada, about three or four years ago.

In what manner does that law prevent the diſcharge?

When you enter the ſhips at the Cuſtom Houſe in Grenada, you enter your muſter-roll, and enter into bonds, one ſurety with the Captain, each in £. 1,000, that you ſhall not diſcharge a ſingle man.

Notwithſtanding this law, do the ſailors find means to get away from their ſhips?

Very often, I am ſorry to ſay it.

Is the temptation in the Weſt Indies ſo great as to induce the ſailors very frequently to deſert their ſhips?

In war time it is, but I believe it has little or no effect in time of peace.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel for the Liverpool petitions then propoſed, That Mr. Tarleton ſhould be called: And the Committee having waited for ſome time, the Counſel informed the Committee, that Mr. Tarleton, who was now come, was not ready to be examined; and that they had been informed that there was no other Witneſs ready to be called now.

Mr. Wildman, the Solicitor for the ſame petitions, being called to the bar, was aſked, whether there was any further Evidence to be produced in ſupport of the Liverpool petitions? He informed the Committee, That many Witneſſes had been ſummoned, to be examined in ſupport of thoſe petitions and for other purpoſes; but that at this time none of them were preſent.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel was alſo directed to withdraw.

The Committee was alſo informed, That Mr. Tarleton had prepared certain calculations relative to the ſubject of the trade now under the conſideration of the Committee, together with ſome obſervations thereon, which papers he was ready to deliver in to the Committee, if they thought proper to receive them; but that at preſent he was not prepared to undergo a croſs examination on accounts and calculations, which were long and of a difficult and intricate nature.

To report a Progreſs, &c.

Lunæ, 22° die Junii 1789.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE,

Taken before a Committee of the Whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the Slave Trade.

Witneſſes examined,

ALEXANDER ANDERSON, Eſq.
Captain JACOB LORAN,
Captain JOHN MAN.

N° 11.

MINUTES

OF THE

EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE A

Committee of the Houſe of Commons,

BEING

A SELECT COMMITTEE,

Appointed on the 29th Day of JANUARY 1790,

For the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the SLAVE TRADE.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 5° *die Februarii* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 29° *die Januarii* 1790.

COUNSEL called in.

Mr. Heywood, for the Petition of the Planters, Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and others, Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, and reſident in Liverpool, whoſe Names are thereunto ſubſcribed,—and for the other Petitions from the town of Liverpool.

Mr. JAMES FRASER,——being called in, and examined by the ſaid Counſel, ſaid, That he has been Commander in ſeveral ſhips from Briſtol, in the African Slave Trade, from the year 1772—has been twenty years in the whole, in that Trade—He went

went out ſecond mate, and afterwards had the charge as chief mate, and ſo continued till he became maſter.

To what part of the Coaſt have you made any voyages?

I made four voyages to the Coaſt of Angola—One to New Calabar—Five to Bonny—One to the Windward and Gold Coaſt—A part of another to the Windward Coaſt, and then captured—Another voyage partly to the Windward Coaſt, and then drove away by a man of war from that coaſt, and went to Angola, where, my purchaſe being half finiſhed, I returned, and compleated upon the Windward Coaſt.

From what port did you make theſe voyages?

From Briſtol.

Did you reſide on the Coaſt of Africa?

Yes—In my firſt and ſecond voyages as maſter to Angola,—I was in the firſt voyage three months on ſhore, and in the ſecond, ſeven months.

On what part of the coaſt was you on ſhore?

On Melimba Hill.

Had you an opportunity of knowing the manners and cuſtoms of the natives of Africa?

I had not many opportunities; but I muſt have made ſome remarks, and have ſome knowledge of the buſineſs.

Do you know any thing of the government of that country?

I have ſome general notions of it, but they are very imperfect.

Is their government monarchical?

It is at Melimba, Cabenda, Loango, and at different other places, as I have heard.

Are each of thoſe places governed by diſtinct monarchs?

They are; but there are a great number of people who acknowledge the king as king and ſuperior, but who reſiſt him when they think it their intereſt ſo to do—their titles imply ſo many offices—they are commonly ſucceeded by others, who give very great preſents to the king on theſe occaſions—he gives them a

particular cap, which cap confers a right to turn out the prior officer, and get his place, if he can, by force.

What power is exerciſed by theſe officers over the people?

They have the power of life and death—they puniſh them ſometimes by mutilation—if they are very much incenſed againſt them they deſtroy them, but commonly ſell them for Slaves when convicted of any crime—Sometimes they run away from one maſter of one diſtrict to another, to get protection, which occaſions wars.

Are thoſe wars confined to theſe officers or principal men, or do they ariſe from private feuds?

A great many of them ariſe from private feuds, and are continued from father to ſon.

Are there public wars beſides?

There are what may be called public wars between the principal men of the country for variety of reaſons, which the king has not power always to controul.

Is the condition of Slavery perfectly well known in that country?

Perfectly.

Are there many Slaves there?

There are.

Can you give any diſtinct idea of their numbers, and in whoſe hands they are?

There are a ſet of Slaves in that country, that cannot be ſent out of it agreeable to the laws of the country; but can be tranſferred from one perſon to another within it—many Slaves are born ſo—many purchaſed from interior parts of the country.

What proportion do the Slaves bear to the number of Freemen in the country?

The number of Freemen, properly ſpeaking, is very ſmall in the country—there are many Freemen who find it unſafe to be free, chuſing rather to conſider themſelves as the vaſſals or ſlaves of the great Princes, than be expoſed to dangers from quarrels, in which they are always involved in that country.

What are thoſe dangers?

The danger of having his property taken from him, from want of protection from the government under which he lives.

How is juſtice adminiſtered in that country?

Juſtice is adminiſtered in that country by the principal men in every diſtrict, village, or town—I underſtood, the king's officers have the greateſt power in that country—When any cauſe is brought before any ſuch officer, he aſks his neighbours or vaſſals whether he is not conſtituted as a proper judge—this is a matter of form, and as ſoon as it is conſented to, he hears the merits of the cauſe—when ſentence is paſſed, the perſon in whoſe favour it is given is generally obliged to put it in execution; and very often, when he cannot execute the ſentence, he has no further redreſs—in ſome caſes the party condemned pays a fine, which remains with the judge.

Are the Slaves entitled to be adjudged by theſe Courts?

No—it is confined to freemen and vaſſals.

What are the crimes which generally come before theſe tribunals?

When one draws blood of another, in any kind of quarrel among themſelves—words ſpoken in abuſe of men in power, by curſing in a mode which is peculiarly offenſive in that country—for adultery—for poiſoning and witchcraft, which is ſometimes brought before the tribunal, and after a ſummary examination, if it is thought neceſſary, the proceſs is carried further by the perſon accuſed, on his own appeal or otherwiſe, taking pills, and a drink adminiſtered by the Fetiche doctor (who is called the Congo doctor), and by the effect of theſe pills, he is judged guilty or innocent accordingly; and it is ſuppoſed, that the Fetiche doctor, according as he is paid, compoſes thoſe pills, ſo as to have a favourable or an unfavourable effect—if he is found guilty, the magiſtrate of the place then pronounces ſentence—the ſentence in general is a very heavy fine to ſuch perſons as they cannot compel to undergo the trial themſelves, but do it by deputy, and are too powerful to be reduced to ſlavery, and have their family ſeized—but people of middling and low condition, in ſome caſes, are put to death, and, in others, ſold—I underſtood, in a great meaſure, the language of the country, and I have been preſent twelve hours at one of theſe trials—and moſt of the circumſtances that I have related I have learnt from the people of the country, or from my own knowledge.

What becomes of the families of the perſons ſold?
They become the Slaves of the accuſer.

In what manner are the fines you mentioned paid?
Partly in Slaves, and partly in what paſſes for money in the country, or in goods.

Is a payment by Slaves a common payment in that country?
It is a common payment for every thing of any conſiderable value—they have a ſort of money (which is a graſs cloth) which is the proper money of the country, with which they purchaſe the neceſſaries of life—they may have other modes of payment, which are unknown to me.

Is the trial by the Congo doctor's medicine confined to poiſon and witchcraft?
The only caſe which I know of, except poiſon and witchcraft, is as follows: there were three princeſſes, or more, at the time I was in the country—when any one of theſe princeſſes take a fancy to any particular man, ſhe ſends out her people to ſeize his perſon, and from that time he is conſtrained to become her huſband—he is then forbidden to look on other women, and if he commits any act of infidelity, or has any communication whatever with any other woman, he is ſubject to trial by medicine of the Congo doctor, or obliged to pay a certain fine—the princeſs is not under any reſtraint in reſpect to her intercourſe with other men—in this anſwer I allude to the practices in the kingdom of Melimba only. I ſhould obſerve, that when a man dies, his property goes, in the female line, to his ſiſters and their children, and not to his own.

What number of princes are there in that country?
There are from four to ſix.

Are there any other crimes than thoſe you have mentioned tried before the principal men of the town?
Every crime that is committed in the country is tried by that juriſdiction.

Are debtors tried before that tribunal?
I have underſtood that long ſtanding debts have been paid ſevenfold—by the cuſtom of the country—by order of any man who is conſidered as a magiſtrate.

How

How are debtors puniſhed who are unable to pay their debts?
They become the Slaves of the creditor.

Does that extend to their families as well as to themſelves?
Firſt, to ſatisfy the debt, their Slaves are ſeiſed, then their children, then their women, and finally themſelves, if the debt is not ſatisfied.

Do human ſacrifices prevail in this part of Africa?
I can't ſpeak of any to my own knowledge.

What are the natural productions of Angola?
Caſſada, calavances, plantains, bananas, a very few yams, a few ſweet potatoes, pumkins, water melons, Indian corn—It is ſo long ſince I have been in that country, I cannot particularize any other articles.

Is any tobacco produced there?
There is.

Is it produced in any quantity?
I believe not in any conſiderable quantity; it is produced on the banks of the river Ambris, after being fertilized by the inundations in the rainy ſeaſons.

Is there any labour neceſſary in the production of that article?
I have been informed very little labour is uſed, on account of the ſlimes, which are left at the overflowings of the river.

Is there any Cotton grown there?
There muſt be ſome grown, becauſe they make a ſort of cloths, ſomething like ſuch as are made in the Portugueſe iſlands, but the cloths are of no value in trade.

Do they export any Cotton?
I never ſaw any in the country.

Did you ever hear of any famine in that country?
Yes—I have heard of partial famines, and felt the effect of them ſometimes, in not being able to purchaſe ſufficient country proviſions for the Slaves.

What do you conceive to have been the cauſe of thoſe famines?

They may be ſometimes occaſioned by the rainy ſeaſons falling, and oftener by the indolence of the Natives not planting a ſufficient quantity of corn, caſada, and calavances, and perhaps by the impoſſibility of preventing their crops from being ſtolen, either on the ground, or after they are gathered and carried home—the people are profeſſed thieves—they are not aſhamed to own it, but they are aſhamed of being detected.

In caſes of great diſtreſs, owing to the famines, is it common to ſell the whole, or part of a family, to obtain ſuſtenance?

Not in Angola, to my knowledge.

From your knowledge of this part of the coaſt, do you conceive that the natives could be induced to cultivate articles for exportation?

Every article of cultivation that has been produced in that country has been by the labour of women.

In what manner are the Slaves purchaſed, on the Coaſt of Angola, by the Europeans?

We commonly have factories on ſhore, at Melimba, Cabenda; and Loango—the people on the Sea Coaſt act commonly as brokers—they are generally called Linguiſters, and receive a commiſſion, which we call Linguiſters Wages—the people from the interior parts of the country, who by their own accounts are ſometimes a month, two months, and three months, on their journey down, come to our factories, attended by ſome of theſe brokers—our trade with them is a mere barter; we receive their Slaves at a price fixed on—they get our goods in return, and ſometimes we ſee them back again, in a month or ſix weeks, returning with Slaves.

Have you any idea from what diſtance theſe Slaves are brought?

They are commonly Slaves of three nations brought to Cabenda, Melimba, and Loango—the Congoes, the Majumbas, and Madungoes. The Majumbas are ſuppoſed to come from a tract of land ſituated from the equinoctial line to the latitude of three or four degrees South—the Congoes, from the kingdom of Congo, which is ſuppoſed to extend from five degrees and an half South to ſeven degrees—the Madungoes come from the interior parts of the country, and are a long time in coming down to the Coaſt; they are ſuppoſed to be canibals; and they gave me reaſons for being ſo. When I aſked them, if they eat one another in their country? they told me they did—When I aſked them the reaſon, they told me it was the ſweeteſt fleſh they knew.

Which of theſe deſcriptions of Slaves are the moſt numerous?

We buy but few of the Madungoes; but whether that is owing to their being at a great diſtance from us, or few in number in their own country, I am perfectly ignorant.

In what manner do theſe perſons become Slaves in their different countries?

As to the Madungoes, I know nothing of my own knowledge, and my information is ſo various, I cannot rely on it.

Do you know any thing of the Congoes and the Majumbas, in what manner they become Slaves?

Some Congo princes ſold me ſome of their own Slaves, and one in particular ſold me one of his own wives. I would wiſh to be underſtood, that there is no marriage ceremony in that country; the wife becomes the property of the huſband by purchaſe, and that purchaſe is conducted as follows: When a man is inclined to take a woman for his wife, he obtains the conſent of the mother and near relations by preſents; and when the woman herſelf receives a preſent, ſhe is conſidered as having given her conſent, which ſhe cannot afterwards retract; ſhe then to all intents and purpoſes becomes the man's property, but the man has no right to deprive her of any money or goods which belong to herſelf, or any thing elſe, except the Slave, which he commonly gives her when he marries, and which Slave he commonly ſells before he ſells the woman, when provoked by her behaviour ſo to do; but ſometimes the Slave is ſold in order to intimidate the woman, who afterwards may be forgiven, or not ſold.

In what extent of Country does this cuſtom prevail?

It prevails generally, I believe, from Majumba to the River Ambris.

How many Wives do the People of Angola uſually have?

As many as they can afford.

Is it the general cuſtom to have more than one wife?

He muſt be a poor man indeed who has no more than one wife.

Is it a matter of pride among the Natives to have a great number of wives?

I believe it is, ſo far as one man conſiders himſelf richer than another—

another—and every man's wealth in that country is generally known by the number of his wives and his Palm Wine Boys, who are employed in going to the palm trees to extract the wine for his uſe.

In what manner do the Congoes and Majumbas become Slaves?

I generally underſtand, that trading men purchaſe them in the country, and ſometimes the proprietors of Slaves bring them down to ſell.—There is another circumſtance, which is, that the Slaves in the Congo and Majumba countries are nearly equal.—When there is a war in either of thoſe countries, we ſeldom get Slaves from that country where the war exiſts; and the reaſon of it I believe is, that the Merchants find it dangerous to travel through the country at that time, and the people themſelves cannot attend to any thing elſe but the war.

Are the Slaves that are purchaſed from Congo and Majumba priſoners of war?

The mode of carrying on war in thoſe countries is by circumventing the enemy in ambuſh, or by ſurprize, and not openly meeting him in the field of battle—the parties ſurprized are made captives and Slaves, and ſold as ſuch.—Some have been ſold to me, and their friends have come ſome weeks after to redeem them.

Are the priſoners made in this way numerous?

I believe numbers of priſoners have been made in that manner, but only a few of them have been ſold to me.

What proportion of thoſe ſold to the Europeans have been made Slaves in this manner?

I believe very few in compariſon of what there may be in ſome other parts of the coaſt.

Are any Perſons ſold for Slaves that were born Slaves?

I believe, the greater number that are ſold at Angola were born Slaves—my reaſons for thinking ſo are, that they ſeldom expreſs any degree of reſentment againſt thoſe that ſold them, and from their being generally cheerful and contented—theſe Slaves are of a different condition from the others I juſt mentioned—the Slaves I allude to are not the Vaſſals, but are Slaves of the people who come from the interior country, and ſome on the coaſt.

What is the diſtinction between thoſe you have mentioned as Vaſſals, and thoſe you have mentioned as Slaves?

The

The Vaſſals, while they are in favour, are generally looked on as in a certain ſtate of freedom—when they become uſeleſs, or give offence, they are commonly degraded to the ſituation of thoſe I term Slaves, but without being liable, in every caſe, to be ſold out of the country.

Among the Slaves ſold, what is the proportion of convicts for different offences?

A greater proportion than we can poſſibly know, for they all ſay they were honeſt, and know not what they were ſold for.

Is the trade carried on between the Europeans and the Natives carried on by force or fraud?

I do not know of any ſuch—it has happened to me that ſome principal men of the country have applied to me to aſſiſt them in ſeizing a perſon as a Slave, whom, they ſaid, had been condemned for crimes, who was armed to reſiſt being taken, but I always refuſed—I verily believe caſes have happened amongſt the natives of kidnapping each other, but I have not known it.—If ſuch practice was diſcovered, the offender would be ſeverely puniſhed, not only by the friends of the perſon who was kidnapped, but by the king or prince of the country.

In what manner is the barter you mentioned between the Europeans and the natives conducted?

The natives examine the European goods, and if the quantity and quality is to their ſatisfaction, and the Slaves to ours, the barter is compleated.

Do the natives always ſee and approve of the goods before they make the bargain?

They are always at liberty to examine the goods, and in general they examine them very minutely.

Do the ſhips, before they leave the coaſt, give any notice of the time of ſailing?

They generally give a very long notice on the coaſt of Angola, from the difficulty of getting the natives to pay them punctually to the time of their ſetting ſail.

In what manner is that notice given?

The notice I have always given myſelf, and generally have ſeen given by others, was by looſing the fore-top-ſail at ſun riſing, and firing a gun—I was once obliged to leave the river Ambris, without giving any notice, being alarmed by the appearance of a large ſhip

in

in the offing, who might have been an enemy—the next day, the danger being over, I returned, and ſettled with the natives.

Is the notice that is given underſtood by the natives of the country, and the people on board the ſhip?

I never concealed it from the perſons on board the ſhip, and never ſuppoſed they could be ignorant of it, not even the Slaves—the Slaves being generally impatient to leave the coaſt, we generally tell them the time we propoſe ſailing.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 1° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before, and the Counſel proceeded in his examination.

Mr. FRASER.

At what time of the day do ſhips uſually ſail from the coaſt of Angola?

It depends upon the wind—they ſail indifferently at any time, night or day, according as the wind ſerves, and the veſſel is ready.

What becomes of the Slaves that are offered to the European ſhips, and not purchaſed?

When the Owners of the Slaves from the country are ſatisfied that the Europeans will not buy them, they ſometimes ſell a few of them to the people on the ſea coaſt, for very low prices, and carry the reſt back—ſometimes they bring down large lots of Slaves, and not finding the quality or quantity of the goods ſuch as they expected, they ſell ſome of their Slaves, and carry the reſt back. It has happened to myſelf at Melimba, and the River Ambris, that not liking the aſſortment of the cargo, they have taken the Slaves back.

Do you know if any perſonal injury happened to the refuſe Slaves?

I have ſeen them ſometimes beat—heard them threatened, and

obſerved they were generally anxious to be ſold with the reſt of the Slaves—the younger ones were not under the ſame apprehenſions as the old Slaves, therefore I ſhould ſuppoſe the old Saves were criminals, and were in fear of ſome kind of puniſhment.

Is there any commerce for Slaves carried on between Angola and the eaſtern part of Africa?

I have reaſon to think ſo, from the great number of Slaves which the Portugueſe carry to the Brazils; becauſe the aſſortment of their cargo is ſo much inferior to that of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, that moſt of the inhabitants of Congo, and the different neighbouring kingdoms, are averſe from trading with the Portugueſe—another reaſon which makes me think ſo is, that the river Congo, which enters the ſea on the latitude of ſix degrees ſouth, the river Ambris, whoſe mouth is between ſeven and eight degrees ſouth, the river Dandy, whoſe entrance is ſituated a little further ſouth, and ſeveral other rivers between that tract and the latitude eleven degrees ſouth, are generally reputed and believed to proceed from the ſame ſource in the interior part of the country—there are ſeveral intercommunications of theſe rivers—at moſt of theſe communications it is reported there are Portugueſe miſſionaries eſtabliſhed as factors, who carry on a Slave Trade for themſelves and the government—another reaſon which makes me think that ſome of the Slaves are purchaſed at the river Ambris, is, that I now and then purchaſed a Slave, and ſometimes two or three, whoſe language was not underſtood by any of the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, or by any other Slaves on board.

What is the number of thoſe ſlaves, whoſe language was not underſtood, in proportion to the others?

Very few in proportion.

Is it the practice, at Angola for European ſhips to take pawns?

It is a practice, and a very bad one. It is the cuſtom at Angola for the traders and inhabitants to pawn their Slaves, their children or relations, to procure goods for different purpoſes—it is ſometimes, I believe, the cuſtom with ſome great men in the country to order ſome of their friends, their relations, or families, to be ſold: and, I ſuppoſe, that this being ordered to be done in paſſion or reſentment, the people who receive this commiſſion chuſe to deliver them as pawns, taking the value of a Slave in return, leaving the maſter at liberty to avail himſelf of that circumſtance, if he choſe to redeem the perſon ſo pledged. What I conſider as

the greateſt evil attending this practice is, that the owner or friend of ſuch pawns commonly borrows Slaves from a ſhip which is not ſo forward in completing her cargo, and takes the pawn out of the ſhip that is ready to depart, and puts it on board the other —I have known epidemical diſorders conveyed from one ſhip to another by this practice, which has deſtroyed a great number of Slaves on board one ſhip which I can mention in particular— I conſider it as a very great hardſhip upon perſons ſo pawned, as it expoſes them to ſcurvies and fluxes, and to be ſent into ſhips where they are fed in different manners—ſuch pawns have frequently begged of me to take them away as Slaves, to avoid being ſhifted on board other ſhips as pawns—this practice is likewiſe injurious to the owners of the ſhips, becauſe ſhips are obliged ſometimes to lay two or three days after finiſhing their trade, before the friends of ſuch pawns can procure Slaves to put in their place, and are ſometimes obliged to carry off the pawns, or take inferior Slaves in their room; in either of which caſes I conſider the owners to be injured. By the cuſtom of moſt part of the coaſt in which I have traded, we are not at liberty to refuſe a pawn. When I was taken by a French man of war on the Windward Coaſt, a Liverpool ſhip that happened to be taken had a number of pawns on board—the French captain and his officers determined to ſend thoſe pawns to the Weſt Indies—I remonſtrated againſt the impropriety and injuſtice of it—I aſſured them that the Chamber of Commerce in France, and the African Company in England, would proſecute him and his Officers for ſo doing, unleſs he gave an opportunity to the friends of the pawns to redeem them, by paying the Rice or Slaves for which they were pawned—the captain of the man of war told me, that neither I nor any other man had a right to take pawns on board—my anſwer was, that it was the cuſtom of the country, that the firſt French ſhips that came to trade upon that coaſt muſt pay for them, or that any of the crews of ſuch ſhips that were caught on ſhore would ſuffer for it. This is another bad conſequence attending the taking of pawns, that people are often pawned that can never be redeemed, their friends being too poor to procure a Slave in return.

What becomes of the pawns unredeemed?

Every pawn that is received is conſidered as a Slave until he is redeemed—if their friends refuſe, or are not able to redeem them, they are carried off and ſold.

Does the account of the pawns you have given relate to the Trade in the other parts of Africa, as well as at Angola?

It

It relates to all parts that I know where the cuſtom of putting pawns on board ſhips prevails.

Does that cuſtom generally prevail?

It does at Angola and the Windward coaſt, to my own knowledge, and I believe in other parts—but ſeldom at Bonny.

Have you not ſaid you have been five voyages to Bonny?

Yes.

Are you acquainted with the government of that country?

I am ſo far acquainted with it as my own buſineſs required, and the means of information I had from others afforded me.

Have you been long on ſhore there?

I have been daily on ſhore, during the time my veſſel was on the Coaſt—the veſſel, upon an average, might be about two to three months each voyage, laying in the River oppoſite to the town.

Did you make any obſervations on the government of the country?

I have a general knowledge of the government of the country.

What is the government?

There are a certain number of people at Bonny, who are ſuppoſed to have an equal right to be at the head of the government—as it derives its wealth and condition from commerce, maſters of ſhips have a great influence in determining in favour of one or other of the candidates on the diſeaſe of a king—there has been an inſtance of a king being ſet up and ſupported by the maſters of ſhips laying in the River—when the claims of ſeveral perſons ſeem to be equal, the man that is judged beſt qualified to govern them with equity, and ſecure them againſt the depredations of their neighbours, and who underſtands the Engliſh language, and the mode of trading with the Europeans, is uſually preferred.

How far does the diſtrict extend, over which theſe kings have juriſdiction?

I have been often told that there are 17 towns dependent upon Bonny—ſome of theſe towns I know.

What is the power theſe kings have over the perſons and property of their ſubjects?

There are nine parliament men, who with the king, and a number

number of principal people of the town, make laws and regulations for the time being—at preſent theſe parliament men have little or no power, being obliged to act in every reſpect as the king, influenced by the prieſts, may direct them.

Is the condition of ſlavery known in the country?

Perfectly ſo—a great number of the inhabitants of Bonny being born Slaves, and Slaves being purchaſed in the interior parts of the country.

What proportion do the Slaves bear to the Freemen?

The far greater number are Slaves; but as the ſafety of the town depends upon the exertions of all the inhabitants of it, many of the Slaves ſcarce know themſelves to be ſuch until they commit ſome offence that occaſions them to be ſold or puniſhed as ſuch.

Is there any diſtinction in the different claſſes of Slaves in Bonny?

There are a certain number of Freemen that are univerſally acknowledged to be ſo—there are a number of Slaves belonging to ſome of the principal people, who themſelves poſſeſs forty or fifty Slaves, or upwards, of their own, and are allowed to carry on trade as Freemen by the indulgence of their maſters.

Is it permitted to ſell all Slaves indiſcriminately out of the country?

Such Slaves as they have purchaſed from the interior part of the country are allowed to be ſold at the will of their maſter—ſuch Slaves as are born in the town, and judged uſeful and neceſſary to the ſafety of it, cannot be ſold out of the country, unleſs they are convicted of certain crimes.

In what manner are they tried for crimes?

When they are accuſed of any particular crime, it is generally underſtood that the charge muſt be proved by ſufficient witneſſes, before they can be ſold or puniſhed.

Before whom are they tried?

I do not know there is any particular mode of trying them—it is ſeldom that any body diſputes the truth of ſuch allegations as a maſter may make againſt his Slave.—It is generally ſuppoſed that the maſter will not falſely accuſe one of his Slaves, as it would induce ſome of the others to deſert and run away to another country, which they very often do from Bonny to Calabar, and from Calabar to Bonny.

Are the Freemen, charged with crimes, tried before the ſame tribunal as the Slaves?

When a Freeman is charged with a crime, I believe other Freemen, Parliament-men, and Prieſts commonly take cognizance of the ſuppoſed crime.—If he is convicted of the crime, he undergoes the uſual puniſhment.

What are the crimes that are moſt commonly brought before theſe tribunals?

I can't ſpeak to the particular crimes—poiſoning was formerly much practiſed at Bonny, but there is hardly an inſtance of it known at preſent—a freeman convicted of ſuch a crime was put to death and buried under ground.—Slaves were thrown into the river or given alive to the ſharks.

Is adultery a crime that is brought before theſe tribunals?
I believe it is.

Is witchcraft?
Yes.

Do you know any thing of the mode of trial for witchcraft?
I do not.

Is theft brought before theſe tribunals?

Theft is a crime for which the maſter has a power of puniſhing as he chuſes.—A freeman convicted of theft, I believe, pays a fine; but I know not by what tribunal he is adjudged.

What puniſhment is inflicted for theſe ſeveral crimes?
I believe the puniſhment is generally arbitrary.

Does ſlavery make part of the puniſhment?

Perſons are ſometimes ſold for crimes; but not ſent out of the country unleſs the crime is of ſuch nature as to require that puniſhment—for ſome crimes perſons are puniſhed with death.

In what manner are the Slaves obtained which are ſold to the Europeans?

The Slaves that are ſold to the Europeans are generally procured by people that live in the Up Country, as it is called by the people of Bonny—ſuppoſed to be the country between the Sea Coaſt and the Ebo Country—when there are no wars among the neighbouring people, theſe Up Countrymen frequently bring their Slaves in ſmall parcels down to Bonny and Calabar.—The trading men

men agree with them for the prices, and ſell them afterwards to the Europeans.—If there are any wars, or if it is ſo appointed by the Bonny people, they go in their war canoes to the place or places in the Up Country, where the fairs are uſually kept—they are commonly away four or five days on ſuch expeditions—they carry the merchandize commonly up with them into the country, to ſhew they are able to pay for the Slaves—but ſuch merchandize and the Slaves are commonly brought down again to Bonny.—The maſters of the ſhips buy as many of the Slaves as they judge ſaleable.—Some of the youngeſt are kept by the Bonny people in their houſes—the old or unſaleable are ſent back by the Bonny canoes, and the goods that have been paid for the Slaves that have been ſold, ſent in the ſame canoes.—The Braſs Pan Slaves, the Slaves that come from the Andomey Country, and the Slaves called Quaws, or Mocoes, as they are termed in the Weſt Indies, come in ſmaller numbers, and not at regular times.

In what manner do the perſons who are brought down as Slaves from the Up Country become Slaves?

I know nothing of that but from report.—I believe the condition of the people in the Ebo Country to be much like that of the Majumbas and the Congoes.

Are there any priſoners of war among thoſe Slaves?

I believe there are a good many priſoners of war—ſuch as the priſoners of war in the Majumba and Congo countries, which have been before deſcribed.

Are there any other diſtinctions of Slaves?

I firmly believe that a great many in the country are born Slaves—my reaſon for thinking ſo is, that moſt of the Slaves we purchaſe at Bonny confeſs themſelves to have been Slaves.

What proportion do the Slaves that come from the Up Country bear to thoſe which come from the diſtrict of Bonny?

There are, in my opinion, very few Slaves ſold that were born at Bonny, or in the towns dependant upon it.

Do you know of any Slaves having been put to death at Bonny?

I have heard that ſome Slaves are put to death.—Upon the charge of theft againſt two of the King's Slaves, they were thrown into the middle of the river, it being ſuppoſed, if they were guilty, the Sharks would devour them—if they were innocent that they would

would float down the river without being touched, till they came oppoſite to a place called Jou Jou Point.—I know this from report only; but I believe it to be true.

Do you know of any practice of the Black Traders, or the White Traders, obtaining Slaves by fraud or violence?

I do not know any inſtance of the White Traders obtaining Slaves by fraud or violence.—I cannot ſay what the Blacks do, any further than that they arreſt men ſometimes for debts, or pretended debts, and obtain a condemnation, which allows them to ſell ſuch perſons as Slaves.

What, in your opinion, would be the probable conſequence of a White Man taking Slaves by violence or fraud?

Deſtruction to himſelf if he fell into the hands of the natives, or paying a very heavy fine for ſuch an offence.

In what manner is the Trade at Bonny carried on between the Whites and the Blacks?

There are generally two prices.—The ſhips that have been longeſt in the River, and preparing to ſail, pay a higher price than the veſſels lately arrived.—The price is ſettled generally by the king, the factors, and a captain.—The captain commonly goes on ſhore to view the Slaves in the traders houſes—This may be done at any time, but it is uſually done at night.—If any of the Slaves taken aboard at night are found to be deficient, they are uſually relanded early in the morning—The trader comes on board when he thinks proper, and receives the goods for the reſt.

Does the trader ſee and examine the goods before he concludes the bargain for the Slaves?

When the king breaks trade with the ſhip, the aſſortment and quality of his cargo are ſufficiently well known to all the traders.—They never examine the goods previous to the ſelling the Slaves, but they and their people uſually examine them very minutely when they receive them.

Does the captain of the ſhip give notice of the time of his ſailing from the Coaſt?

I never knew an inſtance to the contrary in the river Bonny, although it is not neceſſary to do ſo there.—When we have finiſhed our Trade, we pay the traders what is called their work bars, being their commiſſion for the number of Slaves they have ſold; when that is done, and the captain declares to the king that he

has finiſhed his trade, the king then comes on board, and receives his cuſtoms, and gives the captain the Slaves and the elephants teeth, which are due to him.—There is another circumſtance by which all the people in Bonny are ſufficiently warned of the ſhip's being ready to depart—on the arrival of the ſhip, there are certain goods called daſhes given to different people in Bonny, who, at the ſhip's departure, return a certain number of coarſe cotton cloths (the manufacture of the country)—When the captain wiſhes to collect theſe cloths, he muſt ſend a certain quantity of bread, brandy, and beef, to the parliament houſe, where they are obliged to bring theſe cloths.—There is another circumſtance by which the Bonny people know of the ſhip's ſailing, which is, the ſhip is generally covered with mats and ſpars to protect the crew and Slaves from injury by the weather—This commonly takes from one to two days to pull it down.—Almoſt every ſhip has a certain number of the people of the town to row the captain on ſhore and on board, and commonly to wood and water the ſhip; ſo that if the foretop-ſail was not looſened, or a gun fired the day before the ſailing of the ſhip, it would be impoſſible for the ſhip to depart without the people having full four or five days notice.

In what way are the cuſtoms payable by the ſhip eſtimated?

Every ſhip pays a bar for every Slave that is purchaſed—ſometimes the king does not rigidly exact the preciſe number of bars—he himſelf puts a man or boy on board to receive the cuſtoms immediately as the trade is broke—the king himſelf breaks the trade as a trader, and when he has ſo done, other perſons can trade.

What is the duty of the cuſtom boy or man put on board?

His duty is to take an iron bar out of the price of every Slave, if there is any iron in the cargo, and the value of five manilloes beſides the iron, which, altogether, is computed at a bar and a quarter in trade—if there is no iron, the cuſtom boy claims a right to take the beſt bar (being an eſtimated value in trade at Bonny) he can find in the aſſortment.

When does the cuſtom boy pay over the duty he has collected to the king?

He ſometimes takes on ſhore the cuſtoms he has collected every day, but generally chuſes to take twenty, thirty, or forty iron bars on ſhore at a time.

Does the trade at Calabar differ from the mode of carrying on trade at Bonny?

Not eſſentially as to the mode.

Do you know any thing of the government at Calabar?

It is in ſome reſpects ſimilar to that of Bonny—the town has been for ſeveral years paſt governed by a man whoſe condition is that of a Slave, and whoſe name is Amachree—he was obliged to ſupport his maſter for ſeveral years, though his own wealth gave him power over his maſter, and he often flogged him when diſpleaſed—To ſatisfy the prieſts, who are the common interpreters of the law in that country, there was a king appointed ſome years ago—this perſon has very little power, and leſs capacity, but the cuſtoms and daſhes are paid to him as king—Before the time of this perſon's election I know nothing, but believe there have been kings before him.

Are the people of Calabar divided into Freemen and Slaves?

I believe in that reſpect their condition is generally ſimilar to thoſe of Bonny—there is a diſtinction in one point—the Calabar people can ſell their canoe boys, which the Bonny people cannot—the Bonny people will not permit the canoe boys, even if Slaves from the interior parts, to be ſold, as they are uſeful to the country in general.

Do the Slaves that are ſold to the Europeans come chiefly from the interior parts of the Country?

They do—and there is generally a weekly fair at Calabar—in other reſpects the Trade is carried on as at Bonny.

Are there any natural productions in the countries of Bonny and Calabar, which might be made the ſubjects of exportation?

I believe there are none.

Are there any articles brought thither from other countries which might be made the ſubjects of exportation?

There is a little Ivory—a few Cotton Cloths, which can be no article of trade, as they are either ſold too dear, or are of too coarſe a manufacture—we ſometimes buy Palm Oil at theſe places, but ſeldom more than is neceſſary for the Slaves proviſions.

Can you aſcertain in any degree the quantity of Ivory or Cotton Cloths?

The kings of Bonny and Calabar are obliged to keep a certain number of Teeth for each ſhip—two or three, according to the ſize—ſometimes they complain of the ſcarcity of Teeth in the country, and make it an excuſe for non-payment, and the Ivory in general is very dear—with reſpect to the Cotton Cloths, they are not in great quantities—they are not the manufacture of the

country—

country—they come from Benin, the Braſs Pan Country, and other countries.

Do you know any thing of any other part of the Coaſt?

Yes—ſomething of the Windward Coaſt—I have been frequently there, but never to complete a purchaſe at any one place, nor upon the whole coaſt.

In what manner is the trade carried on, on the Windward Coaſt?

On ſome parts of the Windward and Grain Coaſts the trade is a mere barter, giving a certain quantity of goods for Slaves, according to their appearance, without the intervention of any nominal value—in all my tranſactions with the natives on the Windward Coaſt I purchaſed the Slaves by ſuch barter, without daſhes, commiſſions, or cuſtoms—the tranſaction was a ſimple barter—In ſome places I paid for wood and water, which is the general practice all over the country.

Do you know what are the natural productions of the Windward Coaſt?

The country in general produces rice, Guinea corn, and caſſada; and moſt parts of the coaſt produce plantains and bananas—the country likewiſe produces limes, ſome pine apples, oranges, and other fruits, which are chiefly to be found in the Weſt India Iſlands.

Is there any ivory obtained on that coaſt, and in what quantity?

I have bought ivory at moſt parts of that coaſt which I have frequented, and ſome camwood at one place—I cannot ſpeak as to the quantity.

In what manner do the ſhips obtain the Slaves upon the Windward Coaſt?

The Slaves I purchaſed were brought on board the ſhip by the ſhip's boat, when the canoe was not ſufficient to bring them—the ſhips that are accuſtomed to carry on that trade, ſend their boats into rivers and along the ſhore, and likewiſe eſtabliſh factories on ſhore—I have been at ſome of theſe factories, and ſeen the mode of trading—the Slaves were produced, and if found good, the price agreed on was paid, and the Slaves ſent on board the ſhip the firſt opportunity—the traders always ſee the articles before the bargain is concluded, if they have any doubts of the property or character of the perſon they deal with.

Can

Can a ſhip lay with ſafety on the coaſt of Africa in all ſeaſons of the year?

I know moſt parts of the coaſt of Africa, from Cape de Verd to Cape Negroe—the ſoundings for the moſt part are very regular, and the ground favourable for anchorage—there are here and there ſeveral rocky parts, but in an hour's ſailing, either up or down the coaſt, good anchorage ground may be found.

Are there any reaſons then why a ſhip cannot trade on the Windward Coaſt in bulky articles?

Between the ſhoals of St. Anne and Cape Palmas, and from Cape Palmas down to the Gold Coaſt—I do not know any place where in the rainy ſeaſon ſhips boats can land with ſafety—there are ſome places ſheltered by rocks where a landing may be effected, and boats can go into the rivers by being well acquainted with the bars, but no veſſels that draw much water can go into theſe rivers—the aſſiſtance of canoes is neceſſary to thoſe ſhips in rainy ſeaſons—the canoes are often overſet, and the goods attempted to be landed are loſt or deſtroyed, but the natives ſwim and dive ſo well, that themſelves are ſeldom loſt, unleſs ſeized by the ſharks.

What ſeaſon of the year is the moſt dangerous for ſhips to lay on that coaſt, and why?

From Cape St. Anne to Cape Palmas, and thence down to the Gold Coaſt, there is ſome variation in the ſeaſon, but the height of the rainy ſeaſon, which is conſidered to be the worſt weather, is in the months of July, Auguſt, and September—it is much the ſame at Bonny, with this difference, that the tornadoes on the Windward Coaſt blow the ſhips off the ſhore, but generally would blow on ſhore at Bonny—A ſhip may have ſafe anchorage on moſt parts of the coaſt if her cables would hold—but the currents are in general ſo ſtrong, and the ſea ſo rough, that no ſeamen are equal to the labour of rowing to the ſhore and back again, from the exceſs of fatigue—theſe currents are ſhifting, and occaſionally more or leſs ſtrong.

Does the ſhifting of theſe currents make the paſſage from the ſhip to the ſhore more or leſs dangerous?

Sometimes more and ſometimes leſs dangerous—they happen generally on the full and change of the moon, at which periods the ſea beats violently on the ſhore, more than in any other parts of the world I ever knew.

Are there any ports or harbours on the Coaſt of Africa?

There are ſeveral places in which I conceive ſhips may lay with

ſafety, ſuch as the rivers Gambia and Sierra Leone, and perhaps ſome other rivers on the Windward Coaſt—there are other rivers in which ſhips lay very ſafe; but they muſt run ſome riſk in going over the bars, ſuch as the rivers Bonny, Calabar, and I believe, the river at Old Calabar.—Ships are likewiſe very ſafe in the river Congo, when they get in there; but the current of the river is ſo rapid that a ſhip cannot at all times go into it—At Mount Negroe, which I ſuppoſe to be in latitude of ten degrees ſouth, there is a very deep bay, open, as near as I can remember, from ſouth-weſt to north-weſt, with a reef or ſhoal extending from the ſouthernmoſt part—the anchoring ground good—a good rivulet of freſh water—the country all round a perfect heap of acrid ſand; no vegetation as far as the eye can reach.

In all the rivers upon the Coaſt of Africa are there not bars that render their entrance dangerous to ſhips of burthen?

There are bars and ſhoals at the entrance of the rivers; but I underſtand that experienced perſons can go into the rivers Gambia and Sierra Leone at all times when the wind permits.

Does the ſurf render landing from the ſhips dangerous on every part of the Coaſt where trade is carrying on?

It renders it impracticable in ſhips boats in many parts of the Coaſt—and dangerous in moſt parts.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 2° die Februarii 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in his Examination.

Do ſhips trading to Angola provide themſelves with Proviſions for the Slaves in the Middle Paſſage, in that country? Mr. FRASER.

They ſeldom or ever can purchaſe ſufficient quantity of proviſions on the Coaſt of Africa, either for the Middle Paſſage, or for

the time that the ſhips lie upon the coaſt—I believe moſt Engliſh ſhips purchaſe what country proviſions they can during their ſtay upon the coaſt, but they are generally furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for the whole voyage, in England—I beg leave to obſerve, that the French ſhips ſeldom give any country proviſions to their Slaves.

What is the food of the Slaves intended for ſale, in their own country, or in the hands of the Black traders?

When they have not a ſufficiency of corn or plantains, they ſubſiſt on the root of the caſſada, which they eat raw, roaſted, or boiled.

What is the food intended for the Negroes, that is brought from England?

Beans and rice—ſome ſtockfiſh, flour, bread, and beef.

When the ſhip is going to ſail, do the Negroes ſhew any reluctance at leaving the coaſt?

The Negroes in general ſhew a very great impatience to leave the coaſt—thoſe that are natives of the ſea coaſt ſhew a reluctance on leaving the coaſt, and their relations; but the number of them is very inconſiderable.

Inform the Committee of the general arrangement and management of the Slaves on board the ſhip, before ſhe ſets ſail?

On the coaſt of Angola we are ſo long purchaſing our cargo that the ſhip is fit for ſea ſeveral days before our purchaſe is compleated—the ſpace between the decks is uſually divided into three apartments, and for the ſake of order, the ſexes are ſeparated, and the boys in general in a room by themſelves. The Angola Slaves being very peaceable, it is ſeldom neceſſary to confine them in irons; and they are allowed to go down between the decks, and come upon deck, as they find the weather warm or cold—it is our wiſh to keep them all the day upon deck, and give them what exerciſe they can uſe, with a view to preſerve their health; and to prevent them from ſleeping in the day-time on deck; becauſe thoſe who ſleep on deck, in day-time, generally diſturb the reſt at night—and when they are allowed to talk below, it adds conſiderably to the heat of the rooms. We endeavour to keep them as cleanly as poſſible, as well as their apartments—when the weather is too cold for them to waſh themſelves under the head pump (a practice which they are fond of themſelves, and which we encourage) we commonly give them water in a tub,

or

or ſome other veſſel, to waſh their mouths and their hands—we likewiſe furniſh them (when it can be got) with ſome palm-oil to rub themſelves after waſhing, a cuſtom which prevails in their own country, and which is ſuppoſed to protect them from the changes of the weather. We are very careful that their proviſions are well dreſſed and regularly ſerved; and endeavour, as much as we can, to give them as many meals as they were accuſtomed to in their own country, and dreſſed in a manner conformable to the cuſtom of their own country. In all the voyages I have made to Angola, and to any other country, I had a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to give them, as much as they could eat. I always had a ſufficient quantity of wine and ſpirituous liquors for the uſe of the Negroes and ſhip's company. When they were ailing, the ſurgeons had always orders, as well as free leave, to give them any thing that was in the ſhip. Freſh proviſions we found generally upon the coaſt, and laid in as good a ſtore of them as we could conveniently keep on board the ſhip.

Does this anſwer you have now given relate alſo to the Middle Paſſage?

It does; with this difference, that, while on the coaſt, we get ſeveral articles, ſuch as plantains, bananas, and ſeveral other refreſhments, which are not fit to keep at ſea.

What are the daily arrangements with reſpect to the feeding of the Slaves?

Our Slaves (which is what we wiſh) being generally deſirous of eating their proviſions upon deck, and the weather not being at all times alike, they are fed ſometimes an hour later or earlier than the uſual time—ſudden changes of weather make it abſolutely neceſſary ſometimes, to feed them ſooner or later than any fixed time whatever—their proviſions are generally ſerved in wooden veſſels (which we call crews): Although they are boiled to ſuch a conſiſtency, that they may be eat without the uſe of ſpoons, we generally give each Slave a ſpoon, which they very ſeldom uſe—they are almoſt at all times ten in a meſs—as ſoon as they have eat their victuals, they are ſerved with water, and uſually allowed to drink as much as they chuſe—they have two meals regularly every day, and almoſt always a middle meal; which not being cuſtomary in their own country, they conſider as an indulgence—this middle meal is bread and beef, or bread and pork, or ſtock-fiſh, or any thing elſe we have to give them—it is ſometimes of calavances, of which they are generally very fond—the treatment is ſo much alike,

both

both on the coaſt and on the voyage, that the deſcription of one day is ſufficiently deſcriptive of the treatment during the whole of the paſſage—we generally appoint the moſt humane and beſt diſpoſed of the ſhip's company to attend the Slaves, and ſerve their proviſions—it is the Surgeon's duty (and he is frequently reminded of it) to enquire every morning into the ſtate of the health of the Slaves, and to inſpect the boilers, to ſee that they are clean —when any complaining Slaves declare their complaints to the Surgeon, he generally gives them what medicine his judgment and practice direct him—there is ſome apartment appropriated for the ſick—we endeavour to put them where they are leſs likely to be moleſted or diſturbed.

During what hours in general, in each day, are the Slaves allowed to be upon deck?

We ſometimes allow the Slaves to go down hetween decks in the courſe of the day—but, if the weather permits, we never wiſh to have them off the deck from the time they come up in the morning, till the time it is proper for them to go down at night —they are generally of a cheerful diſpoſition, which we encourage, and they have frequent amuſements peculiar to their own country, ſuch as ſome little games with ſtones or ſhells, dancing, and jumping, and wreſtling—notwithſtanding they are apparently of a cheerful diſpoſition, they are very often apt to quarrel with one another, and it is difficult to reconcile them—it is a general principle with an African, not to forgive his enemy.

In what manner are the beans, which you mentioned to be brought from England, dreſſed for the uſe of the Slaves?

They are generally ſplit in England, or on hoard the ſhip—they are ſometimes boiled to the conſiſtency before mentioned, at other times with an equal quantity of rice, and ſometimes ſtockfiſh or beef are mixed with them.

Do the Negroes eat them with reluctance, when ſo dreſſed?

Moſt part of the Angola Negroes I ever had on board the ſhips I have ſailed in, eat whatever proviſions were given them with cheerfulneſs.

Where do the Slave ſhips provide themſelves with water, on the Middle Paſſage?

There is abundance of excellent water to he found on every part of the coaſt of Angola where I have traded; although it is very difficult to get the water on board from ſome places, on

account of the difficulty of landing, where the water was to be procured.

Do the officers ſee that the Slaves are regularly ſupplied with food and water?

It was generally underſtood, in the Angola trade, that the chief mate, ſurgeon, and boatſwain, ſhould attend the Slaves while meſſing on the main deck—the chief mate and boatſwain are, for the moſt part of the day, among the Slaves on the main deck—it is cuſtomary for the maſter of the ſhip, the ſecond mate, the ſurgeon's mate (if there is any) to ſee the Slaves meſſed on the quarter deck, and they are generally among them in the courſe of the day.

Is the ſurgeon provided with proper medicines for the voyage?

There is generally a ſum of money allotted for the medicines.—The ſurgeon, if a man of experience in the trade, takes the aſſortment which he judges beſt—if he never was on the coaſt before, he commonly takes ſuch an aſſortment as he has been adviſed to do by a man of experience, or ſuch as he finds the apothecary or druggiſt has ſent in other veſſels in the ſame trade.

Do the officers ſee that the Slaves are properly attended in ſickneſs?

There are proper perſons appointed to attend the ſick Slaves—the ſurgeon often chuſes ſuch perſons as he thinks beſt qualified for it, and the maſter of the ſhip orders them to do what the ſurgeons direct them—the maſter of the ſhip, as well as the officers, are too much intereſted in the health and ſafety of the Slaves to neglect the neceſſary means for their recovery, ſuppoſing humanity out of the queſtion.

How is the maſter and the officers of the ſhip intereſted in preſerving the health of the Slaves?

If any of the Slaves die, the ſurgeon loſes his head money, and the captain his commiſſion; if the Slaves are brought in bad order to market, they average low, and the officers privilege Slaves, which are generally paid them on an average with the cargo, are of leſs value to them.

What do you mean by the head money and commiſſion mentioned in your laſt anſwer?

By the head money, I mean one ſhilling for each Slave that is ſold, paid to the Surgeon out of the proceeds of the cargo—by the

captain's commiſſion, I mean what is allowed him for bartering his cargo of European goods for the Negroes upon the coaſt, and for his care of the Slaves upon the coaſt, and until they are ſold—which commiſſion is calculated at ſo much per cent. on the groſs amount or net proceeds of the cargo ſold, according to agreement with the owner.

What do you mean by privilege Slaves?

The privilege Slaves, that are allowed the chief and ſecond mate, and ſurgeon, or any other officers to whom ſuch privilege is given, are allowed them in conſideration for their care and trouble in the management of the Slaves on board the ſhip.

Has the captain any privilege Slaves?

The captains formerly had privileged Slaves, and what was called coaſt commiſſions—that cuſtom may prevail with ſome owners ſtill; but in general the mode of paying commiſſions on the groſs or net proceeds in the Weſt Indies, is what is moſt generally practiſed, and what is conſidered moſt equitable, the intereſt of the owners and the captains being then reciprocal.

Is a particular attention ſhewn to the cleanlineſs of the ſhips between decks?

There is very particular attention ſhewn to the cleanlineſs of the ſhips between decks, and it is often thought, the practice of cleaning the ſhip is prejudicial to the health of the Slaves.

Why has this practice been thought prejudicial?

Becauſe it is very difficult to dry between decks thoroughly, notwithſtanding we have fire-pans for that purpoſe—I am not of that opinion myſelf.

When the Slaves are upon the deck, in what manner is the ſhip cleaned between decks?

We have generally a canvas hoſe, that leads the water from the head pumps down between the decks, which are uſually ſcrubbed with bricks and ſand—afterwards waſhed clean, and ſwabbed as dry as poſſible; and frequently we burn tobacco, brimſtone, or any other thing that we judge proper to ſweeten the rooms—there are ſeveral fire-pans placed at different parts between decks, with ſtrong fires in them, which generally dry between decks perfectly in the ſpace of an hour; but we generally chuſe to keep

 the

the fires an hour or two longer, if the weather and time of day permitted.

Are there ports and gratings to give air between decks?

Every ſhip has gratings, and moſt have air ports, but there are ſome ſhips, whoſe conſtructions do not admit of air ports in the uſual manner, and different contrivances are made uſe of to convey air otherwiſe—ſome of theſe contrivances I have heard of, but not ſeen them—I have ſeen ſcuttles cut on different parts of the decks, to give a free expanſion of air, where a free circulation could not be procured.

While the ſlave ſhips lay on the coaſt of Angola, or are on the Middle Paſſage, is the weather ſo bad that the Slaves cannot come upon deck?

In rainy weather, even when it is not cold, and when the Slaves would wiſh to be upon deck, we think it unſafe to let them come up, unleſs the rain is ſo light that it does not penetrate through the awnings—there are cold fogs and dews, which make it neceſſary ſometimes to keep the Slaves below; but they are commonly ſo ſenſible of the cold, that reſtraint is not neceſſary to keep them below.

Are the Slaves more ſuſceptible of cold than Europeans?

I believe they are, unleſs the Europeans were deprived of the uſe of cloaths, in which caſe the Slaves would bear the cold better.

Do the Slaves often complain of heat on board the ſhip?

They ſeldom complain of heat while the air is ſweet—they are accuſtomed to heat, and find very few inconveniencies from it.

Do the Slaves bear the heat between the decks better than the Europeans?

They complain often of cold, when between the decks, which is a proof they can bear heat better than the White People—they can often ſleep expoſed to the heat of the ſun without finding any inconvenience from it.

Is the climate upon the Coaſt of Angola healthy, or otherwiſe?

It is generally conſidered healthy; but the changes of the ſeaſon affect the Natives as well as the Europeans.

Is

Is the rainy ſeaſon there prejudicial to health?

I apprehend the rainy ſeaſon is not prejudicial to health, if the people are not too much expoſed to it; but the change of the ſeaſon, from wet to dry, or from dry to wet, ſeem to have the ſame effect on the human conſtitution, as the ſpring and fall in this country—I have myſelf had violent illneſſes in that country, but I never loſt many of my Slaves or Seamen.

Are not the Slaves and Free People accuſtomed to ſleep very warm, and in confined huts?

They are generally accuſtomed to have fire in the ſpace where they lie, to ſerve the double purpoſe of keeping them warm and ſmoking away the muſquitoes—as far as I have known, they uſually lie without any thing elſe between them and the earth, than a thin mat—their huts, or what may be called their houſes, are uſually very ſmall and confined—ſome that have no houſes often lie under ſheds—the principal people of the country have better houſes.

In thoſe ſheds, do many lie together?

It is a cuſtom with the Africans to lay cloſe together, in ſuch a manner that one does not breathe into the other's face—this is alſo a very common cuſtom amongſt the Slaves on board the ſhips.

After a veſſel has fairly left the Coaſt, is the weather uſually fair and pleaſant, on the Middle Paſſage?

That entirely depends on the ſeaſon of the year, from whatever part of the Coaſt the ſhip comes—but in general the paſſages from Angola are ſafe and ſure.

Give an account to the Committee of the mortality of the Slaves on board the ſhips in which you ſailed from Angola to the Weſt Indies?

In the ſhips in which I have ſailed to and from Angola, the mortality among the ſhip's company and Slaves has been very moderate.

Which was the firſt ſhip you ſailed in from Angola?

I made two voyages as Second and Chief Mate; one in the ſhip Amelia, of Briſtol, Thomas Duncan, Maſter; and the other in the ſhip Polly, with the ſame Maſter.

In the ſhip Polly, how many Slaves were purchaſed, and how many died in the voyage?

As well as I can remember, we purchaſed ſomething under 500 Slaves—the mortality, I believe, was very ſmall; as I do not recollect there was any particular diſorder among the Slaves, and the average price of them was very high.—This voyage, I think, was concluded in 1772.

What was the tonnage of this veſſel?

I cannot ſay any thing of her tonnage.

Was you Maſter of the ſhip Catharine in 1772?

I was.

Did ſhe ſail to Angola?

She did—ſhe went to Melimba.

What was her tonnage?

I believe her tonnage was about 140 tons, according to her regiſtry—She had good accommodations for 300 Slaves, or upwards.—I purchaſed upwards of eighty Slaves the firſt voyage, and upwards of 300 the ſecond.—I ſold the cargo, the firſt voyage, at Carolina—the ſecond cargo the Americans would not ſuffer me to land there.—I was obliged to return with them to the Weſt Indies, with the ſhip in a diſtreſſed condition, being nearly foundered at ſea.

How many Slaves did you loſe on the coaſt?

In the firſt voyage I loſt about eight; and in the ſecond I believe, two or three; but I ſpeak from recollection.

How many did you loſe on the voyage?

In the firſt voyage the mortality was very moderate, as well as I can recollect—and the mortality of the ſecond voyage was trifling, till the diſtreſs at ſea obliged us to pump, and hoiſt the water out of the ſhip—cannot ſpeak as to the numbers of the mortality.

Do you recollect the number of the crew you had on board, and the number that died on the Coaſt, and on the Middle Paſſage?

On the firſt voyage, to the beſt of my recollection, I loſt one ſeaman on the Middle Paſſage, and a boy the day we arrived at Charles Town, South Carolina—On the ſecond voyage, the mortality, as near as I can recollect, on the Coaſt and Middle Paſſage, was three or four.

In what manner are Slaves managed on board the ſhips engaged in the Bonny Trade, before they leave the river Bonny, and what difference is there between the management of the Slaves purchaſed there, and thoſe purchaſed at Angola?

With reſpect to proviſions, the only difference of management is from their being chiefly fed on their own country proviſions at Bonny, and the neceſſity of keeping them under ſtricter confinement, as they are more vicious than the Angola Slaves, and we are more obliged to guard againſt inſurrections and deſertions with them.

Are the ſhips ſailing from England provided with the ſame ſort of food as thoſe going from Angola?

They are generally provided with beans, ſometimes with rice, flour, bread and beef, but never in ſo large a quantity, as they have commonly one meal or more of yams a day given them on the Coaſt and on the Middle Paſſage.

In what reſpects does the treatment of the Slaves purchaſed at Bonny and Calabar differ from the treatment of thoſe purchaſed at Angola?

In the care of them, the time and manner of ſerving their proviſions; there is very little difference, but what proceeds from the different ſorts of proviſions, and in the manner of dreſſing and ſerving them.

Can you ſtate what thoſe differences are?

In reſpect to the beans and rice there is no difference.—The yams are boiled, and ſhared out to them.—They are meſſed in the ſame manner exactly as they are at Angola, or any other part of the Coaſt, as far as I know.

Do the Slaves, ſhipped at Bonny and Calabar, ſhew reluctance at being carried off the Coaſt?

They ſhew more reluctance than the Angola ſlaves.—They are too often of opinion that the White Men intend to eat them.—The reaſon I give of ſuch apprehenſion is, that it is cuſtomary for them to eat one another in their own country.

Have they any objection to the food given them on board the ſhips?

They generally eat beans and rice with reluctance, always preferring yams, which is the uſual food of their country.

Have

Have you any reaſon to ſuppoſe that they are ill treated in their own country?

If many of them, being half ſtarved when brought down from the country, is a proof of ill treatment, they are; and they likewiſe complain of want of proviſions, and other hard treatment in the country.—As the people of Bonny and Calabar do not ſuffer the maſter of the ſhip, or any other officers, to go up the rivers, or penetrate into the country, we can have but little knowledge of what paſſes among them.

When do the ſhips, trading to Bonny and Calabar, provide themſelves with water for the Middle Paſſage?

The ſhips trading to Bonny can water at three or four different places; but they generally take their water at Bonny.—At Calabar, there are two watering places.—Ships water indifferently at either, according to the ſeaſon, or their opinion of the water direct them.

Do veſſels, trading to Bonny and Calabar, call at the iſland of St. Thomas, and for what?

Some veſſels call at the iſland of St. Thomas for refreſhments, but I never did myſelf.

Do you recollect the mortality on board the Alexander, of which you was maſter, in her voyage to Calabar, in 1776?

I do not recollect it exactly; but it was very moderate.

Do you recollect the mortality on board the Valiant, of which you was maſter, in 1777?

The mortality was conſiderable—it exceeded one hundred, which was occaſioned by the meaſles being communicated to our Slaves from a Frenchman, who came from Whydah, and ſtopt at the iſland of Annabona for refreſhment, and where we were for the ſame purpoſe.

How many Slaves had you on board?

I cannot ſay, but I believe about 500.

What was the mortality on board the Tartar, of which you was commander to the Windward and Gold Coaſt?

As near as I can recollect, it did not exceed three out of from 270 to 280—My crew in that voyage conſiſted of ſixty perſons—two of them, that were foreigners, died on the Gold Coaſt, and one man was drowned on the Windward Coaſt; and I believe, I carried all the reſt in good health to Jamaica.

Of

Of what burthen was the Tartar?

I cannot ſay preciſely, but I believe ſhe was from 140 to 160 tons—I was taken in the ſhip, and all my papers loſt, and of courſe have no documents to go by, either in this or former voyages.

Was the tonnage you mentioned, by regiſter or meaſurement?

I ſpoke only by gueſs.

Do you recollect what the mortality was on board the Emilia, of which you was commander in the year 1783?

The mortality was very ſmall—I do not know the number.

Where did you begin your purchaſe?

On the Windward Coaſt.

Give an account of your voyage, and the Slaves you purchaſed?

After purchaſing ten or twelve Slaves on the Windward Coaſt, I was drove off from the coaſt by a French man of war—the ſhip being leaky, from the damage ſhe received by the enemy's ſhot, I proceeded for St. Paul de Loando; but on the paſſage the principal leak ceaſing to admit water in ſuch great quantities, I ſtopped at the river Ambris, where I purchaſed from 140 to 150 Slaves—I then returned to the Windward Coaſt, where I finiſhed my purchaſe—as near as I can recollect, I had an equal quantity of Angola and Windward Coaſt Slaves; but the reaſon I do not recollect ſo accurately as I could wiſh, is, that I have brought no papers, coming to town on my private buſineſs, and not expecting to be called upon to ſpeak to the preſent buſineſs.

How long were you on the Coaſt in the laſt mentioned voyage?

I believe it might be from eight or nine months.

Give an account of the mortality of the Slaves and crew in the four voyages you have ſince made in the ſame ſhip to Bonny?

The firſt three voyages which I made in Bonny river, I was from ſix weeks to two months in the river each time.—The laſt I went there, about four months, having purchaſed about 150 Slaves, which I ſent off in a tender.—In the firſt voyage, I bought 490 Slaves, and loſt 50.—I ſold the remainder at Dominica—part of the mortality was occaſioned by the ſhip getting on ſhore on the bar in coming out, which obliged us to ſhut the air ports—this was acknowledged by ſuch of the underwriters that were applied to—they were willing to pay a part of the loſs; but as there was no precedent to regulate it by, the owners dropped their

claim

claim—the mortality of the crew was inconſiderable—they were ſeldom employed from the ſhip, and not expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, the ſhip being always covered in the Bonny River with mats, which ſheltered the crew from the rains and the dew.

In the ſecond of theſe voyages, how many did you purchaſe?
I purchaſed about 420—loſt on the paſſage to Jamaica and to the coaſt upwards of thirty.—My crew was from forty to forty-four—and loſt, I believe, four on the coaſt and on the paſſage.

In the third voyage, how many did you purchaſe?
Upwards of 400—ſold them at Grenada—loſt about forty—crew conſiſted of upwards of forty, and loſt about four—but my memory does not furniſh me as to this partieular.

In the fourth voyage, how many Slaves did you purchaſe?
I purchaſed about 570—ſent off in a tender 150 of them to the iſland of Saint Thomas, in the Weſt Indies—the remainder of the cargo I carried to Saint Chriſtophers—the mortality, as I have been informed, on board the tender, was five—I loſt upwards of twenty in the ſhip before ſhe got to St. Chriſtophers, on the coaſt and in the paſſage—during the time we lay in Baſſeterre Road, an epidemical diſorder, which prevailed all over the iſland, affected thoſe Slaves, and we loſt very near twenty more before they were ſold—the crew of the ſhip conſiſted of forty-four or forty-five—the mortality was three or four—but cannot ſpeak poſitively—none were loſt of the crew of the tender, except one man by accident.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 3° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in his Examination. Mr. FRASER.

In your laſt voyage to Jamaica, was there any further mortality among the Slaves than you have already ſtated to the committee?

The mortality on the Coaſt and Middle Paſſage, in Kingſton Harbour, and on ſhore, previous to their being ſold, exceeded 100—before the day of ſale came on, the hurricane drove moſt of the ſhips on ſhore—I loſt my foremaſt and bowſprit by another ſhip getting athwart ours—the Negroes were very much diſtreſſed during the bad weather—there was a ſcarcity of water, and a total want of country proviſions, being all deſtroyed by the hurricane—the Slaves were advertiſed for ſale at two different times, without any purchaſers appearing—our ſtock of yams was expended—they were but indifferently fed, and very badly lodged on ſhore; moſt of the ſheds or places proper for them, being deſtroyed by the hurricane—the diſorder, to which they are uſually ſubject in their own country, and the fever that then raged in Kingſton, broke out amongſt them—theſe are the cauſes which I aſſign for the extraordinary mortality.

How many died after the arrival of the ſhip at Kingſton?

The number might be from 60 to 70; but I cannot ſpeak preciſely to the exact number.

You have ſtated, that greater reſtraints are neceſſary for the Slaves purchaſed at Bonny, than for thoſe purchaſed at Angola; what additional precautions are taken for thoſe that come from Bonny?

It is neceſſary to ſecure the Bonny Slaves (the Braſs Pan men excepted) in the manner in which the Windward and Gold Coaſt Slaves are ſecured—the full grown men are chained, two and two, with leg-irons and handcuffs—when their number is large, and any of the ſailors abſent from the ſhip, or the captain on ſhore, it is always judged neceſſary, for the ſafety of the ſhip, to confine them—it is likewiſe neceſſary ſo to do when the ſailors are ſickly, and not able to keep watch over them.

Are they confined in that manner, and at other times, during the whole voyage?

As ſoon as the ſhip is out of ſight of land I uſually took away their handcuffs, and ſoon after their leg-irons—I never had the Slaves in irons during Middle Paſſage, not even from the Gold and Windward Coaſt, excepting a few offenders, that were troubleſome in the ſhip, and endeavouring to perſuade the Slaves to deſtroy the White Men.

During the courſe of the voyage, were the Slaves and the White Men plentifully ſupplied with victuals and water?

I always

I always had plenty of proviſions and water on board the ſhips I commanded; but not always the ſort of proviſion they liked beſt—I arrived once in the Weſt Indies rather ſhort of proviſions; but on that paſſage neither the Slaves nor the ſailors were put to ſhort allowance.

Is the crew of a Guineaman mixed of landſmen and ſeamen, and in what proportion?

Before the laſt war there were more landſmen carried in Guineamen than have been ſince—I never knew there was any exact proportion of ſeamen or landſmen—I never ſailed in a Guineaman, in which there was not ſome landſmen—But ſince the laſt peace, there are ſo many half ſeamen, as they are called, that are ſeldom received into any other trade, who are carried in Guineamen—I have taken of that deſcription inſtead of landſmen myſelf frequently—By a landſman, I mean a perſon who has never before been to ſea—By a half ſeaman, I mean a man who has not been regularly bred, or long enough to ſea to know his buſineſs.

Do you recollect what number of landſmen, half ſeamen, and able ſeamen, you have had on board your ſhip, in any one of the before-mentioned voyages?

I recollect one voyage in particular, which was in the Alexander, where, out of thirty-nine perſons I had not above ſix able ſeamen—about fifteen half ſeamen, the remainder being officers and landſmen—the officers might be about ten.

Do you recollect the numbers of any other of your voyages?

I remember one voyage in the Catharine, when I had fourteen able ſeamen—Another, which was in the Tartar, when I had about ſixteen or eighteen able ſeamen—When I ſpoke of the Alexander, it was in the time of peace—of the Tartar, in time of war—of the Catharine, in time of peace.

Is it cuſtomary, at Briſtol, to pay any part of the wages of the crew in currency, or ſterling money?

It has been the cuſtom at Briſtol to pay an advance, from one to three months wages, in ſterling money, before ſailing from Briſtol—when the Slaves are ſold in the Weſt Indies, the wages for half the time that has elapſed ſince ſailing from Briſtol is paid in currency of the Weſt Indies, where the Slaves are ſold.

In the courſe of the voyage is an attention paid to the health of the ſeamen?

I have

I have paid every neceſſary attention to the health and ſafety of every individual that was on board my ſhip—the ſurgeon has always a medicinal cheſt, ſuch as I have deſcribed in a former part of my examination—he is always at liberty to give the ſick, wine, freſh proviſions, and every other refreſhment that is on board the ſhip—I have always made their reſpective meſſmates give every attendance and aſſiſtance to thoſe who were unwell.

In general, in the ſhips in which you have ſailed, have the ſeamen in the voyage been treated with humanity and tenderneſs?

It was my wiſh and orders that they ſhould be ſo treated.

Do the landſmen ſuffer more from ſickneſs than the able ſeamen during theſe voyages?

Landſmen, when grown up, are leſs fit to bear the change of climate than ſeamen and young lads.

Do young lads ſuffer more than ſeamen?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion preciſely—there are too many of the ſeamen that come diſeaſed on board our ſhips.

Is it uſual to diſcharge any part of the crew in the Weſt Indies?

It is never allowed, but by the authority of a principal magiſtrate, who muſt indemnify the maſter of the ſhip, who has previouſly given a bond at the ſecretary's office, in the penalty of 1500 l. if he leaves any of his crew to diſtreſs the country—the factor alſo ſigns another bond for the ſame amount—it is very often the cuſtom for ſome of the crew to apply to attornies at law to obtain their diſcharge; and the vice-preſident of the admiralty, on the requeſt being made, uſually iſſues an order to the captain to comply with it—ſuch men ſo diſcharged are often a burthen to the country, and often contract ſickneſs from their intemperance, and want of employment.

Are the ſeamen oftener diſcharged at their own requeſt than by the direction of the maſter of the ſhip?

They are only diſcharged in the manner before mentioned, or by mutual conſent—no ſeaman or landman being obliged to receive their diſcharge before the concluſion of the voyage.

Is it for the intereſt of the owners, that the ſeamen ſhould be diſcharged in the Weſt Indies?

I believe it is not for the intereſt of the owners or that of the

crew that the commander ſhould be ever allowed to diſcharge a man of them in the country.

Why would it not be for the intereſt of the owners?

Becauſe, if the maſter diſcharges one man, he is obliged to grant a diſcharge to every other man that applies for it.—I have always underſtood this to be the cuſtom on board a merchantman, and the ſailors generally avail themſelves of it; for which reaſon, if any offender, ſeaman or landſman, wiſh for his diſcharge, to remain in the country, I always made him get the conſent of all the reſt of the ſhip's company under their hand-writing.

Do you recollect how many you may have diſcharged yourſelf, in any one of your voyages?

I recollect, the laſt voyage that I was in Jamaica, the ſailors became very quarrelſome among themſelves, and I diſcharged from 12 to 14 healthy people, who went in Liverpool ſhips that ſailed ſoon after the hurricane was over—I was then liable to a proſecution, if any of them had remained on ſhore—I diſcharged them conditionally, that if they were not ſhipped on board of other veſſels, I would take them on board again upon their changing their names, a cuſtom very common among ſeafaring people.

Have you generally diſcharged any of your crew in your other voyages?

Not unleſs compelled to do ſo, by the authority of a magiſtrate, or an officer in his Majeſty's navy.

Is it a common thing for the ſeamen that have been at ſea in a certain ſhip, to ſail again in the ſame ſhip?

Some of the ſeamen that returned to me (when they could) offered to ſtay on ſhore till the ſhip ſailed again, and were inclined to engage again with me, and waited for me when they could have got other employment in the interval—ſome ſeamen have ſailed three times with me—ſome ordinary ſeamen as often, and a few ſailed with me four voyages.

Do you know Mr. Alexander Falconbridge?

Yes—he ſailed two voyages, and a part of a third with me—the ſhip was captured in the courſe of one of the voyages.

Where were thoſe voyages to?

The part of the one, in which I was taken, was to the Wind-

ward Coaſt—one to the Windward Coaſt and Angola—and one to Bonny.

Did you ever enquire of the Slaves you purchaſed at Bonny, in that voyage, how they came to be ſuch—did any of them tell you they had been kidnapped?

A few of them informed me, that they were taken forcibly, or by ſurprize—many of them acknowledged they were Slaves in their own country—but the little knowledge I had of the language does not enable me to aſcertain the number that were born Slaves, or made ſuch.

What do you mean by being taken forcibly, or by ſurprize?

I mean, in the manner in which I deſcribed the Angola wars.

Did Mr. Falconbridge ſpeak the language of the country?

He always declared to me he underſtood but little of it.

In any of the voyages in which Mr. Falconbridge was in your ſhip, do you recollect the circumſtance of a man invited to look at the ſhip, and being brought on board and ſold?

Not underſtanding the language, I cannot ſay whether any ſuch man was invited or not—I recollect the circumſtance of a man being brought along-ſide the ſhip, and delivered to me, who, I believe, did not know that he was going to be ſold.

Do you recollect a fiſherman, at the River Ambris, charged falſely with extortion by a magiſtrate, and ſold for his benefit?

I recollect, on one day when I went on ſhore, early in the forenoon, the king's principal officers came to the beach, to ſettle ſomething with me about the price of Slaves—there was a fiſherman, who was accuſed of having aſked more for his fiſh than he ought to do—in the afternoon, after I left the ſhore, there was a ſignal for me to return with the boat, and this man was delivered to me and ſold—I was the only perſon in the ſhip that underſtood a word of the language of the natives; all they told me about the man was, that he was a great rogue—and the principal officers, and the king's people, were all preſent when the goods were paid for him—theſe officers, as near as I can make a compariſon, may be conſidered as the miniſter of finance and the miniſter of the war department—their titles, as I underſtand, implying that deſcription.

Have

Have you any reaſon to believe that the fiſherman had been falſely charged with that crime?

I know nothing at all of his guilt—I obſerved myſelf, that he behaved very inſolent; and I heard him accuſed of aſking for his fiſh more than the cuſtomary price, or what was judged an equitable price.

At Bonny, do ſmall parties, from five to ten, make a practice of kidnapping and bringing Slaves to the Black people's houſes?

I do not know of any ſuch practice—I believe it is impracticable.

Of the number of Slaves you purchaſed at the River Ambris, have you any reaſon to ſuppoſe that the greater part, if not the whole, were kidnapped?

From my own knowledge, while I was in health, and the report of my officers during my ſickneſs, I judged that twice the number of Slaves were returned to the country more than I purchaſed—for the reaſons I have before given—if they were kidnapped, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe a trader would have ſold them at any price, rather than carry them back, which would expoſe him to a diſcovery.

Do you know of any other crime that the fiſherman was charged with, beſides extortion?

Not that I know of—they were not obliged to tell, if there was.

Have you any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the Slave, who was brought along-ſide your ſhip at Bonny, was not the property of thoſe who ſold him?

It was well known to a number of traders, that he was ſold to me—he was put on board in a public manner, between ten and twelve o'clock in the day—as to the right of the perſon to ſell him, I had no right to queſtion it; ſuch a circumſtance might have ſtopped my trade with that man who ſold me the Slave.

Was you ever required to deliver him up again?

I never was applied to for that purpoſe.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

When you arrived at the River Ambris, when Mr. Falconbridge was

was with you, was not your's the firſt ſhip that had been ſlaving on that coaſt for ſeveral years?

The natives told me I was, with which I acquainted my officers.

Had not the ſhip been ſeveral weeks on the coaſt before any Slaves were offered for ſale?

She was not.

How long was ſhe on the coaſt?

I cannot exactly ſpeak to the time—I purchaſed at different times a few Slaves from the towns on the ſea coaſt—the Slaves in that country, when no ſhip lays there, are ſent to St. Paul de Loando or to Cabenda—every time I traded at the River Ambris, if there was no veſſel there before me, it was ſome time before the Slaves from the interior part of the country were brought down.

Did you ever know an inſtance of a Slave being reclaimed by the government of the country, as having been improperly ſold?

Not as I recollect, at the River Ambris—but I have known inſtances of it at Melimba—in ſuch caſes there was always a Slave offered me for the perſon reclaimed, which I always accepted.

Do the captains ever enquire reſpecting the right which thoſe perſons who offer Negroes for ſale have to diſpoſe of them?

I believe they ſeldom or never do—I believe every captain would be conſidered as a fool by any trading man to whom he puts ſuch a queſtion.

Have not the Slaves in general a great averſion to horſe beans, except the Gold Coaſt Slaves?

No—the Slaves purchaſed at Cabenda and Melimba always eat beans, when mixed with rice, with much ſatisfaction—the Dutch boil their beans whole, with a good deal of water—they generally ſtrain the water from them, and after they have ſtrained the water off, the Slaves eat the beans firſt, and drink that water, which is of the conſiſtency of water gruel—the country about the Ambris produces a great deal of calavances—the Slaves we purchaſed there are fonder of calavances, Indian corn, and caſſada, than of any other food—they are not very fond of beans, but they like them well enough when mixed with rice and ſtock-fiſh.

Have you not found it neceſſary to uſe force to compel the Negroes to take their food?

I have always uſed perſuaſions—force is always ineffectual.

Have you not yourſelf held hot coals to a Negro, threatening to force him to ſwallow them, if he perſiſted in refuſing to eat?

I have not; and I defy any body to prove that I did.

Did you never order ſuch a thing to be done?

Being ſick in my cabin, the chief mate and ſurgeon, at different times, informed me, that there was a man upon the main deck, that would neither eat, drink, or ſpeak—I deſired them to uſe every means in their power to perſuade him to ſpeak, and aſſign reaſons for his ſilence—I deſired them to make ſome of the other Slaves endeavour to make him ſpeak—when I was informed he ſtill remained obſtinate, and not knowing whether it was ſulkineſs or inſanity, I ordered the chief mate, or ſurgeon, or both, to preſent him with a piece of fire in one hand and a piece of yam in the other, and to let me know what effect that had upon him—it was reported to me, that he took the yam and eat it, and threw the fire overboard—this man was afterwards ſhewn to me when I was recovered, with a frock and a pair of trowſers, which he had received from ſome of the ſailors for waſhing and mending their cloaths—this man was ſold afterwards for upwards of £. 40 at Grenada.

Have you never uſed force of any other kind, or threats, to compel the Negroes to take their food?

I have ſometimes threatened them when they were ſulky, and would not eat their proviſions; namely, that they ſhould have no yams if they did not eat their beans.—I have ſometimes found it neceſſary to puniſh, or cauſe to be puniſhed ſlightly, ſome of the Slaves for different offences.—Mr. Falconbridge was employed ſeveral times to do that with his own hands—He never ſaid, he thought what I ordered him to do was unreaſonable, or did it in ſuch a manner as to ſhew that he thought the puniſhment was undeſerved.—My reaſon for ordering Mr. Falconbridge to do this was, that I judged him a more proper perſon than any body elſe, becauſe in general he was attentive to the Slaves.—I would likewiſe ſay, that myſelf, Mr. Falconbridge, and the chief mate, have often been provoked to puniſh Slaves ſlightly without any great cauſe—their peeviſhneſs, perverſeneſs, and obſtinacy counteracting moſt of my endeavours to keep them comfortable, and relieve them in their ſea ſickneſs, and in other complaints; and I

 have,

have, with my own hands, puniſhed ſailors for maltreating the Negroes.

Do you recollect a number of women throwing themſelves overboard, juſt as you was about to leave the river Ambris?

I was then very ſick in my cabin, but I perfectly recollect that, from the neglect of locking the gunport gratings, a number of women got out, and attempted to ſwim on ſhore; among that number there were three women from the King's Town, at Ambris.—I believe they were all taken up again, and brought on board.—The ſhip was then about a mile from the ſhore.—I recollect that one of the Black Traders in that country was ſuſpected of having induced theſe women to leave the ſhip, this man having come on board late in the night, contrary to the cuſtom of the country, on ſome pretended buſineſs.

Is it not uſual for precautions to be taken, in all Slave ſhips, to prevent the Negroes from jumping overboard?

On the coaſt of Angola, I never knew any precautions uſed to that effect.—In the river Bonny and elſewhere, where the ſhips lay near the ſhore, precautions are uſed to prevent it.—The women and boys are never confined.

Do you recollect a young female Slave, who, declining in her health on being brought on board the ſhip, was ſent on ſhore for recovery, and there hanged herſelf?

My cuſtom, in the Bonny river, was to ſend the complaining Slaves on ſhore, when there was but few—and, if their diſorder required the aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon, I always ſent the ſurgeon on ſhore to ſee them—when they recovered, they were brought on board—when they died, they were brought alongſide to ſatisfy us they were not ſtolen from us—the female, ſuppoſed to be in queſtion, after ſuffering much from ſea ſickneſs, and ſeeming to pine and waſte, was ſent on ſhore, and left in charge of one of her own countrywomen—I was informed ſhe hanged herſelf—all that I know is, ſhe was brought alongſide the ſhip when dead—this woman was an Ebo Slave, from the interior country.

Did you ever underſtand that it was frequent with the Slaves of that country to hang themſelves?

I did not.

Had the great men of the country of Angola a right, by their own cuſtoms, to ſell their friends, relations, or families?

I never

I never knew the perſon who claimed a right to diſpute it with them.

You have ſtated, that pawns are often carried off the coaſt, and ſold, when their friends were too poor to redeem them; by whom is it underſtood that ſuch perſons were pawned?

I underſtand, it was done by perſons who had a right to pawn or to ſell—I muſt have underſtood it in this ſenſe, becauſe I have paid the price of a Slave for every ſuch pawn—and ſuch pawn not being redeemed, it was conſidered as a purchaſe.

Do you then underſtand generally, that no perſons are put on board the ſhips as pawns, but ſuch as are liable to be ſold by the cuſtom of the country?

I am not ſufficiently acquainted with the laws of the country to anſwer preciſely that queſtion.

You have ſtated, that perſons are ſometimes ſold for crimes, but not ſent out of the country; do you then know for what deſcription of crimes they are liable to be ſold to the Europeans?

The laws being often made for the occaſion, it is impoſſible for any man to tell.

You have ſtated, that on the Windward Coaſt canoes are often overſet, and goods loſt, how are the Slaves brought on board the ſhips?

The Slaves, in general, are brought in canoes beyond the ſurf into the ſhips boats; in ſuch places that I have ſtated the canoes being liable to be overſet, they are more liable to be overſet in going on ſhore than in coming off—the people on ſhore making their efforts to puſh them clear off the ſurf.

Are not the Negroes confined in thoſe canoes?

I never knew an inſtance of it.

What part of the ſhip is allotted to the ſick?

I have ſometimes allotted a part of the cabin for them—at other times part of the boys room; and in general, where they would be moſt out of the way of the other Slaves, and be moſt comfortable.

Are the ſhips never ſo full as to prevent this arrangement from being attended to, without inconvenience to the reſt of the Slaves?

That

That depends upon the number of the ſick, and many other circumſtances.

Whether the captain in purchaſing the Slaves, is not directed by his own judgment, without the controul of any other officer in the ſhip?

Certainly.

Does it not frequently occur, that on the Middle Paſſage, owing to bad weather, the air ports are obliged to be ſhut, or the gratings to be covered, or both?

It is often neceſſary to ſhut the air ports, from the roughneſs of the ſea, or from the rain coming in at the weather ſide—but I never knew an inſtance of the gratings being covered and the air ports ſhut at the ſame time, as in ſuch a ſituation the Slaves would be ſtifled.

Is it common for ſailors belonging to Guineamen to enter on board the King's ſhips upon their arrival in the Weſt India iſlands?

It has happened ſo twice to myſelf.

Is it, as you have heard and believed, a general practice with ſuch ſailors?

I do not, as to the practice being general; but I believe they never would do it if they could compel the captain to diſcharge them, with liberty to go on ſhore.

Is it common for ſailors belonging to Guineamen to deſert in the Weſt India iſlands through the temptation of having an extraordinary ſum of money for the run home to Europe, on board merchant ſhips?

I have heard them often declare, before they left England, that it was one of the reaſons for which they endeavoured to have a higher advance of wages before they embarked from Europe—by which means, and getting their half-pay in the Weſt Indies, the ſhip owing them very little, they deſerted with a view to the pay for the run home—and this is a common practice when ſailors are ſcarce, and a high price for the run home to Europe is given.

You have ſtated that the Bonny Slaves are kept under a ſtricter guard, becauſe they are more vicious, and therefore more care is obliged to be taken againſt inſurrections and deſertions; what do you

you think are the cauſes which induce them to wiſh either to riſe or to deſert?

The principal reaſon, in my opinion, is, that they are of opinion, that the White Men intend to eat them—the reaſon they give for ſuch fear is, that it is a cuſtom in their own country.

Is that apprehenſion univerſal?

I believe it is, except among the Braſs Pan Slaves.

Are thoſe Braſs Pan Slaves quiet and peaceable?

They are generally ſo peaceable, that they are ſeldom confined in irons.

Do you know enough of the countries to which you have traded, to ſay in what the bulk of the people are commonly employed?

I do not.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 4° die Februarii 1790.

Mr. FRASER.

COunſel and Witneſs called in, as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Are you at this time concerned in the Slave Trade?

I am at preſent unemployed, but ſhall be ſoon.

When an accuſed perſon is convicted on the trial by ordeal, or by any other mode, and is condemned to be ſold, for whoſe benefit is he ſold? or, if fined, who profits from the fine that is impoſed on him?

The relations and family of the perſons ſuppoſed to be poiſoned, according to my information and opinion; in moſt caſes, the Doctor is paid, I believe by both parties—but I think he always ſhares in the fines; and I believe the King, and the principal officers in the country, who proſecute or protect the proſecutions, have part of the fine.

In the caſe of one of the Princeſſes huſbands, who is condemned

to be ſold into Slavery, for having been falſe to her, for whoſe benefit is the criminal ſold?

I always underſtand that there is no medium in that caſe—ſhe either makes him pay a fine, and perhaps diſmiſſes him, or puts him to death, if ſhe chuſes.—In caſes where he may have powerful friends and relations, he is ſometimes treated with leſs ſeverity—this is the ſubſtance of what I have learned and collected on this buſineſs.—I have known a man who has offered twenty Slaves to redeem himſelf from ſuch bondage, and could not obtain his releaſe.

Is not the criminal ſometimes ſold in theſe caſes?

I underſtand ſhe has a clear right to ſell him—but none was ever ſold me—my opinion is, that the princeſs chuſes rather to take a heavy fine than the price for which ſuch criminal would be ſold; in the caſe of putting the criminal to death, the princeſs would find it difficult to recover as much of his effects as he and his friends would pay voluntarily by way of compoſition.

How are the Slaves commonly treated in that country?

As far as my knowledge extends, I have ſeen the Slaves at meal times ſitting round their maſter—ſome have their caſſada, ſome an ear of Indian corn, or any other thing they could get—if the maſter was of a mild diſpoſition, and that he had any thing to ſpare, he generally gave a little of what he had for himſelf to his favourite Slaves, and ſometimes to all that were about him—I have ſeldom ſeen the men and women eat together, when their friends and domeſtics were preſent.

Have you known many ſhips loſt on the Coaſt of Africa?

I have never ſeen an inſtance of it myſelf that I recollect, but I have heard of loſſes.

Many or few?

Very few.

What quantity of water for any given number of Slaves did you think it neceſſary to lay in for your paſſage from Angola, from Bonny, and from the Windward Coaſt reſpectively?

If my memory does not deceive me, I uſually laid in from 60 to 80 gallons a man; but I generally had a quarter of my ſtock left, when I arrived in the Weſt Indies or America.

Do you know many inſtances of captains having been convicted, and

and having paid the penalty for leaving ſailors behind in the Weſt Indies, according to the condition of the bond?

My memory does not furniſh me with an inſtance—I never had any law diſputes with any of my people.

You have ſtated, that graſs cloths were the common money of the country—does not that imply a habit of bartering with each other in a manufacture of the country?

The graſs cloth paſſes for money in that country, as braſs money or ſmall change does with us—I ſeldom have ſeen a ſufficient quantity of it to purchaſe a Slave—there is a great quantity of it deſtroyed in wrapping up the dead—they wrap up the body with that and cloth of other ſorts to a very large ſize—I have ſeen the people going with them in the ſhape of a large cylinder.

Do you mean to repreſent the graſs cloths as being no more convertible to uſe than braſs or copper money, in other reſpects than to exchange of ſmall value?

I have ſeen ſome of them worn, but more for ornament than uſe—When the Majumba or Congo people come down to the ſea coaſt to buy ſalt, when there are no ſhips on the ſea coaſt, they ſell a Slave or Slaves, according to the quantity they carry with them; and this graſs cloth is ſometimes part of the payment—In this caſe I ſpeak from information, but I believe it to be a fact—when the people from the interior part of the country come to purchaſe redwood at Majumba (they come from Congo, Selongo, Enſalo, and ſeveral other countries) they bring their Slaves to exchange for that commodity, and they commonly travel in large numbers.

When the natives brought the fiſherman on board at Ambris, did not the perſons who brought him ſaying he was a great rogue, induce you to believe that he had been guilty of more crimes than the act of extortion?

From the time that the king's principal officers ſtaid on ſhore, after they had finiſhed their buſineſs with me, from the general equity of their proceedings on moſt other occaſions, the notoriety of the matter, and the manner in which they delivered him to me, with the character they gave of him, I believe they conſidered him as a bad member of ſociety—I believe that he was not a freeman, and that by the laws of the country they had a right to ſell him in caſe of offence—By offence, I mean an offence againſt the laws of his country, or ſhewing diſreſpect to old people, or thoſe

in

in authority—I don't believe the fiſhermen in general on the coaſt are free and independent.

If the family of the perſon convicted of witchcraft were not to be ſold, would they be put to death, or what would become of them?

I believe, in many caſes, the friends of the proſecutors have a right to ſell them, and avail themſelves of that right—ſuch of them as are ſuppoſed to have been acceſſary to the crime, I believe, in ſome caſes, are liable to be burnt—I believe ſome part of the family, or the property that is confiſcated, comes into the hands of the King, or other perſons who aſſiſt in bringing the matter to an iſſue.

When a Slave that is offered for ſale is refuſed, what do you ſuppoſe becomes of him?

The young Slaves, I believe, in general, are diſpoſed of as I have anſwered before, in reſpect to the Bonny Slaves—I have reaſon to believe, that a number of the aged Slaves are criminals, or conſidered as ſuch—a circumſtance that happened at the river Ambris, as reported to me on my ſecond voyage with Captain Duncombe, when I was in his long boat, makes me think that a number of them are put to death—I had a Cabenda boy with me as a linguiſt, who informed me, one evening, that a Slave, who I would not purchaſe, was put to death in the following manner—the owner of this Slave, who came from the inland country, as I was informed, called the traders and fiſhermen together under a large tree—he told them, that the Slave, whom the white man would not buy, had run away from him ſeveral times in his own country—he accuſed him of diſhoneſty—he declared, that by the cuſtom of that country, every man that met a runaway Slave was obliged to bring him back to his maſter, for which the maſter was obliged to pay him—he ſaid, that this Slave run away three times from him—that he paid more for bringing him back than he was worth—that he derived no benefit from his labour—that he had offered him to a white man, who refuſed to purchaſe him at the price which he aſked—that he was determined to put him to death, to prevent the neceſſity of paying any more for bringing him back, and as an example to the reſt of his Slaves—the manner of his death, as I was informed, was, his maſter began by cutting off his wriſts, then his arms at the elbows, and then the ſtumps from his ſhoulders—he afterwards began with the ancles, the reſt of the joints, and finiſhed with cutting his head off—this was the relation of a perſon to me who had no intereſt in fabricating a falſehood—he was a lad who ſerved me three different times, and never

deceived me—from the treatment of this man to his Slave, whom I did not ſuppoſe to be very criminal, I have no doubt but they have a right to put their own Slaves to death, conſequently any uſeleſs criminal or old Slave might be ſuppoſed to be liable to ſuch treatment, or any arbitrary puniſhment—the laſt time I was at Melimba, there were ſome Romiſh Prieſts eſtabliſhed at a little Town of Chelongo, about two or three miles diſtant from the ſea ſhore, ſent by the King of France to endeavour to convert the people to the Chriſtian religion, to perſuade them to confine themſelves to one wife, and to reform the morals and cuſtoms of the country—they had a credit from France, by virtue of which every ſhip that ſupplied them with neceſſaries were reimburſed the value of their goods in France—the French and Dutch captains, and I myſelf, ſupplied them with any thing they had occaſion for, during our reſidence in that country, without charging them any thing for it—moſt of them died before I left the country, and the reſt of them as I am informed, ſoon after, without being able to effect a ſingle purpoſe of their miſſion—another inſtance of the diſpoſal of the refuſed Slaves is, I was trading at the River Ambris, in company with captain Lawſon, of Liverpool, on the evening of a day that he had purchaſed a young female—I was on ſhore for the benefit of the air, with my linguiſt, who conducted me to a ſpot where ſome of the countrymen were going to put a ſucking child to death—I aſked them the reaſon of it; they told me it was of no value—I told them in that caſe I ſhould be obliged to them to make it a preſent to me—they anſwered, if I had any uſe for the child it was worth money—I believe I firſt offered them ſome knives; but they ſold the child to me for a jug of brandy—it proved to be the child of the woman purchaſed by captain Lawſon, who thanked me for ſaving the child, and carried it on board—the woman went upon her knees and kiſſed my feet.

To what cauſe do you attribute the failure of the ſucceſs of the Romiſh prieſts?

Becauſe their propoſals were contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the country—moſt of the black people treated them with contempt, and ſhunned them, notwithſtanding their efforts to conciliate them—the old king of Melimba, when they propoſed to him to turn away all his wives but one, replied, that his wives were his property—that at his age he had no other uſe for a woman than for menial ſervices—the moſt of his women were mothers of ſeveral young men, whom he had eſtabliſhed as traders in the country—that if he was inclined to turn away any

of his wives, he did not know which of them to keep, they being all equally faithful to him—that as he had an equal regard for all his ſons, he knew no reaſon why he ſhould ſhew a greater favour to the one than the other, by keeping one woman and abandoning all the reſt—the French captains and the natives aſſured me, this was the anſwer that the king gave the miſſionaries, and they could make no anſwer in reply.

Do you ſuppoſe that the field or plantation Slaves are fed and treated with that indulgence at Bonny and Angola as you have deſcribed the domeſtic Slaves to be at Angola?

I would wiſh to be rightly underſtood.—I did not mean to ſay that the domeſtic Slaves or followers were well fed.—They might be ſo if they were induſtrious—moſt parts of the country that I know being tolerably fertile,—but I never ſaw any man working at the ground,—that is the province of the women.—Seldom or ever any perſon came to my factory who were not hungry, and very glad to get the worſt proviſions I had to ſpare.—By ſaying moſt parts of the country are fertile, I do not mean that there are large tracts that might be ploughed or planted, but that there are here and there very fertile ſpots, which would produce caſſada, corn, and calavances.—On ſuch ſpots they fix marks on poles, or otherwiſe, denouncing certain vengeance againſt thieves.—Many of the people of the country take more pains to ſteal a mouthful than would be neceſſary to procure a good meal by honeſt induſtry.

Have you known any wars or ſkirmiſhes undertaken for the purpoſe of making Slaves?

I have been an eye witneſs to a mode of carrying on war at Melimba.—While this ſort of war laſted, I purchaſed no Slaves, nor do I believe any other captain on Melimba Hill did.—When this war was over, I did not purchaſe a Slave whom I knew to be taken from either party.—There were then, I believe, about fourteen ſail of ſhips lying in Melimba road.

What was the occaſion of that war?

Diſputes among the great men of the country, for what might be called places and preferments.

Were many captives made during that war?

I never ſaw one.

Of what nation were thoſe fourteen ſhips?

I believe

I believe there were ten French ſhips, three Dutch ſhips, and my own.—There were, to the beſt of my recollection, twenty-five French veſſels upon what we call the coaſt of Angola at that time.

Has the mortality of the Slaves, in any of your voyages, been occaſioned by their being too much crowded?

In every voyage that I made, and in every ſhip in which I have commanded, during ſuch voyages, there was always more than room enough for the Slaves, except the firſt voyage which I made to Bonny in the Emelia—I have already ſtated the cauſe of part of the mortality of that voyage; the reſt of the Slaves, to a very few, I carried ſafe to market.

What are the diſorders incident to ſeamen on board Guinea ſhips?

Scurvy and fevers.

Are the wages of the ſeamen at Briſtol greater in an African voyage than any other?

From the circumſtance of the ſeamen we get at Briſtol being in general inferior in capacity to what they are in other ports, it is ſeldom that we are obliged to give them more wages than is given in the Weſt India trade; but in general they have had five ſhillings per month more, which I believe is not the caſe at preſent—but in this anſwer I only give my opinion, having been abſent from this Country near twelve months.

Have you ever been in France?

I have been a priſoner of war in Niort, in the country of Poictiers, for eight months—I have been in France ſince for my health, about ten months, and returned from it the latter end of laſt Auguſt.

Had you an opportunity of obſerving the increaſe of the African trade there?

I have been at Bourdeaux, Nantz, St. Maloes, Havre de Grace, Harfleur, and Rouen—I made every enquiry I could reſpecting the African trade.—Several French merchants, having all their own veſſels and officers employed, made me propoſitions to fit out from this country to purchaſe Slaves, under French colours, and carry them to St. Domingo—there were particular permiſſions to be obtained, before the revolutions in France, for this purpoſe—I do not know whether theſe permiſſions are of any uſe at preſent—good Slaves in general ſell at St. Domingo from £. 60 to £. 70 ſterling—

I have

I have ſeen the account of ſales of Slaves.—Such friends as I was acquainted with formerly on the coaſt of Africa, and who are now eſtabliſhed at Nantz, St. Maloes, and La Rochelle have offered me employment for myſelf, and as many of my officers and friends as I would recommend.

Whether the African Slave Trade has not been extended very conſiderably in France ſince the idea of abolition has been taken up in England?

I have been credibly informed it has—I know, from my own experience at Bonny, it could be much further extended but for want of money—I have been told in France, and in this country, that the merchants of Bourdeaux, and others concerned in that Trade, pay from eight to ten per cent. for money to carry it on—there were 360 ſail of veſſels, whoſe tonnage, on an average, was 352, employed in the African and Weſt India Trade from Bourdeaux—their cargoes in general are much richer than ours, having more cotton, indigo, and coffee.

Have the French employed in that Trade any Britiſh men and ſhips, that were deprived of employment here in conſequence of the reſtrictions that have been impoſed upon the Trade?

I believe that from the number of ſhips in this country which were laid up, as being made unprofitable by the late regulating act, the idea that the trade was to be aboliſhed, and the encouragements held forth by the French to the merchants of this country, as well as the officers, ſeveral perſons have been employed in ſhips that have been ſold from this country, and fitted out from France—I was informed at Rouen and Havre de Grace, as well as at Paris, that ſome commanders from this country had obtained leave to ſail three voyages in French ſhips, and at the end of the third voyage they muſt become citizens, to have that indulgence prolonged to them—I have been informed, that was the expectation of ſuch an indulgence—finding it could not be prolonged without fulfilling the condition, ſome of them choſe to become denizens, and others relinquiſhed their employment—In applying for a permiſſion of this kind myſelf, I learned the above particulars.

Whether, if the Slave Trade was aboliſhed here, it is probable that the French would carry on that Trade in a more extenſive manner than they do now?

It is more than probable, it is generally underſtood in France, that when the bounties ceaſe next Auguſt, other inducements

and encouragements will be held forth to thoſe concerned in the trade—I aſked ſeveral of the merchants of ſhips at Bourdeaux, Nantz, and Saint Maloes, as well as other inhabitants of thoſe and the other towns before mentioned, and ſeveral of the ſtockholders there, whether there was a probability of the trade being aboliſhed in France, who generally told me it would be very unſafe for any of the deputies to mention ſuch a thing in the national aſſembly—it was ſaid and believed, that the deputies from Nantz were threatened with the conſequence, if they conſented to ſuch a ſubject being diſcuſſed.

Whether you ſuppoſe the Dutch, Danes, and Portugueſe would extend this trade if the Britiſh Nation were no longer to rival them?

I believe it unneceſſary for the Portugueſe to extend it, as they poſſeſs a conſiderable part of it already—and moſt of that part excluſively—the Danes, ſupported by government, have endeavoured, to my own knowledge, to extend their commerce from the Windward and Gold Coaſt—I believe they already poſſeſs the means of carrying it on to a greater advantage than the Britiſh Nation, if their officers and men were equally acquainted with it—there is no reaſon, in my opinion, to ſuppoſe that the Dutch will ever forego any commercial advantage, of which they can lay hold—the people at Oſtend have ſhewn a diſpoſition to carry on every kind of trade that Africa and the Eaſt Indies preſent to them—but I underſtand the ſhips belonging to that place are the property, although not owned, of the ſubjects of different ſtates—the Daniſh Weſt India Iſlands are in part ſupplied with Slaves, by American veſſels, purchaſed on the Gold and Windward Coaſt, and perhaps elſewhere.

Do you know of any encouragement given by the Spaniards to promote the importation of Negroes into their Colonies?

It is well known that the Spaniſh Government have opened ſome of their ports for African ſhips of all nations, and I have been informed, that the Philippine company have attempted or are endeavouring to commence a trade of their own to Africa, with an intention to ſupply South America with Slaves—I have been told that they are deſirous of getting ſome of their officers employed in the Engliſh or any other African ſhips, to get previous experience.

Whether the French have not deprived the Britiſh ſubjects of the trade on a conſiderable tract of the Coaſt of Africa?

I am confident they have done it in an indirect manner, but although I am certain of this matter, I cannot prove it in a for-

mal manner, there being a neceſſary diſguiſe for conducting that buſineſs.

Whether, after the war mentioned by you at Melimba, any captives were offered for ſale to you or the captains of the other veſſels then upon the coaſt?

If by a captive is meant a perſon captured from among the number I had ſeen engaged in this war, I believe there was not one offered for ſale, and there was very little trade from that time to the period of my departure—I was ten months employed in purchaſing about 315 Slaves.

How many Slaves did you uſually carry to a ton?

I never made any calculation between the number of Slaves and the tonnage of the ſhip—there is no geometrical proportion between the tonnage and the places allotted for the Slaves to lay in—that depending upon the form and conſtruction of the ſhip, few of them being exactly alike.—No ſuch idea, I believe, ever entered into the head of a Seaman, as apportioning the number of Slaves to the Tonnage.

Do not moſt of the Slaves, during ſome part of the period, from their firſt coming on board, on the Coaſt of Africa, to the time of their debarkation in the Weſt India Iſlands, fall ſick of ſome diſeaſe, ſo as to come under the care of the Doctor, though many of them may be apparently cured before their arrival at the iſlands?

To the beſt of my recollection, I have known two inſtances, when nine-tenths of the Slaves made no complaint of ſickneſs.—I have known inſtances of Slaves being recovered by the care of the Doctor, and other officers, without the uſe of medicines—every Surgeon of experience, knowing the Africans to be naturally averſe to taking medicines, does every thing in his power to recover them without diſguſting them with any thing that is diſagreeable to them.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Fraſer be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 5th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witneſs Examined,

Mr. JAMES FRASER.

No 1.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 12° *die Februarii* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 5° *die Februarii* 1790.

THE Counſel for the Petitions from the Town of Liverpool, being called in as before, ſtated to the Committee, That he had concluded his Evidence relative to Africa and the Middle Paſſage; but that in reſpect to the importance of the Trade, compriſing the Manufactures, Commerce, and Naval Power of Great Britain depending thereon, there is further Evidence expected from Liverpool.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT the latter ſubjects ſtated by the Counſel be referred to future Examination, when he ſhall be permitted to call Evidence thereto.

And the Counſel was called in, and acquainted therewith,

And then he was again directed to withdraw.

Then Mr. Piggott and Mr. Bond, Counſel for the Petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Grenada, and the Grenadines, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the ſaid Iſlands; and alſo of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the Iſlands of Saint Vincent and Dominica, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and other Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the laſt-mentioned Iſlands, were called in.

And the Counſel produced a Copy of the Definitive Treaty between His Majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the Catholic King, ſigned at Paris, the 10th Day of February 1763.—The 9th Article of which was read, and is as follows; viz.

" The Moſt Chriſtian King cedes and guaranties to " His Britannic Majeſty, in full right, the Iſlands of " Grenada and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipu- " lations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, in- " ſerted in the fourth article for thoſe of Canada: and " the partition of the Iſlands called Neutral, is agreed and " fixed, ſo that thoſe of Saint Vincent, Dominica, and " Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, " and that of Saint Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, " to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high " contracting Parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipu- " lated."

Then ſo much of His Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, upon the 16th Day of November 1763, as relates to the appropriation of whatever ſums ſhall be produced by the Sale of the Weſt India Iſlands, which were ceded to His Majeſty by the late treaty, was read.—

The Counſel then produced the London Gazette, dated from Saturday March 24, to Tueſday March 27, 1764; containing His Majeſty's proclamation for the ſale of lands in the Ceded Iſlands; which was read; and is as follows; viz.

" By the King,
" A Proclamation.

" *GEORGE R.*

" Whereas we have taken into our conſideration " the great benefit which will ariſe to the commerce of " our

" our kingdoms, and the intereſts of our ſubjects, from " the ſpeedy ſettlement of our Iſlands of Grenada, the " Grenadines, Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Tobago, " we do therefore think fit, with the advice of our " Privy Council, to iſſue this, our Royal Proclamation, " to publiſh and declare to our loving ſubjects, that we " have, with the advice of our ſaid Privy Council, " given the neceſſary powers and directions for an im- " mediate ſurvey and diviſion into proper pariſhes and " diſtricts, of ſuch of the ſaid Iſlands as have not hitherto " been ſo ſurveyed and divided, and for laying out " ſuch lands in the ſaid iſlands as are in our power to " diſpoſe of into allotments for plantations of different " ſize and extent, according as the nature of the land " ſhall be more or leſs adapted to the growth of Sugar, " Coffee, Cocoa, Cotton, or other articles of beneficial " culture, reſerving to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, " ſuch parts of the ſaid iſlands as ſhall be neceſſary for " erecting fortifications thereon, and for all other mili- " tary purpoſes, for glebes for miniſters, allotments for " ſchool-maſters, for woodlands, high roads, and all " other public purpoſes; and alſo reſerving ſuch lands " in our iſlands of Dominica and Saint Vincent, as " at the time of the ſurrender of thoſe iſlands were and " ſtill are in the poſſeſſion of the French inhabitants of " thoſe Iſlands; which lands it is our will and pleaſure " ſhould be granted to ſuch of the ſaid inhabitants as " ſhall be inclined to accept the ſame, upon leaſes for " terms abſolute, or for renewable terms, upon certain " conditions, and under proper reſtrictions. And we do " hereby further publiſh and declare, that the allot- " ments for plantations in our iſlands of Grenada, the " Grenadines, Tobago, and Saint Vincent, ſhall contain " to three hundred acres, with ſome few allotments in " each Iſland of five hundred acres; and that the allot- " ments in our iſland of Dominica, which is repreſented " to be not ſo well adapted to the cultivation of Sugar, " and which, from its ſituation, requires in policy to be " well peopled with White Inhabitants, ſhall be in ge- " neral from fifty to one hundred acres.

" And whereas we have thought fit to declare to our " parliament, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, " our gracious intention of reſerving for the public

" uſe

" uſe whatever ſums ſhall be produced by the ſale of " any of the lands belonging to us in the Iſlands of the " Weſt Indies, which were ceded to us by the late " treaty; we do further publiſh and declare, that when " theſe allotments, or a ſufficient part of them, ſhall " have been laid out, the ſame ſhall be ſet up to ſale by " auction, at a price per acre to be fixed thereon by " commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, under our " Great Seal of Great Britain, who ſhall give public no- " tice of the time and place of ſuch ſale.

" And we do hereby further publiſh and declare, " That the lands ſo ſet up to ſale by auction, ſhall not " be ſold, but upon the following terms, and under " the following conditions and reſervations; that is to " ſay,

" That each purchaſer ſhall immediately pay into " the hands of ſuch perſon as we ſhall appoint to re- " ceive the ſame, twenty per cent. of the whole pur- " chaſe money.

" That the remainder of the purchaſe money ſhall " be paid by different inſtallments, viz. ten per cent. " within the firſt year after the purchaſe, ten per cent. " more within the ſecond year after ſuch purchaſe, and " twenty per cent. within every ſucceſſive year, until " the whole is paid.

" That each purchaſer of lands which have been " cleared and improved, ſhall within the ſpace of three " months from the date of the grant, ſettle and conſtantly " keep upon the lot purchaſed one White Man or " two White Women for every hundred acres con- " tained in the ſaid lot; and, in default thereof, ſhall " be ſubject to the payment of twenty pounds per " annum for every White Woman, and forty pounds " for every White Man, that ſhall be wanting to com- " plete the number.

" That the purchaſer of uncleared lands ſhall clear " and cultivate one acre in every twenty in each year, " until half the land ſo purchaſed ſhall be cleared; " and in default thereof ſhall pay five pounds per an-

" num for every acre not cleared, purſuant to ſuch " condition; and ſuch purchaſer ſhall alſo be obliged " to ſettle and conſtantly keep upon the lot ſo pur- " chaſed one White Man or two White Women " for every hundred acres, as the ſame ſhall be " cleared.

" That each purchaſer ſhall, beſides the purchaſe " money, be ſubject to the payment of an annual " quit-rent to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, of ſix pence " per acre, under the penalty of five pounds per acre " upon non-payment thereof; ſuch quit-rents, in the " caſe of the purchaſe of cleared lands, to commence " from the date of the grant; and the firſt payment to " be made at the expiration of the firſt year; and in " caſe of the purchaſe of the uncleared lands, ſuch " quit-rents to commence at the expiration of twelve " months from the time each acre is cleared.

" That in caſe of failure in the payment of the pur- " chaſe money in the manner above directed, the " purchaſer ſhall forfeit all right to the lands pur- " chaſed.

" That no perſon ſhall purchaſe at any public ſale " more than five hundred acres of cleared or uncleared " lands, in the Iſlands of Grenada, and the Grena- " dines, Tobago, and St. Vincent's, and in the Iſland " of Dominica the quantity ſhall be reſtrained to three " hundred acres; and in order to enforce this neceſ- " ſary and eſſential regulation, that a condition ſhall " be inſerted in every grant to be made in conſequence " of ſuch purchaſe, that in caſe any purchaſe ſhall be " made contrary thereto, ſo that the property of the " purchaſer in the Iſlands where the lands lie, ſhall " thereby amount to more than the above quantity re- " ſpectively, the ſame ſhall be void, the money paid " thereon forfeited, and the conſequential grant of no " effect.

" That all and every purchaſer of lands, upon the " foregoing terms and conditions, ſhall immediately " upon the payment of the firſt twenty per cent. of " the purchaſe money, receive a bill of ſale, ſigned by

" the ſaid commiſſioners, which ſhall entitle ſuch pur-
" chaſers to a grant of the ſaid lands, under the ſeal of
" the Iſlands, containing the afore-mentioned condi-
" tions and reſervations: which ſaid purchaſe, and
" grant in conſequence thereof, duly regiſtered in the
" proper offices, ſhall be good and valid in law againſt
" us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, unleſs the ſame ſhall
" be revoked; and we do hereby declare the ſame
" revocable by our commiſſioners of our treaſury,
" or our high treaſurer for the time being, within
" twelve months from the date thereof; in which caſe
" ſuch purchaſe and grant ſhall become void and of no
" effect; and upon notice of ſuch revocation, the ſaid
" commiſſioners ſhall return to ſuch purchaſer the mo-
" ney paid upon the purchaſe, with legal intereſt there-
" on, and reaſonable allowance for any improvements
" made on the ſaid lands.

" And whereas the eſtabliſhing towns in proper ſitua-
" tions within the ſaid Iſlands, will conduce greatly to
" the convenience of the inhabitants, and the benefit
" of trade and commerce; we have therefore thought
" fit, with the advice of our privy council, to direct
" a proper diſtrict in every pariſh in each Iſland, to be
" laid out for that purpoſe, into lots for tenements of
" different ſize and extent; and each town-lot to have
" a proportionate allotment of land contiguous to ſuch
" town, for a ſmall field or paſture, allowing one acre
" for every ten foot in front of the town-lot, to which
" it is to be annexed; but no field-lot to exceed the
" quantity of ſix acres.

" And we do hereby further publiſh and declare, That
" ſuch of theſe town and paſture-lots, in each Iſland, as
" conſiſt of lands, which have been already cleared and
" improved, ſhall be ſet up to ſale by public auction, at a
" price per foot in front of each town-lot, and a price
" per acre of the field-lot, to be fixed upon ſuch lot
" by the ſaid commiſſioners, in like manner as upon the
" allotments for plantations.

" And we do further publiſh and declare, That the
" lots ſo ſet up to ſale by auction ſhall not be ſold but

" upon the following terms and conditions; that is to
" ſay,

" That the purchaſe-money ſhall be paid in the
" ſame proportion, by the like inſtallments, and upon
" the ſame conditions, as are required in the caſe of the
" purchaſe of allotments for plantations.

" That each tenement ſhall be charged with the pay-
" ment of an annual ground-rent to us, our heirs and
" ſucceſſors, of one penny per foot in front, and ſix
" pence per acre for each acre of the field annexed to
" ſuch tenement, the ſaid rents to commence at the ex-
" piration of one year from the date of the purchaſe,
" and the purchaſer to be liable to the ſame penalties,
" in caſe of failure of the payment of the purchaſe-
" money, and the ground-rent and quit-rent, as we have
" already required in reſpect to the purchaſe of allot-
" ments for plantations.

" And we do further publiſh and declare, That the
" reſervations, which we have directed to be made for
" town and paſture lots of uncleared lands, ſhall be
" granted in fee-ſimple by our governor in chief, under
" the ſeal of the Iſlands, to any perſons who will give
" ſuch ſecurity as our commiſſioners ſhall approve, for
" building on ſuch town-lots within a reaſonable time,
" to be fixed by our ſaid commiſſioners; and alſo
" for incloſing, fencing, and properly clearing for paſ-
" ture, the fields that ſhall be granted with ſuch tene-
" ment.

" And we do further publiſh and declare, That we
" have directed that no more than one town-lot be
" granted to any one perſon, and that no more than
" ſix acres of paſture land be annexed to ſuch town-
" lot, whatever number of feet in front it ſhall con-
" ſiſt of.

" That each grantee ſhall be obliged, under proper
" penalties, to the payment of an annual ground-rent
" to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, of one penny per foot
" in front of the town-lot for a tenement, and ſix pence
" per acre for each acre of the paſture-lot; the firſt pay-
" ment

" ment to be made within two years from the date of " the grant.

" And in order the more effectually to conduce to " the peopling our ſaid Iſlands with induſtrious White " inhabitants, upon which their ſtrength and ſecurity " do eſſentially depend, we have thought fit, with the " advice of our ſaid council, to direct a quantity of " land, not exceeding eight hundred acres, to be re- " ſerved in ſuch parts of every pariſh in each iſland " reſpectively, as are not adapted for ſugar plantations, " for the accommodation of poor ſettlers, to be divided " into lots, of not leſs than ten, nor more than thirty " acres each: and we do hereby further publiſh and " declare, that the ſaid allotments are to be granted in " fee-ſimple, under the ſeal of our ſaid Iſlands, to ſuch " poor Proteſtants as ſhall apply for the ſame, in pro- " portion to their reſpective abilities to cultivate the ſaid " lands; and ſubject to the following conditions; that " is to ſay,

" That each grantee ſhall, at the expiration of four " years from the date of the grant, pay a quit-rent to " us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, of ſix pence per acre for " every acre then cleared, and a penalty of two ſhillings " per acre for every acre of land uncleared; which ſaid " penalty of two ſhillings per acre ſhall be reduced to " ſix pence per acre, as the land ſhall be cleared; and " in caſe of failure of ſuch rent and penalty, the grantee " ſhall be ſubject to the further penalty of the payment " of five pounds for every acre, for which ſuch quit- " rent ſhall not be paid.

" That each grantee ſhall enter upon, and occupy " the land within three months from the date of the " grant, and ſhall continue to occupy and improve the " ſame for twelve ſucceſſive months, from the time of " ſuch firſt ſettlement.

" That the lands ſhall, for the ſpace of ſeven years, " be unalienable by ſale, nor ſhall the ſame be let, " ſet, or aſſigned over, during the ſame term, other- " wiſe than to the uſe and benefit of any child or " children of ſuch original ſettler, without eſpecial

" licence

" licence in writing firſt had and obtained from the " Chief Governor, or Commander in Chief of our ſaid " Iſlands for the time being; and in caſe of failure or " default in either of the two laſt-mentioned condi- " tions, the grant to be void.

" And we do hereby further publiſh and declare, " that all grants made of the ſaid allotments for poor " ſettlers, as alſo all grants made of town and paſture " lots of cleared and uncleared lands, ſhall be abſolute " and final.

" That in all grants to be made of allotments for " plantations, and town and paſture lots, and of lands " for poor ſettlers, there ſhall be a reſervation to us, " our heirs, and ſucceſſors, of all mines of gold and " ſilver.

" And we do further publiſh and declare, That the " firſt ſale of lands ſhall be in the month of June next, " if the ſurveys can be made ſo ſoon; due notice of " which, as alſo of the place of ſale, will be given by " our commiſſioners appointed as aforeſaid for the diſ- " poſal of the ſaid lands.

" Given at our Court at St. James's, the " twenty-ſixth day of March, one thouſand " ſeven hundred and ſixty-four, in the fourth " year of our reign.

" God ſave the King."

The Counſel alſo produced the Barbados Gazette, dated January 19, 1765, containing a public notice of ſales; which notice was read; and is as follows, viz.

" Barbados, January 19, 1765.

" By the King's Authority,

" Public notice is hereby given, That the commiſ- " ſioners appointed by His Majeſty for the ſale and diſ- " poſal of lands in the iſlands of Grenada, the Grena- " dines, Tobago, Saint Vincent, and Dominica, are (in

" conſequence of reſolutions taken at a board held in " Barbados the fifth day of January, one thouſand ſeven " hundred and ſixty-five) about to proceed immediately " to the ſeveral Iſlands that are the object of their com- " miſſion, for the more ſpeedy and effectual execution " of His Majeſty's inſtructions.

" That they ſhall accordingly, in conjunction with " the governor general of the Grenades and Neutral " Iſlands, or in his abſence, with the lieutenant governor " of each Iſland reſpectively, proceed to divide the " Iſlands of Tobago and Saint Vincent into convenient " diſtricts or pariſhes, and ſet apart in theſe and the " other Iſlands ſuch lands (in the moſt convenient ſitu- " ations) as ſhall be thought moſt proper for fortifica- " tions, yards for the uſe of the navy, and other military " purpoſes.

" That the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall determine on a " proper ſituation in every pariſh, for a town convenient " for trade and navigation, ſuch towns to conſiſt of " lots of different ſize and extent for houſes, to which " gardens or fields will be annexed, not exceeding ſix " acres to any one town-lot; and that in laying out " ſuch town lots, they ſhall reſerve convenient places " for wharfs and quays, and for all other neceſſary " public uſes, and reſerve in every pariſh ſuch wood " lands as ſhall ſeem neceſſary for the conſtruction and " repair of fortifications and public buildings, and to " prevent that drought which in theſe climates is " the uſual conſequence of a total removal of the " woods.

" That they ſhall alſo trace out the direction of all " great roads in each iſland reſpectively, for the conve- " niency of communication between town and town, " and ſet out roads between the allotments of planta- " tion lands for the conveniency of the purchaſers " thereof.

" That uncleared lands ſhall be ſet apart in each " pariſh for ſuch poor ſettlers as ſhall apply to the go- " vernor general of the Grenades and Neutral Iſlands,

" or the lieutenant governor of the Iſland where ſuch " lands lie for the ſame.

" That the native Caribbees of Saint Vincent are to " continue undiſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their cottages " and grounds.

" That with reſpect to the cleared lands in the Iſlands " of Saint Vincent and Dominica, as the ſame have " been occupied by the French, in open violation of " the faith of treaties, made between the Crowns of " Great Britain and France, and in expreſs contradiction " to the public orders iſſued by the court of France, " and as no authority has been given to any of the " governors to make grants thereof, the commiſſioners " are forbid to allow of any eſtabliſhment of the French " in conſequence of the ſettlements made by them in " the ſaid Iſlands: but His Majeſty has nevertheleſs been " graciouſly pleaſed to encourage the preſent French " inhabitants to continue under his paternal care and " protection, on certain terms, reſtrictions, and reſerva- " tions; and the commiſſioners accordingly ſhall and " will, with all convenient ſpeed, proceed to execute His " Majeſty's inſtructions on that head as follows:

" That is to ſay, to ſuch of the French inhabitants " of the ſaid Iſlands as ſhall take the oath of allegiance, " and make and ſubſcribe the declaration of abjuration, " leaſes ſhall be prepared and granted by the commiſ- " ſioners, which ſhall alſo paſs under the ſeal of the " government of Grenada, and be regiſtered in the " office of the ſecretary of the Iſland where the lands lie, " of ſuch cleared lands as were in the poſſeſſion of the " ſaid French, at the time of the ſurrender of the Iſlands " aforeſaid, and ſtill are in their poſſeſſion (together " with ſuch ſmall parcels of contiguous lands in wood " as may be convenient to the leſſee, and which the " commiſſioners may think reaſonable to inſert in ſuch " leaſe) unleſs ſuch cleared lands are found neceſſary for " public uſes; in which caſe other lands ſhall be al- " lotted them in lieu thereof, and the full value and " improvements ſhall be aſcertained, and compenſation " made for them in the moſt fair and equitable " manner.

" That

" That ſuch leaſes ſhall be for fourteen, twenty-one, " thirty-two, or forty years, at the option of the leſſees, " or for fourteen years, renewable at the pleaſure of the " leſſee, for a number of years not exceeding forty in " the whole: and in conſideration of which leaſes ſuch " fines and quit-rents ſhall be paid down, as are thought " proportionable to the term of years and quality of " land.

" That the lands ſo demiſed ſhall not be aſſignable " to any other perſon, without a licence firſt had from " the governor general of the Grenades and Neutral " Iſlands, or commander in chief for the time being, " and approved by the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade " and Plantations.

" That the leſſee ſhall reſide one half of the year in " the Iſland where the lands lie. And in caſes where " lands were held before the late peace by ſeveral French " proprietors jointly, ſome of whom are ſince retired " from them, they are to be ſevered into parts, and in- " dulgence ſhewn in the diviſion to thoſe who are con- " tented to remain and receive their proportions, and " who will alſo enjoy every advantage that peculiarly " belongs to Britiſh ſubjects.

" That in caſe any French inhabitants ſhould rather " prefer uncleared lands in any of the Iſlands to the " cleared lands on the terms above mentioned, un- " cleared lands, unincumbered with the terms of the " leaſe, ſhall be allotted them in lieu thereof by the ſaid " commiſſioners; and they ſhall moreover be paid the " value of the buildings they leave.

" That theſe proviſions ſhall not however extend to " ſuch as occupy more than 500 acres in the Iſland of " St. Vincent, and 300 acres in the Iſland of Dominica: " if any ſuch there be, the Commiſſioners ſhall reduce " their poſſeſſions to thoſe numbers, and diſpoſe of the " ſurplus in the ſame manner as of lands not occupied " by French inhabitants.

" That the Commiſſioners are impowered by His " Majeſty to determine who are to be deemed French

" inhabitants,

" inhabitants, and what lands they ſhall be deemed " poſſeſſed of, within the meaning of the King's in- " ſtructions: that religious communities are not to be " conſidered as included herein, ſuch lands as they " have been poſſeſſed of will be ſold for the public be- " nefit.

" That no grants, bargains, or ſales whatever, hitherto " made (excepting legal ſales in Grenada and the Grena- " dines) will be attended to, or allowed of; as His Ma- " jeſty has been pleaſed to declare, that no authority has " been granted to any of His governors for this purpoſe. " His Majeſty has notwithſtanding been pleaſed to ex- " cept twenty-five town-lots, conſiſting of forty feet in " front, and one hundred and fifty feet in depth, grant- " ed by Governor Dalrymple, in the town of Charlot- " ville, in the iſland of Dominica: and the Commiſ- " ſioners are directed to confirm theſe grants, by giving " to the ſeveral grantees certificates that the ſaid lots " were ſo conveyed to them; which ſhall entitle them " to grants thereof under the ſeal of the Iſlands, pro- " vided they agree to inſert in ſuch grants the ſame " conditions as are in all other grants of town-lots.

" That with reſpect to all lands in any of the Iſlands " which are the object of the commiſſion, and which " are not comprized within the above deſcription of " lands reſerved for public uſes, lands ſet apart for " poor ſettlers, lands which are the rightful property of " the inhabitants of Grenada and the Grenadines, or " that may be leaſed out to the French inhabitants of " Dominica, or Saint Vincent's, or poſſeſſed by the na- " tive Caribbees, they ſhall be divided into allotments " for plantations, to conſiſt, in the iſlands of Grenada " and the Grenadines, Tobago and Saint Vincent, of " not leſs than one hundred, nor more than five hun- " dred acres; and in the iſland of Dominica, of not leſs " than fifty, nor more than three hundred acres of land: " in doing of which, care will be taken that each lot " ſhall have every convenience that the circumſtances " and nature of the ground will admit of.

" That the ſaid town lots and garden or paſture " ground ſhall be laid out with all convenient ſpeed, in " order that if uncleared the governor general of the

" Grenades and Neutral Iſlands, or the lieutenant gover-
" nor of each iſland reſpectively, may diſpoſe thereof to
" ſuch as apply for them; or if conſiſting of cleared
" land, that they may be ſold, in like manner as the
" plantation lands hereafter mentioned, by public auc-
" tion, ſubject in either caſe to the conditions that a
" dwelling-houſe, ſhop, warehouſe, or out-houſe ſhall
" be erected thereon, within the ſpace of two years
" from the date of the grant; and a quit-rent of one
" penny ſterling per foot in front for the town-lot, and
" ſix pence ſterling per annum for every acre of garden
" or paſture ground: and the ſale and grants of ſuch
" town and paſture lots, and alſo grants to poor ſettlers,
" ſhall be irrevocable.

" That the plantation allotments aforeſaid, as well
" of uncleared lands as thoſe cleared, which have been
" occupied by religious ſocieties, or which by reaſon
" of the abſence or refuſal of French inhabitants, ſhall
" not be granted on leaſe in the manner above directed,
" ſhall be put up to ſale at a price not leſs than five
" pounds ſterling per acre, if the lands are cleared,
" and not leſs than one pound ſterling per acre, if the
" lands are uncleared; and be ſold by public auction to
" the higheſt bidder, at the general ſale to be held twice
" in every year, in the moſt healthy ſeaſons, either at
" Grenada, or the iſland where ſuch lands are ſituated,
" on the following terms and conditions; that is to
" ſay:

" That no perſon ſhall be permitted to purchaſe from
" the Crown, either in his own name, or in the name
" of others in truſt for him, more than allotments to
" the amount of 500 acres in the Iſland where the
" lands lie, or more than 300 acres if in the Iſland of
" Dominica.

" That the higheſt bidder for each lot ſhall be declar-
" ed the purchaſer, who ſhall thereupon pay down
" twenty per cent of the whole purchaſe money, and
" ſix pence ſterling for each acre of which his lot ſhall
" conſiſt, to defray the expence of ſurveying the ſame;
" whereupon he ſhall receive a bill of ſale, and a certi-
" ficate from the commiſſioners of his being the higheſt
" bidder; upon producing which bill of ſale and certi-

" ficate

" ficate to the governor general of the Grenades, and the
" Neutral Iſlands, or commander in chief for the time
" being, he ſhall be entitled to a grant in fee ſimple
" (under the ſeal of the Iſlands) of the lands by him
" purchaſed, and take poſſeſſion thereof, ſuch grant to
" be regiſtered in the ſecretary's office of the reſpective
" iſland where the lands lie.

" That in caſe of fraud, colluſion, or other contra-
" vention to the King's inſtructions, and not otherwiſe,
" the grant ſhall be revocable for the ſpace of twelve
" months from the date thereof, by the Lord High
" Treaſurer, or the Lords Commiſſioners of His Ma-
" jeſty's Treaſury for the time being; but if not re-
" voked within that term, the ſame ſhall then be ab-
" ſolute; if revoked, notice thereof ſhall be immedi-
" ately given, and the money returned to the purchaſer
" with the uſual intereſt of the Iſland, and compenſa-
" tion alſo made for all ſums of money which ſhall
" bona fide have been laid out for the clearing, im-
" proving, or building, on any part of the lands con-
" tained in ſuch grant, to be aſcertained by arbitration,
" and the lands ſhall be again put up to ſale.

" That of the purchaſe money remaining due ten
" per cent. more than the twenty per cent. above-
" mentioned, ſhall be paid within the firſt year after the
" date of the bill of ſale, ten per cent. the ſecond year,
" and twenty per cent. every ſucceſſive year, until the
" whole ſhall be paid; but, in default of any of the
" ſaid payments, the lands ſhall be liable to be forfeit-
" ed, and again ſold, in order that the king may be firſt
" paid, and the reſidue ſhall be the property of thoſe
" before entitled to it.

" That from twelve months after the date of the
" grant the purchaſer ſhall clear away at the rate of
" five acres in the hundred annually until one half
" of the cultivable land ſhall be cleared, under a penalty
" of five pounds ſterling per annum, for every acre
" not cleared in purſuance of this condition.

" That for every hundred acres of cleared land the
" purchaſer is or ſhall be poſſeſſed of, he ſhall keep
" thereon one White Man, or two White Women, under

" a penalty of forty pounds ſterling for every White " Man, and twenty pounds ſterling for every White " Woman that ſhall be wanting; and pay an annual " quit-rent of ſix pence ſterling per acre on whatever " cleared land he has purchaſed or ſhall clear in pur- " ſuance of the conditions required.

" That a reſervation ſhall be made to the King of " all gold or ſilver mines, which are now or may here- " after be diſcovered in the ſaid Iſlands.

" That the firſt ſale ſhall commence in the Iſland " of Tobago on Tueſday the 14th day of May next.

" That Tueſday the 28th day of May next ſhall be " the firſt day of ſale in the Iſland of St. Vincent.

" That Tueſday the 11th day of June next ſhall " be the firſt day of ſale in the Iſland of Dominica.

" That each ſale ſhall be continued every ſucceſſive " day, until the ſame ſhall be compleated.

" That the commiſſioners in the mean time ſhall " proceed to ſettle terms with the French inhabitants " of St. Vincent, and Dominica, and execute leaſes " with them as directed by His Majeſty.

" That all payments of fines for leaſes, as well as of " purchaſe money, ſhall be made conformable to the " King's inſtructions to the receiver in good gold " ſpecie, to be taken by weight, at the rate of three " pounds eighteen ſhillings and three pence ſterling " per ounce.

" That advertiſements deſcriptive of the ſituation and " ſoil of each allotment ſhall be publiſhed as ſoon as " poſſible; and,

" That although no particular deſcription can yet be " given of the land to be ſold at the firſt ſale in each " Iſland, yet in general it may be proper to inform the " public, that the lots to be ſold in Tobago will lie chiefly " in the neighbourhood of Great Courland Bay, Man of " War Bay, Great Rockley Bay, Cochongras Bay, (now " called Barbados Bay,) and Little Hog Bay.

" That

" That towns ſhall be laid out in each of theſe bays " with all convenient ſpeed.

" That the ſale in St. Vincent ſhall conſiſt of un- " cleared lands, as well as the valuable tracts of cleared " land that may have been occupied by religious ſo- " cieties, or not granted on leaſe by reaſon of the " abſence or refuſal of the late French poſſeſſors; and,

" That towns ſhall be laid out contiguous to the bay " of Waſhigunny and Borowalley, or elſewhere, as may " be thought expedient.

" That the ſale in Dominica will conſiſt of uncleared " and valuable cleared lands, as has been explained con- " cerning Saint Vincent, including the eſtates poſſeſſed " by the ſociety of Jeſuits, near Grand Bay, ſo well " known for their ſuperior excellency and improve- " ments; and,

" That in particular a town and plantation allotments " ſhall be laid out at Prince Rupert's Bay.

" By direction of the Commiſſioners,
" John Greg, Secretary."

The Counſel alſo produced a public notice, dated Dominica, July 31ſt, 1765, for the ſale of lands in the Ceded Iſlands; which was read; and is as follows; viz.

" Dominica, July 31, 1765.

" By the King's Authority.

" Public notice is hereby given, that the commiſ- " ſioners appointed by His Majeſty for the ſale and diſ- " poſal of lands in the Iſlands of Grenada, the Grena- " dines, Tobago, Saint Vincent, and Dominica, have " reſolved to hold the ſales of land for the enſuing " year in the ſeveral Iſlands that are the object of their " commiſſion, at the following times; that is to ſay:

" On Monday the 17th Day of February next the " ſale will commence in the Iſland of Dominica. The " lots will conſiſt chiefly of eſtates abandoned by the

" French in different parts of the Iſland; plantation-
" lots in the levels of Boery, Roſeau, and Layou, and
" in the neighbourhood of Prince Rupert's Bay and
" Grand Bay; and ſeveral town-lots in different
" places.

" On Thurſday the 10th day of April next will be
" put up to ſale ſome houſes and lands in the Iſland of
" Grenada.

" On Tueſday the 6th day of May next will com-
" mence the ſale of lands in the Iſland of Tobago,
" where ſeveral plantation-lots in the neighbourhood of
" Great Courland Bay, Great Rockley Bay, Barbados
" Bay, Grand River Bay, and Carrapuſe Bay, will be
" put up to ſale. And,

" On Wedneſday the 28th day of May next, will
" commence the ſale of lands in the Iſland of Saint
" Vincent, where will be put up to ſale, ſeveral plan-
" tation-lots in the level of Morne Agarou, and in the
" quarters of Chateau Bellair, and Ouachilabau, moſtly
" of a very excellent ſoil and adapted for ſugar-plan-
" tations; and ſeveral town-lots in different places.
" And alſo will be put up to ſale in the Iſland of
" Saint Vincent, at the ſame time, what plantation-lots
" remain unſold in the Iſland of Tobago. Advertiſe-
" ments deſcriptive of the ſituation and ſoil of each al-
" lotment ſhall be publiſhed as ſoon as poſſible.

" The terms and conditions on which the ſaid lands
" will be ſold, are, That no perſon ſhall be permitted
" to purchaſe from the crown, either in his own name,
" or in the names of others in truſt for him, more
" than allotments to the amount of five hundred acres
" in the Iſland where the lands lie, or more than three
" hundred acres if in the Iſland of Dominica.

" That the higheſt bidder for each lot ſhall be declared
" the purchaſer, who ſhall thereupon pay down twenty
" per cent. of the whole purchaſe-money, and ſix pence
" ſterling for each acre of which his lot ſhall conſiſt, to
" defray the expence of ſurveying the ſame; whereupon
" he ſhall receive a bill of ſale, and a certificate from

" the

" the commiſſioners, of his being the higheſt bidder;
" upon producing which bill of ſale and certificate to
" the governor general of the Grenades and the Neu-
" tral Iſlands, or the commander in chief for the time
" being, he ſhall be entitled to a grant in fee ſimple
" (under the ſeal of the Iſlands) of the lands by him
" purchaſed, and take poſſeſſion thereof; ſuch grant to
" be regiſtered in the ſecretary's office of the reſpective
" Iſland where the lands lie.

" That in caſe of fraud, colluſion, or other contra-
" vention to the King's inſtructions, and not otherwiſe,
" the grant ſhall be revocable, for the ſpace of twelve
" months from the date thereof, by the Lord High Trea-
" ſurer, or the Lords Commiſſioners of His Majeſty's
" Treaſury for the time being; but if not revoked
" within that term, the ſame ſhall then be abſolute;
" if revoked, notice thereof ſhall be immediately given,
" and the money returned to the purchaſer, with the
" uſual intereſt of the iſland; and compenſation alſo
" made for all ſums of money which ſhall bona fide
" have been laid out for clearing, improving, or build-
" ing on any part of the lands contained in ſuch grant,
" to be aſcertained by arbitration.

" That of the purchaſe-money remaining due ten
" per cent. more than the twenty per cent. above-
" mentioned ſhall be paid within the firſt year after the
" date of the bill of ſale, ten per cent. the ſecond year,
" and twenty per cent. every ſucceſſive year, until the
" whole ſhall be paid; but in default of any of the ſaid
" payments the lands ſhall be liable to be forfeited,
" and again ſold, in order that the King may be firſt
" paid; and the reſidue ſhall be the property of thoſe
" before entitled to it.

" That, from twelve months after the date of the
" grant, the purchaſer ſhall clear away at the rate of
" five acres in the hundred annually, until one-half
" of the cultivable land ſhall be cleared, under a
" penalty of five pounds ſterling per annum for
" every acre not cleared in purſuance of this con-
" dition.

" That

" That for every hundred acres of cleared land the " purchaſer is or ſhall be poſſeſſed of, he ſhall keep " thereon one White man, or two White women, under " a penalty of forty pounds ſterling for every White " man, and twenty pounds ſterling for every White " woman, that ſhall be wanting; and pay an annual " quit rent of ſix pence ſterling per acre on whatever " cleared land he has purchaſed, or ſhall clear in pur- " ſuance of the conditions required.

" That all payments ſhall be made conformable to the " King's inſtructions to the receiver, in good gold ſpecie, " to be taken by weight, at the rate of three pounds " eighteen ſhillings and three pence ſterling per ounce; " and bonds ſhall be given to him by the purchaſers for " the payments of the ſeveral inſtalments.

" That a reſervation ſhall be made to the King of all " gold and ſilver mines which are now, or may here- " after be diſcovered in the ſaid Iſlands.

" By direction of the Commiſſioners,
" John Greg, Secretary."

The Counſel likewiſe produced an original grant of lands in St. Vincent's, being one of the Ceded Iſlands, dated 23d June 1766, which was alſo read; by which it appeared, that the commiſſioners inſtructions were recited, and which contained terms and conditions of ſale conformable to the proclamation above-mentioned.

The Counſel then called,

GILBERT FRANCKLYN, Eſquire.

Are you a native of England?
Yes.

When did you firſt go to the Weſt Indies?
In 1766.

From that time to this, where have you principally reſided?
From 1766 to the latter end of 1767 in Antigua—the buſineſs upon which I went to the Weſt Indies was, amongſt other things, to

to ſuperintend a number of Negroes, let by contract to government, by my partner (the late Mr. Anthony Bacon) and myſelf—to attend the ſurveyors employed to run or mark out the lands in the Ceded Iſlands that were to be ſold—to attend upon the troops and officers, and commiſſioners, and other perſons employed in the ſervice of the commiſſioners, which neceſſarily led me much among all the Iſlands which are the ſubject of the preſent inquiry —I returned to England the latter end of 1767, and returned the beginning of 1768 with my family, and reſided in Antigua till the latter end of 1770—I then returned to England, and continued there till 1774, when I returned to Tobago, where I had purchaſed largely; and remained there till 1776.—In 1776 I returned to England, and in 1779 back to Tobago, where I reſided till laſt year—during all the time of my reſidence in the Weſt Indies, and till after my return in 1770, I was much among almoſt all the Iſlands, from Barbadoes to St. Kitt's incluſive, and was particularly attentive to the care of thoſe Negroes which belonged to myſelf and my partner, which were in the whole about 400.

Have you alſo been in Jamaica?
I was there for about ſeven or eight months in 1788.

What were the Negroes that you firſt became acquainted with in the Weſt Indies?
The Negroes in Antigua.

What were the Negroes you firſt became a proprietor of?
They were Negroes purchaſed by my agent, and by the contract ought to have been ſeaſoned Negroes, or Negroes born in or accuſtomed to the climate—the ſervices in which they were to be employed requiring people acquainted with the Engliſh language, and capable of underſtanding the directions of the ſurveyors, in carrying out their chain, placing their pickets, and other ſervices, in attending European ſoldiers unacquainted with the dialect of new Negroes—in conſequence of which we were obliged to give very high prices for Negroes that had no other qualifications, the greater part of them being ſold for miſbehaviour, it being very rare to meet with good and valuable ſeaſoned Negroes for ſale, except from the diſtreſs of their owners; in conſequence of which the commiſſioners, the governors, ſurveyors, and other perſons employed in the ſervice, preferred new and active Negroes, as ſoon as they had a ſufficient number of ſeaſoned Negroes for the moſt neceſſary employments.

At whoſe riſk were thoſe Negroes found, and in caſe of death, ſickneſs, or deſertion, who was to replace them?

The contractors.

How were thoſe Negroes fed?

Thoſe Negroes, being either employed in the Iſlands but little cultivated, in Tobago alſo, which was not cultivated at all, we were forced to ſupply them with the ſame proviſions, for the moſt part, that the troops were fed upon, viz. flour, peas, beef, and pork. The quantity was given them under the direction of the king's officers—they generally likewiſe had rum given them, whenever it was thought uſeful and conducive to their health.

Were any perſons appointed to take care of the Negroes?

There was always an agent in each Iſland expreſsly for that purpoſe. They were beſides attended by ſurgeons at the expence of the contractor, and thoſe ſurgeons were the ſame that attended the troops.

Was the work in which thoſe Negroes were employed particularly heavy and laborious?

I believe quite the contrary—thoſe who carried out the chain in the woods may perhaps be an exception, with reſpect to the ſalubrity of the employment; but the greater part of the Negroes were employed in attending the officers and ſoldiers, bringing them wood and water, and aſſiſting to cook their proviſions.

What mortality attended thoſe Negroes?

I believe rather more than on ſettled plantations, but they were beſides ſubject to ſores in their legs and feet, which rendered them unſerviceable, and which very frequently no ſkill or care was ſufficient to cure.

Were they well cloathed, as well as well fed?

Particularly ſo; and to obviate the inconvenience above complained of, of getting their feet ſore, ſhoes were ſent out for them from England, till experience ſhewed that the practice was abſurd, and that they would not wear them.

Do you know any one inſtance in which any one of thoſe Negroes was ill uſed, or neglected when ill?

I am afraid ſome of them were very ill uſed by ſome of the ſoldiers, becauſe I have had occaſion to complain of it, and had the ſoldiers puniſhed, but I knew none of them neglected in illneſs.

Do

Do you attribute the mortality which attended the Negroes to that inſtance you have mentioned of ill-uſage?

Surely no—the inſtances were but few—perhaps, in the courſe of ſeveral years, not ten that came to my knowledge.

Did you purchaſe any of the lands in the Ceded Iſlands, when, and to what extent?

I purchaſed very largely; particularly in Tobago, where I poſſeſſed, till lately, near 2,000 acres.

At the time you purchaſed thoſe lands, by what means did you propoſe to cultivate them?

By the only practicable mode, the labour of Negroes.

Is there, to your knowledge, any other mode by which land in the Weſt Indies, to what nation ſoever belonging, is cultivated?

I believe not.

From whence did you expect thoſe Negroes to come?

I certainly expected to receive them in the uſual way, from the coaſt of Africa.

If the importation of Negroes from the coaſt of Africa had been prohibited, or if you had underſtood that it was to be prohibited, would you have purchaſed thoſe lands?

I certainly ſhould not have purchaſed lands that I could make no uſe of.

Is there any conſiderable part of the land which has been purchaſed by you ſtill uncultivated?

I believe there is.

Is there any conſiderable part of the land ſold in Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines, ſtill uncultivated?

There is a great deal of land uncultivated in Grenada—from the number of Negroes in the other iſlands, I am well convinced they are not equal to the cultivation of half the quantity of land in the iſlands—but as I know nothing particularly of my own knowledge, as to the land cultivated in either of thoſe iſlands, I cannot properly anſwer the queſtion.

Were not the lands in Grenada private property, and ſold by French ſubjects to Britiſh ſubjects?

Many

Many of my acquaintances made ſuch purchaſes, and I believe under faith of His Majeſty's proclamation.

As to Dominica and St. Vincent, where the lands were ſold by the Crown under the Commiſſion, is not much the greateſt part of thoſe lands not yet brought into cultivation?

I believe ſo—but I have never been in either of thoſe Iſlands ſince 1776.

Was the ſettlement of lands in the Ceded Iſlands attended with great difficulties and heavy expence?

I found it ſo—I laid out more than £. 40,000 in Tobago, which having been given up to the French, I would rejoice to ſee £ 25,000 back for all I have laid out.

From your experience in the Iſlands, do you not know that the ſettlement and cultivation of lands in Dominica and St. Vincent, generally ſpeaking, were attended with the ſame difficulties and expence?

Surely ſo.

From your long experience in the Iſlands, ſtate to the Committee how the Negroes are treated, and what care is taken of them in the Iſlands?

The Negroes being by much the moſt valuable part of a man's property, whoſe welfare, health, and happineſs are intimately connected with his own intereſts, it can ſcarcely be doubted that he will pay every degree of attention to them—People without education, and ill-informed, are ſubject to paſſions, and are with difficulty directed to purſue whatever tends to their happineſs—every prudent proprietor, therefore, who poſſeſſes Slaves, endeavours to ſtudy the temper and diſpoſition of thoſe people—they are therefore treated with kindneſs and attention——amongſt them there are frequently ſtubborn and bad-diſpoſed people, whom no chaſtiſement will correct, nor good treatment reform—ſuch people are ſometimes treated with ſeverity, but the crimes of which they are guilty would moſt probably be puniſhed capitally in almoſt every civilized nation in Europe.—The generality of the Negroes who are well diſpoſed ſeldom or ever receive any chaſtiſement whatever; and the prudent man, either proprietor or manager, is extremely cautious how he offends or ill treats a Negro of good character—if the Negroes are diſſatisfied either with their proprietor or the perſon who has the care of them, they ſhew their reſentment and their

diſpleaſure by doing their work unwillingly, or by frequent deſertions—it therefore happens, when Negroes are treated with unkindneſs or ſeverity, which certainly is ſometimes the caſe, the perſon who miſconducts himſelf in that manner ſuffers equally in his reputation and his fortune—in general therefore it may be ſaid, that Negroes are well treated, that they are well lodged, well cloathed, and well fed—they are well attended in ſickneſs, and have all proper medicines and comfort ſupplied to them, and even thoſe who are incurably diſeaſed are well attended to, and ſupplied with every neceſſary—and that from the intereſt of the proprietor, even if he ſhould not poſſeſs ſufficient humanity and virtue to make him act as his duty required.—A neglect of ſuch Negroes would diſpirit the gang, and particularly affect any relations or friends which they might have upon the eſtate.

In what manner are the Negroes fed?

It is ſo different in the different Iſlands, that it will be difficult to reply to that queſtion with preciſion—In the Ceded Iſlands, and in thoſe Iſlands where land is plenty, and the periodical rains pretty conſtant, the Negroes cultivate conſiderable tracts of land for their own benefit—in ſuch caſe their owners are not under the neceſſity of ſupplying the good Negroes with ſo large a quantity of what is called ground proviſions as they otherwiſe muſt be—they will very often refuſe what is called their allowance, or if they receive it, give it to their goats, their pigs, or their poultry—the general allowance of proviſions given to thoſe who will receive it, is from ſix to ten quarts of Indian corn, flour of Guinea corn, or a very ample allowance of yams, potatoes, eddoes, or taniers (a ſpecies of root);—in Grenada, or thoſe Iſlands cultivated by the French, meal of caſſada from ſix to ten quarts, from ſix to ten herrings, or inſtead of herrings from two to three pounds of ſalt fiſh, and on ſome plantations the like weight of beef or pork, are given for a week's ſubſiſtence—I confine my obſervations on feeding the Negroes to the Ceded Iſlands.

Is the allowance ſuch as is fully ſufficient for the ſupport of the Negroes?

I conceive that no hearty able man would have reaſon to complain of ſuch an allowance of proviſions—I had forgot to add, that a very principal part of the proviſions allowed the Negroes in the Ceded Iſlands conſiſted of plantanes, of which they are allowed (when they receive plantanes) from fifty to ſeventy per

week, obſerving that the plantanes in the Ceded Iſlands are not the ſame with thoſe of Jamaica, but of a leſs ſize.

Is the allotment of land, together with the proviſions given, more than is ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the Negro?

An induſtrious careful Negro will be enabled, from the produce of his land, not only to have much more proviſions than he can conſume, but to diſpoſe of ſo much produce, and ſuch a quantity of poultry, pork, and goat's fleſh, as to enable him to clothe himſelf, his wives, and his children, very handſomely.

Is he permitted by his maſter to diſpoſe of that property?

I believe, if a maſter oppoſed his diſpoſition of it, it would probably occaſion an inſurrection on the plantation.

Did you ever know or ever hear of an inſtance in which a proprietor interfered with a Negro's diſpoſition of their property?

I think yes—I think I have known where proviſions have been ſcarce, that a maſter has objected to a Negro's carrying his proviſions from the eſtate to ſell; but thoſe inſtances are very rare, and the gang has been ſhewn the impropriety of ſuffering it.

Then is the Committee to underſtand that ſuch interference, when it does happen, does not go beyond the maſter's expectation of having a preference in the purchaſe from his Negroes of proviſions for the uſe of his own Negroes?

The maſter does not take it from him, or oblige him to ſell it againſt his will, but will not conſent to his going off the plantation to diſpoſe of it in time of ſcarcity.

Then if the Negro is diſpoſed to ſell, does not the maſter purchaſe from him, as he would from any indifferent perſon?

Yes—but a Negro will ſeldom ſell to his own maſter ſo cheap as he would ſell to a ſtranger.

Do not the proprietors in fact frequently purchaſe ſtock, poultry, and other things from their own Negroes?

Three-fourths of all the poultry and pork the planter eats are purchaſed from the Negroes, either his own or other people's.

For what crimes or offences are Negroes puniſhed on the plantations, and what is the nature and extent of that puniſhment?

The general crimes for which puniſhment of any degree of ſeverity is inflicted, are deſertion, breaking open the ſtores, and ſtealing rum, ſugar, or ſalt proviſions, breaking open Negro-houſes, or the houſes of people in town, robbing the other Negroes grounds, and ſimilar ſorts of offences.—This puniſhment conſiſts in a number of laſhes, from twenty to forty, upon the poſteriors—ſeldom more—I ſpeak in general.—Exceptions to the rule prove the generality of it.—There are cruel, ſevere, and inhuman people to be met with every where.

Is death inflicted for any crime, and what?

The laws of each particular colony point out what crimes are declared to be capital—but during my reſidence in the Weſt Indies I have ſcarcely known any ſentence affecting the life of a Negro executed, except in the caſe of premeditated murder.—I have known the ſame Negro, repeatedly convicted of burglaries, have no other puniſhment than a whipping, much leſs ſevere than that of a ſoldier ſentenced by a court martial for ſmall offences; ſmall in compariſon to ſuch crimes.—I had a Negro of my own, who I am ſure, at different times, broke open at leaſt fifty houſes, reckoning Negro-houſes among the number.—The only puniſhment that he ſeemed to be reformed by, was one laſh every morning for about ſix weeks—He was ſo affected by that, that he behaved well for two years together; but at laſt returned to his old practices, and died a natural death upon the plantations.

Does the degree of labour performed by the Negroes exceed or fall ſhort of that performed by labourers in other countries?

If a labouring man in any part of Europe was to work no harder than a Negro, I do not ſuppoſe he could gain his bread.—I conceive the labour of a Negro to be ſlight, compared with any field labour in any part of Europe that I have ſeen.

Are the Negroes affected by the heat of the climate?

Much leſs ſo than Europeans; and in general they are ſo fond of heat, that they ſleep with fire in their houſes—the rain is what ſeems to injure them moſt; and it is therefore in the Ceded Iſlands, which are much ſubject to rain, that they are called out of the field and ſent to their houſes, whenever the rains are heavy or continual.

Is not the puniſhment in general inflicted in the plantations a ſlight whipping?

Yes—or confinement in the ſtocks at the time of noon, or after their

their work in the afternoon; there are few Negroes that would not prefer the whipping to the being ſo locked up.

Is not that whipping in general a few laſhes?

For ſlight offences, ſuch as not coming to their time to work, they are generally ſtruck over their cloaths.

Do not the Britiſh planters preſer parting with their Negroes that are incorrigible, to the diſagreeable neceſſity of repeatedly correcting them?

It is difficult to find any body who will purchaſe a Negro of notorious bad character, and therefore it frequently happens that, to get rid of them, they are ſent to ſome foreign iſlands, or North America, at the hazard of receiving little or nothing for the ſale of them.

Is the labour of the Negroes greateſt at the time of taking off the crop, or at other times?

In the Weſt Indies, as in all other countries, the time of the harveſt is generally the time of the moſt unremitting labour, but it is alſo that of conviviality and happineſs—the Negroes are generally therefore more healthy, and better ſatisfied, in the time of the crops than at any other time of the year.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 6o die Februarii 1790.

THE Counſel and Witneſs called in as before.

Mr. FRANCKLYN. The Witneſs having in a former anſwer ſtated, that incorrigible Slaves are often ſold by the maſter from off the Iſland, deſired to add, in explanation, That it frequently happens, however deſirous the maſter may be to diſpoſe of his Slave, it may not be in his power ſo to do, the Slave being mortgaged or under jointure.

Then

Then the Counſel proceeded in their examination.

In ſuch mortgages or marriage ſettlements, are there covenants to keep up the preciſe number of the ſtock of Negroes ſo mortgaged or ſettled?

I believe ſo in every well-drawn deed.

Is it poſſible to keep up ſuch ſtock of Negroes, unleſs by importation of freſh Negroes?

It is poſſible certainly, for in ſome eſtates it is done, but in general far otherwiſe.

Is the puniſhment of whipping, which you have deſcribed, inflicted for public or private offences?

I confine myſelf to plantation puniſhment—it frequently happens, that when offences of a public nature are committed, if not very atrocious, and the Negro of infamous character, that the perſons offended remit the Negro to the maſter for that puniſhment, for which he would otherwiſe be puniſhed by public juſtice.

How many Negroes, or what proportion of Negroes, is required for every acre of land in cultivation of a ſugar-plantation?

I conceive at leaſt one Negro to every acre.

How many, or what proportion, in the cotton-plantations?

It depends very much on the ſoil and ſeaſon—if cotton is not attacked by the chenille or caterpillar, and the weather is dry, ſo that but little weeding is wanting, I ſuppoſe a Negro will take care of three acres of cotton—under contrary circumſtances, I think it would require as many Negroes to attend cotton as ſugar—when I ſay one Negro to an acre, I ſuppoſe the gang not to have a great number of old people, nor a great number of children in it—if there are, more would be required.

Does it conſiſt with your experience to conclude, that a ſufficient ſupply of Negroes to cultivate the Iſlands could be procured without the importation of Africans?

Surely not.

Account to the Committee how it happens, though upon ſome few particular plantations the ſtock of Negroes is kept up, yet that in general ſuch is not the caſe?

I conceive the reaſons to be various—ſome ſituations are unhealthy—but I believe the great reaſon is the diſproportion of males to females—to the diſeaſes the ſex is particularly ſubject to—from the length of time the well-diſpoſed Negro women ſuckle their children, ſo that it ſeldom happens a breeding woman has two children till an interval of two years or more—to the promiſcuous amours of many—to a cuſtom the Negro young women have of procuring abortion, which is very common among thoſe who are diſſolute, and conſider themſelves handſome.—Where the proportion of females exceed the males, it very ſeldom happens that the Negroes upon the plantations do not increaſe.—I can mention a circumſtance which will put the matter beyond all doubt:—Two eſtates were ſettled, or begun to be ſettled, about the ſame time, in Antigua, the one called Carliſle's, now belonging to Sir Ralph Payne—the name of the other I do not know, but it belongs to Mr. William Mackennin.—Mr. Carliſle, who ſettled the one, purchaſed chiefly new Negro young women—old Mr. Mackennin (father of the preſent gentleman) on the other hand, thought it beſt to purchaſe chiefly young male Negroes, from whoſe labour he might expect more immediate returns.—At the end of about fifty years old Mr. Mackennin died—he is ſaid to have purchaſed the gang twice over; and when he died, a very large ſum of money was required to purchaſe ſufficient Negroes to work the eſtate.—On the contrary, on Sir Ralph Payne's eſtate there was very few Negroes who were not born on the eſtate; and he had ſo great a ſurplus of labourers, as to be able to gain very large ſums of money by letting them out to work upon other eſtates—I was at Antigua at the time Mr. Mackennin died at Bath—this circumſtance ſtruck me very forcibly.—It may be naturally aſked, why does not every perſon who is able follow the ſame plan as Mr. Carliſle—the anſwer is obvious, the number of breeding women that are brought over do not, I believe, exceed, on an average, a fourth of the cargo—if one perſon therefore purchaſes young women, others muſt ſtill have a greater proportion of males.

Are not inſtances very few of the plantations in which the ſtock of Negroes is kept up by breeding?

I believe very few.—Another reaſon which prevents the population in the Weſt Indies is, the diſorders which Negro children are ſubject to, particularly that diſorder which carries them off within nine days of their birth, and which is called the jaw-fall.

Do the Negro children then die early in great numbers?

Yes.

Is that owing to any want of care of the proprietor or thoſe who have the charge of the eſtate, or of proper attendance, ſuch as is required by perſons in that ſituation, to which you attribute the mortality among the children?

By no means—I found theſe deaths ſo frequent, and thought the breeding children ſo eſſential to the well-being of a plantation, that I built an hoſpital cloſe to my houſe, that I might have an opportunity of inſpecting the conduct of it; and appropriated two rooms in it for the uſe of lying-in women—I found it a cuſtom among the women never to give the children the breaſt for ſeveral days, alledging that their milk was not good, and therefore got ſome of their friends to ſuckle their children for two or three days—This cuſtom I with difficulty broke through, by alledging the abſurdity of it, and the contrary practice in their own country—It was cuſtomary with them to waſh the children with warm water that had rum mixed with it, as ſoon as they were born—I perſuaded them, as in their own country, to uſe cold water. —I would not ſuffer their companions and friends to viſit them as they uſed to do in their own houſes, who frequently would carry rum to the lying-in women, who would be apt to fall aſleep, and leave the child to ſleep in wet cloaths—Their rooms in their own houſes are extremely hot, and admitting cold air frequently contributed much to give the infants colds; a ſtoppage of perſpiration was the conſequence, which ſpeedily terminated in death. —From the time I took the precautions above-mentioned to my leaving Tobago, I had four or five children born in the new hoſpital, and did not loſe one of them.

Is not the labour of pregnant women on plantations in general very light?

Too much ſo—many of them, by the time they are five months gone with child, complain when they are put to very ſlight labour, and become ſo ſedentary as for it to be injurious both to themſelves and infant—thoſe who work the hardeſt, and continue the longeſt without laying themſelves up, I have generally obſerved to have the ſtouteſt children and eaſieſt births.

What is the ſort of labour pregnant women are put to?

As ſoon as they complain, they are generally put into what is called the ſecond gang—they are not out ſo early in the morning, are employed in weeding, planting proviſions, or other light labour; and as they increaſe in their pregnancy are employed in ſhelling peas, Indian corn, or collecting thoſe proviſions for what is called the pot gang; and I never knew, even among thoſe who

from

from ancient prejudices conſider a child born on the eſtate to coſt as much or more than a new Negro before they come to be uſeful on an eſtate, treat pregnant women with any want of tenderneſs.

Is the number of perſons who entertain the prejudices you laſt mentioned at all conſiderable?

I believe not—on the contrary, it is now the pride of a manager to ſhew a number of young children in good order.

What do you mean by the pot gang?

A pot gang conſiſts of Negroes who, either from idleneſs or inability, are not willing or able to procure and dreſs proviſions for themſelves—the proviſions they grow in their own grounds, and the having them in plenty, being the marks of a good Negro, it is diſgraceful to any Negro to be fed with what is called the pot gang, except when it is occaſioned by ſickneſs..

Is there a ſick houſe or hoſpital, and proper attendance, medical and other, for the ſick upon the plantations?

Yes—upon every plantation of any magnitude.

Are the Negroes, when ſick, taken all proper and reaſonable care of?

They are. To ſhew the nature of the care and attention paid to the Negroes, I beg leave to mention, that in the iſland of Tobago, ſome ſhort time previous to its capture, the place where part of the ſoldiers were quartered was a very unhealthy ſpot, the ſoldiers were very ſickly, and particularly afflicted with ulcerated legs—freſh meat proviſions were difficult to procure for them—the gentlemen of the Iſland ſubſcribed ſums of money to be laid out in the purchaſe of ſuch proviſions, or ſupplied them with proviſions inſtead of their ſubſcription money—ſeveral took the ſoldiers into their Negro hoſpitals, where they received the ſame care and attention that the Negroes did—they found the benefit from it they expected; and I think Major Stanhope, the commanding officer of the troops, gave the gentlemen public thanks for their care.

Are not lying-in women attended by ſurgeons and midwives?

Yes.

Have not other Negroes, when ſick, medical advice and aſſiſtance?

Yes.

Is

Is not in general a perſon of medical ſkill and experience annually retained in the ſervice of plantations, for the purpoſe of taking care of the Negroes?

I know no plantation without.

Do not thoſe perſons ordinarily viſit the plantations ſeveral times a week, beſides being ſent for on particular emergencies?

It is their duty to do ſo; and if they fail, they are generally diſcharged, and others employed in their ſtead.

How are the Negroes in general lodged?

They have very comfortable good houſes.

Is it not a part of the character of managers and overſeers, and conſidered as a neceſſary qualification, to enable them to obtain employment, that they are careful of Negroes under their direction, and treat them properly?

Such qualification, and the kindneſs of a manager's behaviour to his Negroes, ſo as to conciliate their affections while he makes them do their buſineſs, is to me a recommendation ſuperior to his ſkill as a planter; and, I believe, is ſo to moſt people.

Is not the character of managers and overſeers in that reſpect generally known?

Surely, one of the firſt things enquired after.

Then, in what eſtimation is a manager or overſeer of a cruel and inhuman character, as to his treatment of Negroes, held?

No perſon would employ him, if they believed him ſuch.

Is the circumſtance of treatment, as above, in the nature of it, ſuch in that country as that it can be practiſed with ſecrecy, or without being known?

Scarcely poſſible.

Upon conſideration of food, labour, lodging, treatment, and all theſe circumſtances, have you been able to make any compariſon between the condition of Negroes in the Weſt Indies and that of poor labourers in this country, or any other part of Europe; and what is the reſult of that compariſon?

I do not conceive the poor of any country are better provided for or live happier, than the generality of Negroes upon plantations in the Weſt Indies—in many circumſtances they have an evident ſuperiority—their labour is ſlight—they are taken good

care of in ſickneſs, as well as in health, and have no occaſion to fear the diſtreſſes of their children, in conſequence of their inability to labour—but, on the other hand, they certainly have not thoſe means of bettering their condition which many of the poor in England of induſtry, genius, and ability may avail themſelves of—perhaps, therefore, there cannot be a proper compariſon drawn.

Is the actual ſtate and condition of Negroes in the Weſt Indies better or worſe than that of the labouring poor in this or any other part of Europe with which you are acquainted?

I think, in general, their lot is to be envied by the poor of all the countries I have ſeen.

Are there not ſeveral epidemical diſeaſes which prove fatal to Negroes in the Weſt Indies, and contribute to their depopulation?

There certainly are.

Does it frequently happen that by thoſe diſeaſes numbers even of the ſtrongeſt and healthieſt are carried off?

Epidemical diſeaſes are frequent and fatal in all countries between the Tropics; but the Negroes bring with them ſome diſorders from Africa, which are very contagious, and to which their companions are ſubject in the Weſt Indies, which are very deſtructive—particularly the yaws, a diſorder which none of the medical men in the Weſt Indies know how to cure—it kills many—it continues upon ſome for two or three years, and renders them ſometimes miſerable objects for the reſt of their lives; yet they are ſtill nouriſhed and protected by their maſters.—Another diſorder in the new-ſettled Iſlands is that of ulcerated legs—the number of Negroes loſt in the ſettlement of the new Iſlands with that complaint has been very conſiderable.

In the diſtribution of food to the head of a Negro family, is there a particular quantity allowed for each child, in proportion to its reſpective age?

Till a child is ten years old it is uſual to give half the allowance of a grown perſon for every child, and after that age full allowance.

What property has a Negro Slave?

Strictly ſpeaking, and conſidering the diſtinction of maſter and Slave, I do not conceive a Negro can be ſaid to have property; but

(as poſitive laws give way in all countries to general opinion) when we ſee the moſt poſitive laws violated from a falſe point of honour or faſhion, it is not to be wondered at that a better motive ſhould ſupercede thoſe laws which are not founded on the baſis of juſtice—the property therefore which Negroes poſſeſs in the Weſt Indies is ſecured to them by the public opinion, and the general conduct of their maſters, in a more ſecure manner than perhaps it is in any other part of the world—I mean their perſonal property, which no maſter would dare to violate, without being expoſed to deteſtation and contempt—but what is ſtill more extraordinary, when the maſter himſelf is ruined, his effects, his plantations, and his Negroes ſold to ſatisfy his creditors, the property the Negro poſſeſſes, though very conſiderable, is inviolably preſerved to him—he carries his goods and money with him to the plantation of the perſon who buys him.—With reſpect to their Negro-ground, though they enjoy all the profits of it, yet they can only be conſidered as tenants at will; but even that ſpecies of property is ſeldom violated, or that ground exchanged for other ground, without making them ſatisfaction for the crop on the ground.—Even when they die, the Negroes diſtribute their effects among their relations or friends without controul.

Can you ſpeak particularly of the quantity of property poſſeſſed by any particular individual amongſt the Negroes?

In general the Negroes conceal their money, and do not chuſe to be conſidered as rich.—I had myſelf a Negro (a carpenter) named Jeffrey, who, while he was my Slave, purchaſed his wife's freedom of a lady in Montſerrat, at the price of about £. 80 ſterling.—In her name he poſſeſſed two houſes in the town of Scarborough in Tobago—he had a great deal of ready money, and I believe was worth £. 600 or £. 700 ſterling at leaſt.—He ſolicited me for his freedom, which he well merited.—I endeavoured to diſſuade him from his requeſt; but upon his alledging that his property might be loſt to him in caſe of his wife's death, I gave him his freedom; for which Governor Dillon made him pay £. 50 ſterling for public purpoſes.—I have reaſon to think he has ſince loſt above half of what he was worth.

Is that a ſingular inſtance, or do you recollect ſimilar inſtances, in which Negro Slaves have been in poſſeſſion of conſiderable property, though not to an equal amount as in the laſt caſe?

There are many of them that are poſſeſſed of a great deal of property—I cannot ſay to what amount, but almoſt all the ſmall current money of the Iſland is in the poſſeſſion of the Negroes.—

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The Slave I brought with me from Tobago took with him in caſh to Grenada about £. 100 ſterling—he gave £. 20 of it to a ſiſter of his at Grenada, to help to purchaſe her freedom ; and ſent back to Tobago about forty guineas, and deſired that it might be laid out in the purchaſe of a young Negro for him :—The reſt he laid out in the purchaſe of linen and other things for his wives, or took it with him to Jamaica.

Are there many inſtances in which Negro Slaves have been themſelves the maſters of Slaves ?

I believe that is not common—it is an indulgence few maſters give.

Are there any inſtances ?

I know of none but what I have mentioned.

Is the price of Negroes lately increaſed, and to what do you attribute that increaſe ?

When I firſt knew the Weſt Indies, I bought Windward Coaſt and Ebo Negroes at about £. 26 or £. 27 ſterling a head—prime Negroes ;—when I left the Weſt Indies, in March 1788, I gave £. 41 ſterling for a conſiderable number of the ſame Negroes at Grenada—I have ſince heard of a cargo of 402 Negroes ſelling at Jamaica for £. 49 ſterling a head on the average.

Has the report of the abolition of the African Trade encreaſed the price of Negroes in the Weſt Indies ?

I ſhould imagine ſo—every gentleman is as capable of making an anſwer to that queſtion as myſelf.

Had the report of the abolition of the Slave Trade reached the Weſt Indies before you quitted it ?

Yes—but few people ſeemed to give credit to ſuch a report.

What effect did that report produce in the Weſt Indies ?

Leaving the Windward Iſlands, by the time I got to Jamaica the alarm was very great—and the gentlemen in that Iſland were extremely apprehenſive.—The idea of the Slaves being to have their freedom given them, and other reports that were induſtriouſly circulated from England, of an intention to aboliſh Slavery, and the Slave Trade, made them extremely apprehenſive that a general inſurrection amongſt the Negroes might be the conſequence.

If Great Britain ſhould prohibit the African Slave Trade, is it your opinion that prohibition will prevent the Britiſh planters in the Weſt Indies from purchaſing Slaves?

It would certainly be very difficult—if they could not procure new ſupplies, the labour of the Slaves they poſſeſs muſt be increaſed, or the produce of their eſtates muſt be leſſened—in the former caſe their difficulties would increaſe, as their additional labour would ſurely be productive of a more rapid decreaſe of the labourers—they would therefore run all riſks to ſupply themſelves, while their credit or fortune would enable them to do ſo, and it is probable they might purchaſe them on cheaper terms than they do now, from thoſe nations who would be unrivalled in that commerce of which we enjoy ſo great a ſhare—and as a proof that ſuch conjecture is well founded, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that Mr. Hartman, of Santa Cruz, told me a ſhort time ſince, that the Gold Coaſt cargo ſold at that Iſland very lately, did not average more than £.40.

Suppoſing the African Negro trade effectually aboliſhed, ſo that the Britiſh planters could procure no ſupplies of Africans, what would be the conſequence to the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies?

A very rapid decline of every ſpecies of produce—at what point it would ſtop I cannot conjecture.

Is not an annual ſupply of African Negroes neceſſary to preſerve thoſe colonies, even in their preſent ſtate, without the cultivation of a ſingle acre of new land?

I believe abſolutely ſo in all the colonies.

Having mentioned that there is a great diſproportion of male and female Slaves, how is a proprietor to ſupply his male Negroes with wives, the means of continuing the ſpecies, if no Africans are to be brought?

I do not know.

If there ſhould be no further ſupply of African Negroes to the Weſt Indies, would not the labour to be performed by thoſe that are there probably fall heavier upon them?

It muſt either do ſo, or the produce be diminiſhed—I ſhould ſuppoſe the latter would be the conſequence; becauſe, if people increaſe the labour of their Negroes above their ſtrength, they would defeat their own purpoſes, and deſtroy their Negroes.

If the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, and particularly the males, underſtood that no more new Negroes were ever to be brought among them, what effect do you think it would produce upon them?

It is matter of opinion, but it probably will appear not to be ill founded, when I ſay my opinion is, they would be very unhappy; becauſe the Negroes of the eſtates which have been under my care are always ſoliciting for more help (which is their expreſſion) when a Negro cargo arrives—and ſometimes the young men particularly ſolicit to have wives bought for them.

If Great Britain ſhould prohibit her ſhips from going to the Coaſt of Africa, would that prohibition produce an abolition of the African Negro trade, or only throw it into the hands of foreigners?

Surely it would only operate partially, and could not prevent other nations from carrying on the traffic.

Are other nations ſolicitous to extend the ſhare they have of the African Negro trade?

The public proclamations and encouragements held out by France and Spain to their ſubjects, are certainly a ſufficient reply to that queſtion—the deſire of their poſſeſſing more Negroes for the uſe of their colonies than heretofore, appears from their opening their ports in the Weſt Indies and South America to receive the Slaves brought in the ſhips of foreigners; and the many contracts made by the French merchants in particular with thoſe of Great Britain, for ſupplying their ſhips with Negroes on the coaſt of Africa, are evident proofs of their wiſh to increaſe their number of Negroes for the increaſed cultivation of their lands.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 9° die Februarii 1790.

THE Counſel as before being called in, and having ſtated to the Committee, That they had cloſed their Examination of Mr. Francklyn, The Committee thought proper to defer the Examination of him by the members of the Committee until a future day *.

* Vide Page 128.

The

The Counſel then proceeded in their Examination, and called

Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM, His Majeſty's Attorney, General for Grenada and its Dependencies.

When did you firſt go to the Weſt Indies?
In March 1765.

To what part of the Weſt Indies?
To Antigua.

How long did you continue at Antigua?
I reſided at Antigua till the latter end of 1770—from thence I went to the Iſland of St. Vincent, where I purchaſed an eſtate; and continued to reſide there till 1774, at which time I went to Grenada, and reſided there as Solicitor General till it was captured in 1779—after which I reſided during the reſt of the war partly in St. Vincent, partly in Tobago, and about twelve months in Antigua again—in 1783 I was appointed Attorney General, returned to Grenada, and have reſided there till the firſt of June laſt, when I embarked for England.

Are you at this time the owner of any lands in the Weſt Indies?
None, but an uncultivated tract of land in the Iſland of Dominica, which I never intend to ſettle, having ſold my eſtate in St. Vincent in 1788.

Did you purchaſe the land in St. Vincent under faith of the proclamation ſubſequent to the ceſſion of the Iſlands by the Treaty of Paris?
The land I firſt purchaſed was French leaſehold—the other lands contiguous I bought either immediately from the Crown, or from thoſe who had purchaſed from the Crown.

At that period how were lands cultivated, as well in the Ceded Iſlands as in all the other Iſlands?
By the labour of Negro Slaves.

Is it neceſſary, for the purpoſe of keeping up a ſtock of Negro Slaves, that there ſhould be a continual importation of Slaves from Africa?

I found

I found it ſo to my own coſts; and as far as my obſervation and experience, in twenty-four years reſidence, can lead me to form a judgment, I conceive ſuch importation to be abſolutely neceſſary.

For the purpoſe of clearing new land, is it not neceſſary not only to keep up the ſtock, but increaſe it?

Every increaſed quantity of land, whether new or old, will require an additional quantity of Negroes to cultivate it.

If you could have foreſeen that it was poſſible that the abolition of the Slave Trade could have been carried at any future period, would you have purchaſed lands in the Ceded Iſlands, under the circumſtances ſtated?

Moſt aſſuredly not, either in the Ceded or the Old Iſlands.

Is there any quantity of land in the Ceded Iſlands now uncultivated?

A conſiderable quantity, both in Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent's—but as to the number of acres I cannot form a judgment.

Were all the grants of land in the Ceded Iſlands, as far as your experience directs you, made purſuant to the terms of the proclamation?

I believe ſo.

Are Slaves a ſubject of property?

They are ſo in all the Iſlands I know.

Being ſubjects of property, are they ſettled on marriages, or are they objects of mortgage?

Both.

In ſuch mortgage deeds or marriage ſettlements are there uſually covenants to keep up the preciſe number of Slaves ſo ſettled or mortgaged?

I have known inſtances of ſuch covenants in ſettlements and mortgages, but cannot ſay that they are uniformly inſerted; but in leaſes of plantations and Slaves, ſuch a covenant is almoſt conſtantly inſerted.

Can a perſon making ſuch covenant be ſecured againſt the penalties of

of the covenant, unleſs he has a power of importing or purchaſing Slaves imported?

I am ſatisfied that he never could fulfil ſuch covenant, without an opportunity of purchaſing Slaves beyond what the population would give him.

Slaves being ſuch ſpecies of property, liable to be ſettled on marriages, or mortgaged for the purpoſe of raiſing money, would not any means taken to defeat the objects of ſuch marriage ſettlements or mortgages be attended with ruin to many families?

As far as ſuch ruin would be produced by the diminution or total loſs of the ſecurity, I ſhould certainly think ſo.

Deſcribe the nature of criminal juriſprudence, as exerciſed amongſt Slaves?

I believe the mode of trying Slaves for ſuch offences as are cognizable by the magiſtrates varies in the different iſlands—in Grenada, with which I am beſt acquainted, a Slave is triable for ſmall offences before one magiſtrate—for offences of a higher nature, or crimes that may affect his life, he is triable before two or more magiſtrates, one being of the quorum—and ſince I left the Iſland, I underſtand a law has been paſſed, borrowed from the practice in Antigua, by which three or more freeholders, or perſons qualified to ſit as jurors, are directed to be called in by the magiſtrates, either as jury, or as aſſeſſors with the juſtices.

Is the criminal law exerciſed amongſt Slaves in your judgment ſevere in its nature?

When compared with the puniſhment inflicted in England on the ſame offences, I think it far from being ſevere.

What puniſhments are inflicted on Slaves by the maſter or manager, without the interference of any criminal judicature?

Whipping and confinement are the only ones which I know are conſidered as tolerated or legal—the quantity of puniſhment will undoubtedly vary according to the diſpoſition of the maſter; but any undue exerciſe or abuſe of the power of a maſter over his Slaves, was always conſidered as an offence puniſhable by indictment or information.

Is ſuch abuſe frequent, or otherwiſe?

If the inſtances are frequent, they have never come within my knowledge; and, conſidering the nature of the power neceſſary in the relation between Maſter and Slave, and conſidering the variety

of perſons who may acquire that power, I have always thought inſtances of abuſe of it not more frequent under thoſe circumſtances than the inſtances of ſimilar abuſe of power in England.

Have courts of juſtice in your experience been always ready to give effect to proſecutions for ſuch abuſes, or have they diſcountenanced them?

In the few inſtances in which I have had occaſion to proſecute perſons charged with ſuch abuſe of power in our Court of King's Bench, both the court and the juries have always appeared to me very deſirous of ſeeing offenders brought to juſtice, and of having them puniſhed in an exemplary manner.

Is the ſyſtem of laws in the Weſt Indies, as far as you have been acquainted with them, ſufficient for the purpoſe of protecting Slaves in life and limb?

In general I think it is; though I have no doubt ſome may eſcape who have been guilty of an undue exerciſe of their power over their Slaves.

In your office of attorney general, have you ever proſecuted a White Man for the murder of a Negro; and what was the conſequence?

I have not; but when I was ſolicitor general, I remember, about the year 1775 or 1776, a White Man was tried for the murder of a Slave (either his own or in his ſervice), and convicted of ſuch murder.

Was he executed in conſequence of ſuch conviction?

He was.

Before the execution took place, was there any queſtion of the power of awarding the ſentence of death?

A motion in arreſt of judgment was made, on the ground that the party killed being a Slave, the perſon convicted ought not to ſuffer the penalty of death; and as a contrary practice had ſubſiſted in one or more of the old Iſlands, by virtue of ſome local law, the Court of King's Bench aſſigned counſel for the priſoner, and the point was ſolemnly argued; and after the arguments, the court determined unanimouſly, as well as I remember, that it was no ground for arreſting the judgment, and ſentence was accordingly pronounced.

Since that judgment, has any lawyer or other perſon, to your knowledge,

knowledge, doubted of the power of awarding ſuch ſentence, or of the probability of its being awarded in ſimilar inſtances?

There was hardly any doubt among profeſſional men at the time; and I conſidered the court's directing the queſtion to be argued, as a matter of tenderneſs to the priſoner, and to remove any ſuch doubt being entertained in the community: and I believe, ſince that period, no perſon has entertained a doubt, but what a priſoner convicted of ſuch murder would ſuffer exactly in the ſame manner as if the party killed were a free perſon.

Deſcribe the daily labour of a Negro Slave in thoſe Iſlands where you have reſided?

The practice on my own plantation, and on all others, as far as I have had occaſion to obſerve, was, for the Slaves to be at their work in the field by break of day (except the women who had ſucking children, and who were always allowed an hour or an hour and an half beyond that time for their coming to work)—they continued at work till about nine o'clock, at which time they had half an hour for breakfaſting in the field—the work was renewed till noon, at which time they were allowed two hours reſt in their houſes—they returned to work in the afternoon, and continued till the cloſe of day—they then threw a bundle of graſs for the ſtock, and retired to their houſes for the remainder of the night—But in crop-time, the Negroes employed in the manufacture of Sugar cannot have the ſame regular intervals of reſt, but continue to work later; and on ſome plantations the manufacture is carried on night and day without intermiſſion, by regular ſpells, both of White Servants and the Slaves.

What is the ſeaſon of the ſevereſt labour?

As far as the interruption of regular hours of reſt, and the number of hours out of the twenty-four employed in work, can determine that queſtion, the crop-ſeaſon is undoubtedly that of the ſevereſt labour.

Does the exceſs of labour conſiſt only in its being continued for a greater number of hours?

No—ſome of them employed in the manufacture, ſuch as boilers and firemen, are expoſed to a degree of heat that White perſons would conſider as intolerable; but which the Negroes bear without ſuffering.

The crop-time being the ſeaſon of ſevereſt labour, is the gang at that time more unhealthy, or leſs ſatisfied with their ſituation?

On

On the contrary, it is an univerſal remark, that the Negroes are in a better condition, more healthy and cheerful, in the crop-ſeaſon than at any other time.

Are many lands in the Ceded Iſlands cultivated by holeing; and is that a harder ſpecies of labour than the ordinary daily labour?

On the Sugar Plantations the only mode I know of preparing land for the planting of the cane, is by holeing it with the hoe, which is certainly a harder ſpecies of labour than moſt other works of the plantation; but it is only performed by the ableſt Negroes, and occupies a very ſmall portion of the yearly labour.

Is it a ſpecies of labour that, when exerciſed by an able Negro, can be termed ſevere?

I think not—and I have often ſeen Negro women value themſelves on being able to go down their row of holes quicker than a Negro man—Thoſe employed on this work are uſually allowed, grog for the men, and ſugar and water for the women, and will continue the labour during the uſual hours, not only without repining, but ſinging, and with great cheerfulneſs.

Is there at that period an extraordinary allowance of proviſions to the holeing gang?

That may be the practice on other plantations, but I do not recollect that it was ſo with me, or that my Negroes ever expected or deſired it.

Is labour in general proportioned to the age, ſex, and ſtrength of the Negroes?

Moſt certainly to the age and ſtrength; but the ſex makes no difference that I remember in the field labour.

In the article of labour, is there a particular attention paid to thoſe who are invalids?

Invalids, as well as women who appear to be ſome months gone with child, are uſually put to ſome ſlight labour, of cleaning intervals between the canes, weeding Guinea graſs, or cleaning about the fences, or any ſuch work, as much for the ſake of preventing their being totally idle, or ſitting down too much for their health, as for the work itſelf.

Do you believe this to be the general practice throughout the plantations?

As far as my obſervation has gone it is.

From your knowledge of the degree of labour in which a Negro is exerciſed in the Weſt Indies, and from your obſervation of the ſtate of labourers in other countries, do you conceive that the labour of a Negro is more ſevere than the uſual labour of a common labourer in any part of Europe, that you have been acquainted with?

I have never been in any part of Europe excepting Great Britain, and have had very little opportunities of knowing or eſtimating the degree of labour which the common people in England undergo, but I ſhould conjecture that ſome ſpecies of labour in England muſt be more ſevere than any which the Slaves in the Weſt Indies undergo.

Is the labour of a Negro, in general, ſevere, or beyond his ability to perform?

Not as far as my obſervation has gone.

Deſcribe the ſort and quantity of food allowed to a Negro Slave?

In the firſt ſettlement of our eſtates in Saint Vincent we were at a very heavy expence in feeding the Slaves with various kinds of grain proviſions in large quantities; but, after ſome years, when my Slaves had made complete proviſion grounds for themſelves, they of their own accord offered to me, that if I would give them the Saturday afternoon, out of crop-time, they would require nothing but ſalt proviſions from me; and from that period the quantities of grain proviſions were ſmall, being confined to the hoſpitals, to convaleſcents, and women with young children.—Both in Saint Vincent and Grenada the quantities of proviſion grounds which the Slaves have, are ſuch as not to require large quantities of imported proviſions, except in certain ſeaſons of dry weather.—When it is neceſſary to give them grain of any kind, I believe the uſual weekly allowance is eight or ten meaſures; but my memory does not ſerve me as to the ſize of thoſe meaſures, I mean whether pints or quarts. In regard to ſalt proviſions, they have eight, ten, or twelve herrings per week, according to the ſize, or a proportional quantity of ſalt meat; and an allowance of beef, pork, and flour, at Chriſtmas.

Is there not an allowance to all, in proportion to the ſtate or condition of each individual; and is not that allowance ſufficient?

The allowance is amply ſufficient for any Slave that will devote even a few hours of his own time to work in his ground;

and if a Slave is found falling off in condition, it is uſual to enquire into the ſtate of his proviſion grounds; and if he is found indolent and incorrigible, he is then fed by the proprietor.

Is there not an allowance for every child from the time when it is weaned; and to whom is that given?

I ſuppoſe the practice varies on different eſtates—my own was not to give any fixed allowance for the children, but to direct that whenever the mothers applied for any ſort of aſſiſtance, that they ſhould be amply ſupplied according to their number of young children—I ſpeak of grain proviſions; for, as to ſalt proviſions, my practice, and I believe the general cuſtom, was, to give half allowance for each child under the age of eight or ten, and ſuch allowance was given to the mother.

What is the pot gang; and is there not a pot gang on every plantation; and what Slaves are fed in it?

I never had one on my own eſtate; I have heard of them on other plantations, and underſtood that ſuch Negroes are fed out of the pot as are found inattentive to the furniſhing themſelves with proviſions, or liking to eat the proviſions that are given them improperly dreſſed, ſo as to render it imprudent to truſt them with any part of the care of feeding themſelves; in lieu of which, whenever I found on my own eſtate a Slave of that deſcription, I gave him in charge to ſome particular Negro, uſually of his own country, on whom I could depend, for ſeeing him properly fed.

Is not that which you ſpeak of, as practiſed on your own eſtate, the practice of every well-regulated plantation, where there is no pot gang?

I believe it muſt be the uniform practice, unleſs among the French planters of our Iſlands, where, I believe, they frequently take Negroes of that deſcription into their own houſes or kitchens, and feed them from their own table—but without ſome regulation of that nature a conſiderable number of Slaves would undoubtedly periſh.

Are the proprietors of land in Grenada obliged, by the late act of Grenada, to allot certain portions of land to their Negro Slaves?

They are—guardians are appointed in each diſtrict to inſpect the proviſion grounds of each plantation.

Is there any allowance of time for the purpoſe of cultivating ſuch grounds ſo allotted, either by law or practice?

The practice of allowing the Saturday afternoon out of crop-time, and the whole of Sunday throughout the year, was very general; and I think the law of Grenada has enforced the practice, by fixing it from twelve o'clock of the Saturday.

Is the portion of time uſually allowed ſufficient for the purpoſe?

It is in fact ſufficient, not only for the purpoſe of planting, weeding, and gathering the proviſions neceſſary for the Slave's ſubſiſtence; but it allows him time to go to the neighbouring market, and diſpoſe of his ſurplus proviſion, as well as poultry, hogs, and goats, for money, or goods that he wants.

Is is not uſual, when a Negro is otherwiſe employed, that he ſhould hire other Negroes to cultivate the ground appropriated to him?

I cannot ſay that ſuch practice has fallen under my obſervation, but I have no doubt that bargains of that nature are made among the Slaves.

Is there uſually a ſurplus of produce on the lands allotted, beyond what is ſufficient to ſupport the Negro?

There is, except perhaps of a very few worthleſs and idle Negroes, which are probably to be found in all gangs of Slaves.

Does any Negro in fact diſpoſe of ſuch ſurplus for his own benefit?

He does.

Is the property ariſing from the ſale of ſuch ſurplus ſecure in the poſſeſſion of the Negro?

I never recollect an inſtance of any maſter who interfered with the property ſo acquired by his Slave.

Have you known inſtances of Slaves poſſeſſed of property to any conſiderable amount?

I cannot charge my memory with particular inſtances, or particular ſums, but from the manner in which induſtrious Negroes appear cloathed on Sundays, from the various articles of uſeful and comfortable furniture that I have ſeen in their houſes, I have

no

no doubt that many of them acquire annually, and diſpoſe of, at leaſt from £. 10 to £. 20 ſterling.

Do ſuch Negroes in general ſpend their money openly in ſuch luxuries and comforts as they can procure?

They do—and I know of no reſtraint, except in the article of rum, there being laws exiſting in moſt of the Iſlands I am acquainted with, prohibiting the ſale of rum to Slaves.

Are there not inſtances of ſuch Negroes purchaſing their own or their children's freedom.

I have known many ſuch inſtances, and they have generally paid higher prices than I ſhould have valued them at.

How are perſons reſiding in the towns of the different Iſlands, and who have no plantations, ſupplied with graſs, fodder, and vegetables?

The Slaves of the neighbouring plantations bring graſs and fodder every evening, after their hours of work, to the towns for ſale, for their own benefit—and vegetables are brought by the Slaves to market on Sundays for their own benefit—but on the other days we purchaſe vegetables from the Slaves, ſent in by the proprietors of gardens, to be ſold for their maſter's benefit.

Are not the King's ſhips and trading ſhips ſtationed near the Iſlands, principally ſupplied with vegetables, fruit, poultry, and other freſh proviſions, by Negroes attending the market on their own account?

I believe they are.

How are Negroes cloathed?

The cloathing of Negroes varies both in quantity and kind, according to the diſpoſition of the maſter; but lately in Grenada it has been fixed by law, that at leaſt a certain ſpecified quantity of cloathing ſhall be given to every Slave.

Is the quantity allowed ſufficient, according to the ſtate of the climate?

I dare ſay it is, but I do not at preſent recollect the particulars ſpecified in the act—but there are few Negroes who have not a great deal more cloaths of their own than what the Maſter allows.

How

How are Negroes lodged?

In wattled and daubed houſes, covered with cane tops—except that the carpenters, coopers, and ſome other principal Negroes on the eſtate, uſually contrive to make themſelves wooden houſes.

Are ſuch lodgings ſufficient for the purpoſes of protection againſt weather, or the heat of the climate?

Quite ſufficient to keep out wind and rain; but the Negroes uſually make them much cloſer and hotter than a White perſon could bear to live in.

In your experience, have you found the heat prejudicial or deſirable to a Negro?

The Slaves in general bear a degree of heat that ſurpriſes Europeans—cold affects them ſeverely; and I have known them frequently ſit or lie down and baſk in the ſun, when it is hotter than I could bear if I was to ſtand in it for a few minutes.

Are the houſes in which Negroes live built by themſelves, or their maſters?

It is uſual, when a Negro's houſe is to be built, to allow himſelf and two or three others time for that purpoſe; and I uſually brought home for him the wattles and cane tops neceſſary for the purpoſe.

How are ſick Negroes taken care of?

There is an hoſpital on every plantation; a ſurgeon is employed annually, whoſe buſineſs it is to viſit the Slaves twice a week, or at ſuch other times as he may be required.—One or more ſick nurſes, according to the number of the gang, attend the hoſpital to adminiſter the medicines, provide food, and do other matters neceſſary for the ſick—wine and other articles of comfort, recommended by the ſurgeon, are provided by the proprietor; and it is uſual when a Slave is well enough to quit the hoſpital, and yet though not fully equal to his labour, to keep him about the houſe or kitchen, that he may have the advantage of being better fed than uſual.

Notwithſtanding the inſtitution of plantation hoſpitals, are not ſick Negroes, who requeſt it, frequently permitted to continue in their own houſes during their ſickneſs?

Negroes are averſe in general from going into the hoſpital, but the practice of permitting them to remain when ſick in their own

houſes is attended with ſome danger—and I never ſuffered any, but thoſe in whom I had great confidence, or the lying-in women, to do ſo.

Is the medical perſon, whoſe duty it is to viſit the plantation, paid by ſalary only, or is he paid alſo upon particular emergencies?

I ſuppoſe the practice in that reſpect may vary, but in my own inſtance, the ſurgeon, beſides the annual allowance for each Negro, was paid for fractures, for difficult births (if he was called in), and for obſtinate venereal caſes.

Did you ever find any ill effect from permitting lying-in women to continue in their own houſes?

None that I remember—and if I had, I ſhould rather have ſubmitted to ſome little inconvenience, than have compelled them to go into the hoſpital for the purpoſe of being delivered, which I know they would have diſliked very much.

Was that at any time, in your opinion, the occaſion of death, or loſs of children?

I have no reaſon to think ſo, as I was more fortunate than moſt of my neighbours in rearing Negro children.

Are the plantation ſurgeons uſually paid, in caſes of inoculation, beyond their ſalary?

I forgot to enumerate that among the excepted caſes; the ſurgeon was allowed ten ſhillings per head for each Negro per annum, and was allowed twenty ſhillings moreover for each Negro inoculated.

What is the treatment of Negro pregnant women?

Some months before the time they expect to be delivered, they are taken from the ordinary labour, and put to ſome lighter work—I ſpeak of my own practice only as to the period, and ſuch period varies according to appearances, ſo that it has ſometimes happened that a Negro woman has not been brought to bed till two or three months after ſhe has pretended to expect it.

Is the labour of pregnant women in general proportioned to their ſituation?

I hope and believe ſo.

Have you ever known an inſtance of puniſhing pregnant women?

Such inſtances may have occurred, but I ſhould imagine it muſt have been in a very early ſtate of pregnancy, or perhaps when the circumſtance was not known—I mean as to the puniſhment of women, becauſe confinement would be ſubſtituted, where the woman appeared evidently pregnant.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 10° die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination.

Is there any proviſion for diſabled and ſuperannuated Negroes? Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM.

As well as I remember, there are local laws in the different iſlands where I have reſided, on that ſubject; but I ſhould apprehend, that the neglecting of them, or ſuffering them to wander about begging, would be cognizable as a miſdemeanor, independent of any poſitive prohibition.

Are they in general, as far as you have obſerved, properly taken care of?

They are.

What is the treatment of lying-in women?

The lying-in women, on all the plantations I was acquainted with, were ſuffered to remain in their own houſes—it was uſual to allot ſuch other Negro women as ſhe deſired to continue with her for the firſt five or ſix days—ſhe was furniſhed with candles, flour, wine, and any other articles that were recommended; and with me, and many others that I know, the lying-in woman was not expected to come out to work till a month after her being delivered.

During the time of confinement, have they medical and every other neceſſary aſſiſtance?

They had, whenever it was neceſſary.

Are they provided with cloaths, ſuch as are proper for a new-born infant?

On large eſtates, I believe, a proviſion of old linen is made for that purpoſe; on ſmaller ones, the maſters furniſh occaſionally ſuch

ſuch old linen as they may have by them for the new-born infants.

Is there a ſufficient ſupply?
I never heard any complaint of the want of it.

Can you eſtimate the proportion of the births of Negro children within the Iſlands, and their deaths before they arrive at an age fit for labour?

I have not made obſervations, or kept any accurate liſts ſufficient to enable me to form ſuch eſtimate; but the general remark is, that near one-half of the children born, die under two years, and much the greater proportion of that half within the firſt nine days.

Are the children of Negro women ſubject to any particular, and what diſorders?

The jaw-fall is reckoned the cauſe of ſo many dying within nine days—if the children ſurvive that, they are, as far as my obſervation has gone, pretty healthy during the time of ſuckling—ſome time after they are weaned it is very common for them to be afflicted with worms, which I have known very fatal—the yaws is another diſorder to which children as well as grown Negroes are ſubject, and which ſometimes immediately, and ſometimes in its conſequence, is alſo very fatal—fluxes, though not very peculiar to Negroes, are another great cauſe of mortality, and baffle the ſkill of the moſt able phyſicians, as I have often been informed by themſelves.

Are there any epidemical or other diſorders particularly incidental to adult Negroes, and which contribute in a large degree to their depopulation?

Epidemical diſorders are frequent in the Weſt Indies; but I do not know that they are peculiarly incident to adults.—The venereal complaint is common among them; and I ſuppoſe muſt tend to diminiſh population.

State ſuch epidemical diſorders, not already deſcribed, as are incident both to the young and the adults.

The ſmall-pox, the meaſles, chicken-pox, dyſenteries, and of late years the liver complaint.

Are there diſorders by which the ableſt adults are at times deſtroyed in great numbers?

Thoſe

Thoſe which I have mentioned are very often of an unfavourable kind, and prove fatal to many; but particularly the putrid flux, of which I have known ſeveral examples.

Are they ever deſtroyed in great numbers by hurricanes and their conſequences?

A hurricane ſeldom happens without the loſs of ſeveral lives, by accidents of falling buildings, floods, and other cauſes of that ſort.—Hurricanes are fatal to the Negroes in their conſequences, as they deſtroy their houſes, and it is a conſiderable time before they are comfortably lodged again, and as they deſtroy their proviſion grounds, which are neceſſary for a Negroe's health and comfort.

Amongſt the adults, can you eſtimate what proportion the deaths bear to the numbers living within the year?

I have never made any calculation by taking the average of any number of years; but the loſs varies exceedingly—Of an hundred and odd Negroes which I poſſeſſed myſelf, it has happened more than once, that I have not loſt a ſingle adult in the courſe of a year—in other years I think I have loſt five, ſix, and as far as ſeven.—I ſhould ſuppoſe that from three to four per cent. might be about the average loſs, even on a ſettled eſtate.

Can you eſtimate the general proportion of births and burials?

I cannot, but during the eighteen years that I was the proprietor of Slaves, though I had what was thought a very good proportion of births, conſidering the number of breeding women, and was more fortunate than my neighbours in rearing Negro children, I was conſtantly under the neceſſity, every two or three years, of buying Negroes newly imported, or ſeaſoned Negroes from ſome of the other Iſlands.

Are the cauſes of deaths by diſtempers counteracted and leſſened, as far as they can be, by human ſkill and attention?

I am not intimately enough acquainted with the interior œconomy of other plantations, but I can venture to ſay, this was the caſe on my own eſtate; and I conclude that from the ſame motives, both of humanity and intereſt, every other proprietor purſued the ſame conduct.

Are there other cauſes which contribute to the depopulation of Negroes beſides diſtempers?

I have always conſidered the promiſcuous intercourſe, the want of regular pairing, the early proſtitution of the females, and the immoderate uſe of rum, as the principal cauſes that prevent our population of Negro Slaves being ſo large as it might be.

Does the time of ſuckling Negro children contribute to the ſame cauſe?

I preſume ſo, as I know the Negro women are fond of ſuckling their children much longer than medical men thought adviſeable.

In conſequence of ſo ſuckling their children, what is the uſual period between each birth?

It varies ſo much with different Negro women, that it is difficult to fix any period as the uſual one, but women ſeldom have a ſecond child at a leſs interval than two years.

Can ill treatment and exceſſive labour be conſidered as amongſt the cauſes of depopulation?

I never had an idea that either the treatment or labour of Slaves was ſuch as to interfere at all with the population.

Conſidering the effects of all the cauſes of depopulation which have been enumerated, is it, in your opinion, poſſible, in general, to keep up the ſtock of Slaves throughout the Iſlands, unleſs by importing new Slaves from Africa?

I think not, and have always thought ſo, having been myſelf very anxious to avoid the neceſſity of purchaſing them by every indulgence and attention both to the breeding women and their children, and not having been able to ſucceed.

Is it poſſible, in your opinion, to cultivate the lands in the Iſlands by Europeans or Free Negroes?

Moſt clearly impoſſible by the labour of Europeans; and as to the labour of Free Negroes, it is a circumſtance well known in all the Iſlands I have mentioned, that there never was an inſtance of a Free Negro hiring himſelf for any work of agriculture whatſoever.

Can an European, who is a labouring man, bear the heat of the climate?

Not if he was to do the work neceſſary to be done in the field —he may work at carpenter's work, or other work which is done under cover or ſheds.

Can.

Can the deficiency of Negroes that muſt enſue if the introduction of new Slaves is prevented, be ſupplied by beaſts of draught or burthen, or by European implements of huſbandry?

Beaſts of draught or burthen are already employed in every purpoſe to which, in my apprehenſion, their labour can be applied in the cultivation of plantations in the Weſt Indies.—With reſpect to the implements of huſbandry, thoſe now in uſe appear to me perfectly well calculated for their reſpective purpoſes, and ſuch as the Negroes are adroit in uſing.—The introduction of the plough has been a topic of much converſation—in my experience I have known two or three very zealous advocates for it, who have tried it in the Iſlands of Antigua and Saint Vincent, and who were very ſoon obliged to abandon it.

Were the Iſlands ſupplied as uſual with Slaves during the laſt war?

Not thoſe Iſlands in which I reſided, viz. Saint Vincent, Tobago, Grenada, and Antigua—I hardly recollect any importation in thoſe Iſlands during the war.

What was the conſequence?

In Grenada, with which I was beſt acquainted, the conſequence was, that inſtead of thirty or thirty-one thouſand, which I think was the number of Slaves returned to the government previous to the capture, the firſt return after the reſtitution was to the beſt of my recollection not more than twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight thouſand, but my memory is not accurate with reſpect to numbers.

What was the interval of time between thoſe two returns?

About five years.

Was there a decreaſe of Negroes during that period in the other Iſlands named?

I believe ſo, but I have not the ſame means of information.

Is not the produce of the Iſland generally in proportion to the number of Negroes upon it?

In proportion to the number of Slaves attached to agriculture, and the manufacture of the produce.

Is the practice of rattooning canes prevalent in the Ceded Iſlands?

It depends on the quality of the ſoil, whether it is advantageous to rattoon canes, or to re-plant the land—in Grenada, where the ſoil is ſtronger, rattooning is carried to a much greater length than in Saint

Saint Vincent—but in general in both places, in the preſent ſtate of the ſoil, we are enabled to rattoon as far as a ſecond or a third year—formerly in Grenada there were rattoon canes upwards of twenty years old.

On thoſe eſtates where rattooning prevails is a leſs number of Slaves neceſſary for the purpoſe of cultivating ſuch eſtates?

The number of Slaves neceſſary for all the purpoſes of an eſtate will vary according to the quality of ſoil, poſition, and other circumſtances—the practice of rattooning, as it leſſens the quantity of land to be opened by the hoe, ſo it increaſes the number of acres of canes to be taken off in the crop; and it is a common practice for many eſtates to have the greateſt part of their holeing work done by hired Negroes kept for that purpoſe, and called taſk gangs, ſo that I cannot ſay that the practice of rattooning unavoidably leſſens the number of Negroes neceſſary on a plantation.

Is it the intereſt of the planter to keep up the ſtock of Slaves by breeding, if it can be done?

Moſt certainly.

What is the value of a ſeaſoned Slave, born in the Weſt Indies, in compariſon to one newly imported?

I have known people think differently on that ſubject, as they conceive the ſeaſoned Slave, though more expert and ſenſible, is more likely to be artful and ill-diſpoſed; and they think a newly-imported Slave, young, and in full health, nearly as valuable as a ſeaſoned one not brought up by themſelves.—But, in my own opinion, for a Slave which, if newly imported, I would give £.50 ſterling, I would, if ſeaſoned, and not of bad character, give £.70 ſterling.

Are not Negro artificers principally Slaves born in the Weſt Indies; and are not thoſe Slaves of the greateſt value?

I have known great numbers of Negro artificers African Slaves, as well as Creoles; probably the majority, eſpecially in the old Iſlands, are Creoles, and ſuch artificers are certainly Slaves of the greateſt value.

If it were poſſible to keep up the ſtock of Slaves by breeding, what length of time muſt elapſe before Negroes ſo born could be fit for the labour of the field?

From eighteen to twenty years.

Would not the working Negroes in the mean time be gradually

on

on the decline; and in that caſe muſt not either the cultivation decline, or the labour fall more ſeverely on the ſurvivors, in order to keep up the plantation?

The number of working Slaves muſt, in the courſe of things, be leſſened near one half during that period—and the conſequence, I ſhould conceive, muſt neceſſarily be a diminution of the cultivation.

Has it ever been received as a maxim in the Weſt Indies, that it was the intereſt of a planter to increaſe the labour of his Slave ſo as to exhauſt him in a few years; or do you believe that the conduct of any planter within your knowledge is at this time governed by ſuch principle?

I remember hearing that there was a Frenchman, who lived many years ago in the Iſland of Grenada, that pretended to hold ſuch a doctrine; but it was always mentioned as a ſingular abſurdity, and I am perfectly perſuaded that no planter entertains any ſuch idea, or regulates his conduct by any maxim ſo horrid.

Is ſeverity in an overſeer or manager to Negroes conſidered as a qualification that recommends him, or not?

I always heard it conſidered as a reproach, and as a quality likely to preclude him from employment.

Are Slaves in general in a ſtate of apparent comfort and happineſs, or of miſery and diſcontent?

The ſituation of Slaves who are induſtrious is comfortable and happy; and they appear perfectly contented with their lot.

Do you know any inſtance of a Slave who has been liberated wiſhing to return to his maſter?

I cannot charge my memory with any particular inſtance that applies to the queſtion, except one that I have heard from good authority, of a Slave who met with an accident, by which he loſt half his foot—his maſter ſent him with a captain of a veſſel bound to the Coaſt of Africa, with directions to leave him there at liberty, if he choſe to remain—the Slave was accordingly carried to the ſame part of the Coaſt from which he had been brought, and found many of his relations; and when the captain was about to leave the Coaſt, he informed the Slave of his maſter's directions, and propoſed leaving him there, but the Slave poſitively refuſed, and returned by his own choice with the captain

tain to Grenada, and continued afterwards as a Slave to his maſter.

Do the Slaves in the Weſt Indies appear to be more or leſs happy than the common labourers of other countries?

It has not been my lot to viſit the habitations of the poor labourers in Great Britain, but in eſtimating the happineſs of any two claſſes of people, I ſhould conſider their wants and their ſentiments, and on this principle I have no ſcruple to give it as my opinion, that a Negro Slave in general has fewer wants unſatiſfied, enjoys more the comforts of life, ſuch as lodging, food, and cloathing, and muſt be freer from apprehenſions of want for himſelf and his family, than the Engliſh labourer; and that the Slave, not poſſeſſing uſually thoſe ſentiments which would render his condition intolerable to a Britiſh ſubject, does not feel the pain which people are apt in general to imagine he muſt feel from his degraded relative ſituation in ſociety.

Would the intended meaſure of preventing the introduction of new Slaves into the Iſlands increaſe or diminiſh the comforts or happineſs of thoſe already there?

Independent of the danger of diminiſhing their comfort by a neceſſity of increaſing their labour, my own obſervation leads me to form a concluſion, that as nothing appears to give the Slaves more joy than the ſight of new Negroes brought on the plantation, ſo if none were to be introduced for a number of years, they would grow diſcontented, and in all probability mutinous.

Had the report of this intended meaſure reached the Weſt India Iſlands before you left that country; and did it produce any and what effect?

The report had reached the Weſt Indies a conſiderable time before I left them, and was a ſubject of much diſcuſſion—it gave great uneaſineſs to all perſons there, and I ſuppoſe has had the effect of raiſing the price of Slaves.

Had the report any effect on yourſelf at the time of your diſpoſal of your eſtate at St. Vincent's?

When I diſpoſed of my land and buildings, my firſt intention was to remove my Slaves, and make a purchaſe at Grenada, but other conſiderations induced me to change my plan, and to ſell the gang of Slaves—the apprehenſion of the conſequences likely to ariſe from an abolition of the African Trade, had certainly its weight, though it was not the ſole motive that ſo determined me.

Are

Are not many eſtates cultivated by means of money borrowed on the credit derived from the ſtock of Slaves?

They are.

Will not ſuch credit be materially affected by the abolition of the Slave Trade, and conſequently the means of cultivating ſuch eſtates deſtroyed?

I apprehend ſo.

Conſidering the neceſſity of introducing new Slaves for the purpoſe of cultivating the Iſlands, do you conceive it poſſible to prevent that introduction by any regulation, ſo long as the French and other nations import Slaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies?

My own opinion is, that ſo long as new Slaves can be had, at almoſt any price, they will be introduced into the Britiſh Iſlands clandeſtinely, in ſpite of every regulation that is likely to be adopted.

Have the French, or other nations employed in that trade, diſcovered any inclination to abandon the trade?

I have no knowledge on that ſubject.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What is the comparative value of a ſeaſoned Creole Slave, and of a ſeaſoned African Slave?

The term ſeaſoned is applicable only to African Slaves, all Creole Slaves being conſidered as ſeaſoned—with reſpect to the value of a ſeaſoned Slave, compared with that of a Creole Slave of the ſame age, ſtrength, health, and appearance, I in my own eſtimation make very little difference, conſidering an African Slave brought young to the country, and ſeaſoned by ſeven or eight years reſidence and labour in the Weſt Indies, full as valuable for all the purpoſes of agriculture as the Creole, but other perſons think differently.

Do you know of many other inſtances of freemen being capitally puniſhed for the murder of Slaves, beſides that you have mentioned in the year 1775 or 1776?

I do not, nor have I heard in Grenada, where I have reſided almoſt entirely ſince that period, of any other murder of a Slave having been committed by a free perſon.

What

What was the character and general eſtimation of the perſon who ſuffered capitally in this inſtance?

He was an under ſervant in the Marſhal's office, an obſcure, and, I have been told, an illiterate man, but I do not recollect any circumſtances relative to his character or general eſtimation.

Do you remember any nick-name which was commonly aſſociated with his name?

I do not, but if ſuch name was mentioned I could tell whether I had ever heard it.

Was Bacchus the nick-name?

I cannot at this diſtance of time charge my memory with having heard ſuch nick-name applied to the man—I remember that Mr. Porteus the Marſhal, in whoſe employ the priſoner was, gave a handſome fee to one or more counſel to argue in arreſt of the judgment.

Do you recollect on what evidence the criminal was convicted; and will you relate, ſo far as you remember them, the circumſtances of the murder?

As well as I remember, the Slave murdered was a hired Negro woman, in the ſervice of the priſoner—that he came home, and not finding his dinner ready, or ſome other order of his diſobeyed, he reprimanded the Slave—that ſhe anſwered him with ſome abuſe and ill language, and that in the heat of paſſion he took up a knife and ſtabbed her in the neck, and occaſioned her death—that theſe circumſtances came out, as well as I remember, partly by the information of the deceaſed, and I think by the ſubſequent confeſſion of the priſoner; but it is ſo long ſince it happened, that I ſpeak with very little certainty as to theſe circumſtances.

When you ſaid in your former anſwer, that any undue exerciſe or abuſe of the power of a Maſter over his Slave, was always conſidered as an offence puniſhable by indictment or information, do you mean to confine yourſelf to Grenada, or to ſpeak generally?

I had Grenada more particularly in my mind in giving that anſwer, but I ſhould have very little doubt that ſuch miſdemeanors would be puniſhable in like manner in any of the other Engliſh iſlands in which I have reſided.

When you ſtated in your former evidence, that conſidering the nature of the power in the relation between Maſter and Slave, and

conſidering the variety of perſons who may acquire that power, you have always thought the inſtance of abuſe of it not more frequent under thoſe circumſtances than the inſtances of ſimilar abuſe of power in England, do you not mean that a maſter muſt neceſſarily have a degree of power over his Slave, which muſt render the ſituation of the Slave, in point of comfort, dependent on his peculiar temper?

I meant that a certain degree of power of correction was neceſſary in the relation of maſter and Slave, for the ſake of diſcipline and ſubordination, and to prevent very trifling offences being made the ſubject of complaint to magiſtrates; and conſequently that as ſuch correction may, without ſufficient cauſe, or in too great degree for the offence, be occaſionally inflicted by a maſter, the Slave's comfort in this reſpect muſt depend as much on the temper of his maſter, as the comfort of the apprentice in England does on the temper of the perſon to whom he is bound.

What is the annual value of a field Slave's labour?

Slaves are hired at various prices by the day, by the month, by the year, or for a term of years—the quantum paid varies according to all theſe circumſtances, and according as the renter is or is not compellable to make good the value of the Slave ſo hired—In common jobs, I think, three ſhillings currency (which is from one ſhilling and nine pence to one ſhilling and ten pence ſterling) per day, may be conſidered as the prevailing rate of daily hire—Slaves, when hired by the year, I have known to be valued, and ten per cent. on their valuation allowed for an annual hire; but much larger hires have been given, according to the neceſſities of the party, and the difficulty of procuring Slaves.

At what may be eſtimated the annual expence of the maintenance of a Negro man, woman, and child reſpectively?

I remember taking ſome pains in forming that calculation, in order to anſwer the queries tranſmitted by government to the Iſland of Grenada, but I cannot now charge my memory with the ſums which ſatisfied my mind at that time as the reſult of thoſe calculations; nor do I remember whether, in making that eſtimate, the committee took into conſideration the value of the land allotted to each Negro as a proviſion ground; but under this uncertainty I ſhould anſwer. that the expence of my own eſtate in St. Vincent was, independent of the proviſion ground, not leſs than £.7 or £.8 ſterling for each Negro man, or woman, or child

above the age of twelve years, and perhaps half of that ſum for a child under that age—At the time of making the anſwer to the queries, I was, to the beſt of my recollection, ſatisfied with the anſwer that was given—though, having no plantation in Grenada, I was more directed, in queſtions of this nature, by the judgment of the other members, who were planters, as they were, I believe, directed by mine in queſtions of a profeſſional nature.

You have mentioned in your former evidence, that you have known many inſtances of Negroes having purchaſed their own or their children's freedom at a higher price than you ſhould have valued them at—did you ſpeak in this inſtance of field Negroes?

I cannot particularize the inſtances ſo as to ſay with certainty whether any, and how many, of thoſe that fell within my knowledge, were field Negroes, but I am perſuaded that in one or two of the inſtances, the Slaves applying to me on the ſubject had been free Negroes either at the time, or very ſhortly before the time, when their maſters permitted them to look for the means of providing the ſtipulated ſum for their manumiſſion.

Did you ſpeak of field Negroes, when in your former anſwer you ſaid you had no doubt that many annually acquired and diſpoſed of from ten to twenty pounds ſterling?

I did, for with reſpect to tradeſmen I had no doubt that many of them acquire and diſpoſe of double that ſum.

Are not far more domeſtics kept in a family in the Weſt Indies than by one of ſimilar condition in Great Britain?

Certainly, and this prevails much more among the French in our Iſlands than among the Engliſh planters; and I have no doubt that a family in England is better ſerved by two or three ſervants than we are by eight or ten.

In the ſtock of Slaves belonging to you, what was the proportion of males and females?

As well as I remember I had forty and odd men, thirty and odd women, and thirty and odd children, when I diſpoſed of my Slaves at St. Vincent.

During your ſtay in the Weſt Indies, had any efforts been made to convert or inſtruct the Negro Slaves, and with what ſucceſs?

The

The only efforts worthy of mentioning that fell under my obſervation, were thoſe of the Moravians in the Iſland of Antigua, but I did not reſide in that Iſland, and only learned from the gentlemen who did, that they were of opinion that the Moravians had produced a conſiderable good effect by their inſtructing and preaching to the Slaves.

Do you recollect from whom you heard the circumſtance of the Slave, who was ſent to Africa, wiſhing to return to his maſter, or the circumſtances of that incident, with ſufficient diſtinctneſs to ſtate them with certainty?

I do—I had heard the incident formerly in Grenada—but it was brought more immediately to my recollection by having heard it lately mentioned by the ſon of the preſent proprietor, ſo that I can name the eſtate on which it happened, and the captain with whom the Slave went to Africa, and I believe both the Captain and the Slave are ſtill living.

Do you know how long the Slave had reſided in the Weſt Indies?

I do not remember that the number of years was mentioned; but from the circumſtance ſtated, of his finding and knowing his relations in Africa, I concluded that he had not been many years in the Weſt Indies.

Do you recollect to have heard of what nation this Slave was, or to what part of the Coaſt he belonged?

I do not think either of thoſe circumſtances were ſtated to me.

How many years is it ſince this tranſaction?

The gentleman who was owner of the Slave at the time has been dead five or ſix years—and, from the circumſtance of the captain having carried him from Grenada to Africa, I think the tranſaction muſt have happened previous to the capture of the Iſland, in 1779.

Is the ſituation of Free Negroes ordinarily more or leſs comfortable than that of Negro Slaves?

The comfort of a Free Negroe muſt depend on his degree of wealth, and ability to provide for himſelf and his family.—We have many in Grenada who have conſiderable properties, and live very well.—Others, I imagine, have only a bare ſubſiſtence, but I ſuppoſe,

I ſuppoſe, in general, their ſituation may be full as comfortable as that of a Slave.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 11° die Februarii 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Sir ASHTON ARNER BYAM.

Are not the droughts more frequent, and of longer continuance, in the Old ſettled Iſlands than in the Ceded Iſlands?

They are.

Have not therefore the planters in the Ceded Iſlands the means of more plentifully feeding their Slaves, than the planters in the Old Iſlands?

So far as relates to their proviſion ground they have.

Is not the reſtriction of admitting veſſels from North America with proviſions, the cauſe of a greater ſcarcity in the means of ſupplying the Negroes with their neceſſary food?

If ſuch reſtriction did not exiſt, no doubt there would be much more conſiderable quantities of ſuch proviſions as are uſed for feeding Negroes imported into the Iſlands.

Can you ſpeak with any preciſion as to the numher of Negroes generally employed as houſehold ſervants, by planters of the beſt credit in the Weſt Indies?

The number varies according to the ſtate of the planter's family, and according to his diſpoſition; ſo that I cannot ſpeak with preciſion to any number as a general one.

Do you think that a ſupernumerary number of ſuch Negroes are ever employed, merely as a mark of the proprietor's ſuperior ſtate and affluence?

I do not recollect any inſtance, where I ſhould have attributed the number of domeſtics to that motive; but it is a circumſtance very much lamented by us all; and yet, upon conſideration in my own

own particular inſtance, and ſome others, I never could diſcover that I could conveniently do without any one Slave employed in my ſervice—the true cauſe, I believe, of the greater number of ſervants employed in the Weſt Indies, is, that it is not eaſy to have a Negro ſervant who will turn his or her hand to ſuch variety of domeſtic purpoſes as good ſervants in England do.

Would any planter purchaſe a houſe Negro for the purpoſe of employing him in the cultivation of his plantation?

I believe not, if ſuch Negro had been any length of time employed as a houſe ſervant.

When a proprietor, either by choice or diſtreſs, is induced to part with a houſe Negro, is it not a prevailing cuſtom, to let ſuch houſe Negro try if he cannot find a new maſter for himſelf, rather than that his old maſter ſhould ſell him to any planter who would put him in the fields?

I have known that pretty generally practiſed, where the Negro is not ſold for any offence.

And is not that from a motive of humanity, that ſuch Negro might not be put to harder labour than he had been uſed to in the affairs of a family?

I conceive ſo.

Would you, or as you believe any planter, chuſe to purchaſe a houſe Negro, to convert him into a field Negro, if any others could be procured?

I certainly would not, and I believe every other planter would prefer buying new Slaves rather than houſe ſervants for field labour.

Do you know whether improvements have not been lately made in the mode of treating infants, by which the diſorder called the jaw-fall has become leſs frequent or leſs fatal than it uſed to be?

I have heard it as a ſubject of converſation occaſionally among medical gentlemen, but it has not come to my knowledge that any new mode has been adopted, though it is very poſſible it may have happened without falling under my obſervation.

Do you not apprehend that the work of holeing the land for the canes, and of dunging thoſe holes, is a labour which would be generally reckoned ſevere?

It is certainly the moſt laborious employment in the cultivation

of land; and if it was conſtantly continued through the year, I ſhould think it harder work than I ſhould wiſh to put Negroes to.

Are you ſufficiently acquainted with the detail of plantation labour to aſcertain the weight of thoſe baſkets of dung which the Negroes carry on thoſe occaſions?

The weight varies probably on different plantations, and muſt vary according to the ſtate of the dung uſed, ſuppoſing the ſame baſkets filled.—I cannot ſpeak with any certainty as to the number of pounds, but the weight is ſo little inconvenient to the Slaves, who carry that and all other burthens on the head, that it is a pretty general practice, as far as my obſervation has gone, for the Slaves to run or to go in a quick pace when they are carrying the dung.

Do you then mean to ſay, that the pace of Slaves, on thoſe occaſions, is regulated by their own diſcretion, and not by that of the overſeers or drivers?

I do not mean to ſay that the Slaves, if left to themſelves, would conſtantly uſe that pace; but conceive, that the practice would not prevail among the drivers, if it was found ſevere or unreaſonable.

Do you apprehend, that that ſpecies of labour is what the Negroes perform with as much willingneſs as their other common employments?

I never heard them complain of it, though I have no doubt, if they were aſked, they would prefer weeding of canes, or any other lighter work.

How long is the ſeaſon of crop-time uſually, on an average, ſuppoſed to laſt?

In the Ceded Iſlands, from the firſt of January to the end of May or beginning of June; after which, the heavy rains uſually fall, that would interfere with the making of ſugar; but in Antigua, the crop-ſeaſon may be conſidered as laſting two months later.

At what ſeaſon of the year is the land holed and dunged?

In the Ceded Iſlands, from the month of September to January, according as the planter's other work is more or leſs forward.

What portion of thoſe months is employed in the occupation of holeing and dunging?

In

In eſtates which rattoon for any length of time, the quantity of land to be opened is a ſmall proportion of the plantation; and I know few eſtates ſufficiently well handed to do the whole of their holeing work with their own ſlaves.—I ſhould ſuppoſe, to ſpeak generally, that the Negroes of an eſtate are ſeldom employed more than five or ſix weeks in holeing, and perhaps as long in diſtributing dung.

Do not White men, in the Weſt Indies, purſue the ſeveral occupations of plumbers, maſons, bricklayers, blackſmiths, and houſe-carpenters?

They do; and a number of Slaves are employed in the ſame occupations, under the directions of ſuch White perſons.

Is not the labour of ſuch White men as ſevere as the common occupations of the field Negroes?

On the whole, I think not ſo ſevere; but the great difference is, that the perſons employed in thoſe occupations are not ſo conſtantly expoſed to the intenſe heat of the ſun as the Negroes in the field are.

Does it not however continually happen that ſuch White men, from the neceſſary nature of their employment, are obliged to work expoſed to the ſun?

The White men, when ſo employed, do not continue ſo conſtantly at their work, as far as I have obſerved, but leave it occaſionally to the Negroes working under them.

Would any planter hire free Negroes to work with his field gang?

I ſuppoſe the planter would he very indifferent whether the perſons ſo hired were free or Slaves, ſuppoſing the hire ſuch as he thought reaſonable, but I never knew an inſtance of free Negroes being ſo employed; and unleſs it were to become frequent, I think I foreſee a good deal of inconvenience which would ariſe from mixing ſuch free hired perſons in any great number among Slaves.

Do you apprehend that the comfort of an apprentice in England depends as much on the temper of the perſon with whom he is bound, as the comfort of the Slave depends on the temper of his maſter?

I ſhould ſuppoſe not exactly in the ſame proportion.

When

When Negroes are hired by the year, at 10 per cent. on their valuation, does not the perſon ſo hiring maintain them?

He does.

What is the ſize of the baſkets of dung which the Negroes carry on their heads?

Thoſe I have uſually ſeen are open ſhallow baſkets, perhaps two feet or two and an half feet over on the top, ſhelving to the bottom, and of a depth, as far as I can conjecture, of ſeven or eight inches.

Does not the Negro prefer carrying a load on his head to wheeling a load in a barrow?

They appear to prefer that mode of carrying burthens to any other—they carry their pails of water for their own uſe in the ſame manner; and their loads of poultry and proviſions for the market are always carried on their heads.

Does not the planter uſe mules and carts for carrying out his dung?

He does—it is only the diſtribution of it into the holes that is neceſſarily performed in the manner above mentioned, as the uſe of mules or carts at that period would undo great part of the work performed, in turning up and holing the land.

Do not the maſons, plumbers, carpenters, and bricklayers, &c. employ Slaves under them to do the ſevereſt work?

I have not obſerved any rule of that ſort.

If the planter could have his work done by free Negroes, would he not prefer that mode to the maintaining a great number of women, children, old men, and invalids, that are upon all eſtates?

I ſhould preſume ſo.

Would it not be much cheaper for the planter to pay only for the work that would be done by free Negroes, if he could procure them, than by the preſent expenſive mode?

I ſhould think ſo, unleſs the rate of the free Negro's labour was very exorbitant.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, could the planter have any reſource, by ſending Slaves that are about his houſe into the field?

The number of houſe Slaves, though large for the purpoſe, is ſo inconſiderable, when taken as an addition to a working gang, and the houſe ſervants in general, after being ſuch for any length of time, are ſo unfit, and ſo unwilling to go to field labour, that I ſhould conſider ſuch a reſource as almoſt nothing.

Do not the houſe Slaves make all the clothing for the field Negroes?

That may be the caſe in other Iſlands, or on very large eſtates in ſome of the Iſlands with which I am acquainted, but the clothing moſt generally given to the field Negroes is ſent out ready-made from Great Britain, and ſuch other clothes of a finer ſort as they chuſe to uſe are either bought ready-made in the Iſland, or made up by themſelves, or ſuch other perſons as they employ.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, would the planter find a reſource from the plough to make amends for the want of importation?

Even if the plough could be more generally uſed (which I do not conceive it could to advantage) the great number of Slaves neceſſary for cutting canes, and for the various parts of the manufacture of Sugar and Rum, is ſuch, that I do not apprehend the uſe of that inſtrument would make any difference in the number of Slaves neceſſary to carry on a plantation.

Was there any poll tax on Slaves during the time of your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, and at what age did the tax commence?

The taxes in the different Iſlands are raiſed in different modes; and I do remember one or more inſtances of a general poll tax on Slaves, and when it did take place all Slaves of every age were included in it, though a contrary practice had prevailed during the French government.—A poll tax ſtill exiſts in Grenada, on houſe ſervants, Negro ſailors, tradeſmen, and others, not employed on eſtates, in order to make the proprietors of them contribute, as well as the planters, whoſe produce is taxed.—Such poll tax has been at various rates, from eighteen ſhillings currency per head to twelve or fourteen ſhillings; and I think, in the laſt year, ſome exception was made excluding Slaves under the age of ten or twelve, as well as I remember.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

GILBERT FRANCKLYN, Eſquire, was then called in; and examined by Members of the Committee*.

What, in a ſtock of Negroes, is the ordinary proportion of old, infant, and able working Negroes?

It is very various under different circumſtances—in a gang of Negroes upon an old eſtate, where the number of breeding women are as conſiderable as I conceive they ought to be, there will be much fewer able working Negroes than in a gang upon a new eſtate newly formed, as the generality of thoſe which the proprietor would purchaſe would be Negroes of both ſexes fit for immediate labour. I conceive, in general, ſo far as my experience has led me to conſider, that there cannot be more than from ſixty to ſeventy able Negroes in a gang of two hundred—but there are a further number who may be capable of doing lighter work to the number of twenty or thirty.—I believe, in general, ſuch a gang of Negroes that can turn ſeventy or eighty able Negroes into the field, excluſive of houſe ſervants, ſempſtreſſes, cooks, ſick nurſes, watchmen, tradeſmen, and others, who are not uſually ſent into the field, will be thought in very good condition, and a fine gang of Negroes.

Explain to the Committee your former anſwer, wherein you ſay, that one Negro at leaſt to every acre is required in the cultivation of a ſugar plantation?

In explanation of my former anſwer, reſpecting the number of Negroes neceſſary to cultivate a given number of acres, I do not mean that ſeventy or eighty Negroes (the able part of a gang of 200) are ſufficient to cultivate 200 acres to be cut for ſugar; but to a plantation wherein 200 acres are under culture in ſugar and proviſions, half-part of which ſugar land may be planted annually, as in ſome Iſlands where they do not rattoon, and in Iſlands where they do, ſuch as the Ceded Iſlands, where perhaps only a fourth or fifth part of the Sugar land is annually planted; and, in ſuch caſe, there ſtill exiſts a difference, on account of the nature of the ſoil, and the eaſe with which it may be wrought—in general, land that rattoons well may be cultivated with fewer Negroes conſiderably than land which muſt be planted annually.

What proportion of that 200 acres do you ſuppoſe to be allotted to the growing of proviſions?

When land is planted in canes, it is often cuſtomary to plant

* This Witneſs had been before examined by the Counſel for the Grenada, &c. Petition. Vide page 78.

corn

corn in the rows, which is gathered in while the canes are young —it is cuſtomary alſo to plant yams and eddoes in land intended for canes, preparatory to planting them, and yams particularly, being conſidered by ſome planters as an advantageous preparation for ground for the reception of the ſugar plant, like a crop of turnips in England, preparatory to ſowing the land with barley; there is not therefore any part of the 200 acres of which I ſpeak ſolely applied to the purpoſe of proviſions, but in which proviſions are occaſionally planted; and if the lands yield kindly, and 200 Negroes cultivate as much land as gives from 180 to 200 caſks of ſugar, of about twelve hundred weight (at the King's beam in England) the planter would think himſelf very well off— I ſpeak here of the Ceded Iſlands in general.

Where you were in the Weſt Indies, was it common to have rooms appropriated for the reception and accommodation of lying-in women?

In general I think not—very few inſtances of it occurring to my knowledge—the women in general being much averſe to lying-in any where but in their own houſes, and compelling them to go to any other place being conſidered as rather harſh —it was with great difficulty I perſuaded the women on my plantation, in that ſituation, to accept of the proviſion I had made for them of that ſort; but after they found the advantages thoſe whom I had prevailed on received, of ſuperior tenderneſs, cleanlineſs, and attention, and that the children did not die of the diſorders I have before mentioned, I no longer found any difficulty in perſuading them to come to thoſe rooms to lye in.

Are you at all particularly acquainted with the circumſtances of any other eſtates beſides Mr. Carliſle's, where the number of Negroes was kept up without purchaſing new ones?

I have known ſome few others—An eſtate of Sir William Young's, in Tobago, I believe, at a certain period exceeded conſiderably the number purchaſed; but afterwards they fell off, and I believe ſince have decreaſed—An eſtate of Mr. Blizzard's, in Antigua, I believe, likewiſe increaſed, owing to his having followed Mr. Carliſle's practice—it was from him I learned that hiſtory; and I endeavoured to follow the ſame maxim, but unfortunately without ſucceſs—I have known ſeveral eſtates which have ſome years been happy enough to have their Negroes increaſed; but very ſhortly after, from unfortunate epidemical diſorders, thoſe very eſtates have wanted a conſiderable ſupply to keep up even their number; but in eſtates where the number is kept up by the births, it muſt eaſily be conceived, that if ten children are

born,

born, and five able Negroes die, it will be many years before the labour of the Negroes dead can be ſupplied by that of thoſe who are born—the labour of the pregnant women and mothers muſt be leſſened in the proportion of near twenty-five per cent. and it will be neceſſary to replace thoſe able Negroes who are dead by purchaſing others in their room, as it will be eleven or twelve years before the ten children can ſupply the place of five able Negroes loſt.

Is the land in the Ceded Iſlands given to the Negroes for their own uſe, ſuch as is previouſly cleared, or whether they cleared it for themſelves?

When the Ceded Iſlands were firſt ſetled, particularly in Tobago, where I purchaſed, there was no land cleared, and therefore the proviſion ground appropriated to the Negroes muſt have previouſly been cleared by them—the Negroes always prefer new land for growing proviſions; and when they have had the ſame land in cultivation ſome few years, they requeſt that ſome new land may be given them, which they are very willing to clear themſelves, rather than continue to cultivate their former grounds—It was my practice, however, generally to aſſiſt them, by making the gang do the greateſt part of that labour, as part of the work of the plantation, particularly by felling the trees and lopping them, the burning them off, and clearing the land afterwards, requiring but an inconſiderable degree of labour, and performed in their own time, in the dry weather, when they can have very little elſe to do—this was the general cuſtom as far as I am acquainted with it—I was very little in the Iſland in the early period of its ſettlement.

You have ſtated, that in times of ſcarcity the maſter does not permit his Negroes to carry their proviſions off the plantation; who is to judge of the exiſtence of ſuch a degree of ſcarcity as ſhall render that regulation neceſſary?

Whenever ſuch ſcarcity exiſts, it is much more notorious in the colony than the knowledge which can be acquired in any kingdom of Europe of an apprehended ſcarcity of corn—the maſter conſults his overſeers and Negroes, and is ſurely the ſole and proper judge when to prohibit the exportation of his proviſions.

Are not runaway Negroes, or deſerters in general, ſeverely puniſhed?

Yes.

Have you not brought about conſiderable alterations and improvements

provements in the ſituation of the Negroes which have been under your care?

In the particular of lying-in women, on my own and the eſtates under my care, I think I have been rather ſucceſsful in preventing children being loſt by the diſorder called the jaw-fall—I do not know that I have been more ſucceſsful in other inſtances than the generality of my neighbours, who I have always obſerved to conſider the care of their Negroes, and making them happy and comfortable, as the principal object of their ſolicitude.

Did you not find that you had to ſtruggle with the prejudice and habits of the Negroes, in bringing about thoſe alterations which you wiſhed?

I believe not more difficulty in that reſpect than is uſual on all occaſions where the prejudices of uninformed people are to be overcome; and that Negroes, like other people, may be prevailed upon to ſubmit to the reaſoning and intreaties of thoſe whoſe judgment they have a good opinion of, and whom they think ſolicitous for their welfare.

Does not land that rattoons well require a leſs number of Slaves to cultivate it?

I have already anſwered that queſtion in the affirmative.

Will not the land which now rattoons well, on account of the freſhneſs and ſtrength of the ſoil, be ſo far exhauſted as to oblige the planter to ſtock up the roots, and re-plant it oftener?

Some land will rattoon longer than other, but undoubtedly land in common ought to be re-planted frequently.

Muſt not, therefore, the Ceded Iſlands at a future period require an additional number of Slaves to continue the cultivation of land already cultivated, without cultivating any new lands?

Moſt certainly.

Do not the Negroes prefer carrying burthens on their head to wheeling them in wheelbarrows?

When I firſt ſettled in Tobago, I ordered twenty-four barrows from New York— I could by no means induce the Negroes to uſe them; ſome of them actually put the dung in the wheelbarrows, and then put the wheelbarrows on their head to carry them out, but found them too heavy, and I was forced to ſuffer the

wheelbarrows to rot, and permit the Negroes to diſtribute the dung by baſkets in the uſual manner.

Was Tobago ſupplied with Slaves as uſual during the war; or was the ſupply totally, or to what degree, interrupted?

I am not competent to anſwer that queſtion, having been in England till the latter end of 1779.—I believe few Slaves were brought there after that time till the capture of the Iſland, and I do not recollect any after till the peace;—but I really cannot anſwer the queſtion with preciſion.

Was there, and what diminution in the number during the war?

I believe there was a conſiderable diminution.

Do you mean to ſay, when you mention it will be eleven or twelve years before the children born on the plantation would be fit to work, and ſupply the place of the deceaſed, that either yourſelf, or any other planter, as you have heard or believe, ever put a Negro of eleven or twelve years of age to dig cane-holes, or perform other laborious work upon a plantation uſually allotted to Slaves of full growth?

Surely no—my anſwer implies the direct contrary, becauſe I ſuppoſe that at that age the labour of ten ſuch children were not equal to the labour of five grown perſons; but employing thoſe ten children in lighter work, they might do as much in that lighter work as the five able ones might do in that which they would then be at liberty to attend to.

Suppoſing a child born upon the plantation to have met with no accident or particular diſeaſe that has hurt his conſtitution, at what age would ſuch child be put to the labour of digging cane-holes, and other hard work upon a plantation?

Much depends upon the formation and conſtitution of the perſon—ſome of them may be ſtouter and more able at fifteen than others at eighteen—young men are generally deſirous of being put into the holeing gang as ſoon as they feel themſelves ſtrong and able—I ſhould ſuppoſe in general from the ages of ſixteen to eighteen are the times they are willing and deſirous of being employed in the hardeſt work of the plantation.

Will it not therefore, in your judgment, require at leaſt ſixteen years to ſupply by births the loſs of an able field Negro?

Surely it will require that time before a young man can be ſuppoſed to acquire a tolerable degree of ſtrength to undergo the harder degrees

degrees of field labour, ſuch as digging cane-holes, turning dung, and diſtributing it into the fields—all which however the able Negroes ſeem to be more pleaſed with than the lighter works, which they conſider as the occupation of feeble women and children; and it is remarkable that thoſe are works which they generally perform ſinging all the time of their labour, a circumſtance peculiar to Negroes while at their work, and I conceive a proof of their not conſidering even that labour as ſevere.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Francklyn, and Sir Aſhton Warner Byam, be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 12th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witneſſes Examined,

Mr. FRANCKLYN,
Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM.

N° 2.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 19° *die Februarii* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Sabbati, 13° *die Februarii* 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Eſquire.

Of what country are you a native?
Of Scotland.

At what time did you go to the Weſt Indies, and to what iſland?
I went firſt to the Weſt Indies in 1754—was at Barbadoes, Saint Kitts, and Saint Euſtatia, where I remained three months—I went to Antigua in 1759 as a merchant, where I reſided two

years, but was concerned in a houſe of trade there for four years—In 1762 I went to Martinique, where I reſided near one year and an half—In 1763, upon the peace, ſeeing the proclamation from the King of Great Britain, inviting his ſubjects to come and ſettle in the New Ceded Iſlands; and ſetting forth that they ſhould enjoy the laws of Great Britain equal to what was done in the other Colonies, and that their properties and rights ſhould be ſecured to them; and ſuppoſing that I had the right of a Britiſh ſubject to manage and direct any purchaſe or property I ſhould inveſt in that country, I went to Grenada, and purchaſed two ſugar eſtates, with upwards of 300 Slaves, which coſt me upwards of £.40,000 ſterling—the eſtates not being then half ſettled or cleared—I ſince that time have purchaſed fourteen different properties in Grenada, the Grenadines, Saint Vincent, and Tobago; ſome of which were partly ſettled, with about 350 Slaves on them, and ſeveral others no ways ſettled or cleared, but which I have ſince, in part, ſettled and cleared—I cannot be exact as to the numbers, but I believe that I have purchaſed, ſince 1763, upwards of 1,200 new Negroes, which I have put upon my different properties—Since 1763 I have ſold five or ſix of the purchaſes I made, with about 450 Slaves—Since 1763, I have reſided about one half my time in Europe, and the other half in the Weſt Indies—I reſided in Grenada from the beginning of 1779 till June 1788—During the whole time of my being in the Weſt Indies I viſited the other Iſlands once a year—a great many of the Engliſh, and ſome of the French Iſlands.—From 1766 to this preſent moment, I have been in poſſeſſion of from 500 to near 1,000 Slaves, my own property—I have carried on cultivation in ſugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton—Since my firſt purchaſe, there have been regular journals kept on my eſtates, by which I could ſee the entries of deaths and births, and the work done—and while in Europe, journals were regularly ſent to me from all my eſtates.—I am now in poſſeſſion of upwards of 900 Slaves.

When did you laſt leave the Weſt Indies?
I left the Weſt Indies in June 1788.

In the purchaſes made of lands in the Ceded Iſlands, were the grants of thoſe lands according to the terms of the Proclamation?

All thoſe in Grenada and the Grenadines were purchaſes made from the proprietors—one in Tobago was bought at the King's ſale, ſubject to the terms ſtipulated in the grant, of clearing, which I took from my late partner, ſubject to the ſaid terms, and began the ſettlement—the other eſtate in Tobago I bought, but was ſubject to the ſame terms of the grant.

At

At the period of theſe ſeveral purchaſes, by what ſpecies of labour were lands cultivated, both in the Ceded Iſlands, and the other Weſt India Iſlands?

By Slaves.

Was it at that time the general opinion of all Weſt India Planters, that lands in the Weſt India Iſlands could be cultivated by no other means?

Any perſon who has been in the Weſt Indies, or knows the nature of the climate, muſt be of opinion that there is no poſſibility of cultivating the land by White perſons from any part of Europe, or the Weſt Indies; and that where manual labour is neceſſary, it cannot be done but by Negro Slaves.

Should the prohibition againſt importing Slaves from Africa take place, do you conceive it poſſible to keep up the preſent ſtock of Negroes, by Negroes born in the Country?

It is impoſſible.

Under theſe circumſtances, would you have become a purchaſer of lands in the Ceded Iſlands, if you could have conceived that the Legiſlature of this country would at any future period prohibit the importation of Negroes from Africa?

On no account.

Can you ſtate the quantity of land in any of the Ceded Iſlands uncultivated, and fit for cultivation?

In Grenada there has been no regular or accurate ſurvey, but from the map that has been given of the Iſland in the French time, it is ſaid to contain about 80,000 acres, but it is believed to be conſiderably more—there are from 8 to 10,000 acres of land in Grenada, ſome of which has been in ſugar, coffee, cocoa, and proviſions, but is abandoned for want of Negroes—and there is beſides as much land in Grenada, that has been granted but never cleared, which is fit for coffee, cocoa, and proviſions—I do not know how much land has been ſold in Saint Vincent's, but I believe that one half of the land ſold is not cultivated—I do not know the number of acres ſold at Dominique, but I have been often over great part of the iſland, and I do not believe one fourth of the land ſold is cultivated.

Is the land which you deſcribe as uncultivated, in Saint Vincent's and Dominique, fit for cultivation?

They are both very mountainous, and there may be ſpots in ſome

ſome of the lots that may be too ſteep for cultivation; but in general the whole of the land ſold is fit for the growth of ſome kind of Weſt India produce and proviſions.

What number of Slaves is, in your judgment, ſufficient to cultivate any given quantity of land in the Ceded Iſlands?

From my experience as a planter, any information that I could give, or that any planter can give, on that ſubject, without he ſaw the land, and knew it, would be only deceiving, and poſſibly give wrong information, as the labour depends on the quality of the land, the ſituation of it as to climate and other matters, for which reaſon it is impoſſible for me to give true information thereon.

Can you form any average proportion, from the lands with which you are acquainted?

I will mention four ſugar eſtates—my own property in Grenada, three of which are adjoining, and the other contiguous—The firſt eſtate, which is within a mile of the ſea, conſiſts of 320 acres, with 173 Slaves; and has for a great many years paſt made from 250 to 300 hogſheads of ſugar—this eſtate is ſtrong land, and which rattoons, ſo that there is little land to be holed yearly—commonly from twenty-four to thirty acres—the holing gang of Negroes are ſeldom employed above a month or five weeks in holing—the eſtates near the ſea are not ſo ſubject to weeds as eſtates nearer the mountains—On the eſtate adjoining, farther from the ſea, conſiſting of 450 acres of land, there is more cane land, and more canes are cut yearly, and though I have 180 Negroes, I do not make more than from 180 hogſheads to 200 hogſheads yearly.—The eſtate adjoining to that where I have 206 Negroes, and 460 acres of land, I do not make above 180 or 200 hogſheads—Theſe eſtates are adjoining, and at the beginning of a crop, a foot of cane on the lower eſtate will give as much ſugar as a foot and a half on the upper eſtate—I mention theſe matters to ſhew that there is no poſſibility of a perſon, who wiſhes to give an accurate account that the Legiſlature may go by, to ſay what number of Negroes are equal to work an acre—and I further add, that I can make three hogſheads a day, on the lower eſtate, with leſs Negro labour, fuel, and carriage, than I can manufacture two hogſheads on the upper eſtates.

Do you then conceive it to be impoſſible to eſtimate generally,

how many Negroes are neceſſary to produce a hogſhead of ſugar?

I cannot eſtimate that, for the reaſons above ſtated; becauſe I muſt firſt know the lands and their ſituation.

Can you eſtimate, from your knowledge and experience, whether the lands in the Ceded Iſlands are in general under, or overſtocked with Slaves?

In Grenada, I am certain, there are not three eſtates in the Iſland ſufficiently ſlaved; and that fully to ſlave the preſent lands cleared, and what are fit for cultivation, would at leaſt require 15,000 more Slaves.—I do not think Saint Vincent's, to cultivate all the lands fit for cultivation, is above one-half ſlaved, nor Dominique one-fourth ſlaved.

What is the eſtimated number of Slaves in each of the Iſlands mentioned?

I cannot ſay exactly; but, from ſeeing the reports from the different Iſlands, and what I know has been purchaſed ſince at Grenada, to the beſt of my belief, Grenada and its Iſlands contain 33 or 34,000—Saint Vincent 12,000—and Dominique 17,000.

Deſcribe the labour of a Field Negro, at the different periods of the year?

A gang of Negroes on a ſugar eſtate is compoſed of tradeſmen, ſuch as carpenters, maſons, coopers, blackſmiths, boilers, diſtillers, field Negroes, carters, mule boys, ſmall weeding gangs, and graſs gangs.—The crop of ſugar commonly begins from the 1ſt of January or February, and continues till the beginning of June or July, according as the eſtate is ſlaved.—If the eſtate is underhanded, they are obliged to begin ſoon in the ſeaſon; during that period, the coopers, and ſome of the tradeſmen, are obliged to work at their trade—Some of the other tradeſmen go to help to take off the crop.—In a gang of 180 or 200 Negroes, there are commonly fifty cutters and tyers—twenty or twenty-five carters and mule boys, according as the diſtance is from the work.—About the works, and ſupplying the mill, taking out the cane traſh, and ſpreading and drying it, there are ſeldom leſs than from thirty to forty employed;—boilers, diſtillers, and other people about the works from fifteen to twenty;—watchmen and ſtock-keepers about fifteen.—The young Negroes from twelve to fifteen years of age are employed in weeding the young canes.—Children from ten to twelve pick graſs, the reſt are ſuperannuated, on the ſick liſt, or children not fit for work.—When the crop is

 finiſhed,

finiſhed, the Negroes in Grenada have commonly two or three days given them to clear and put in order their gardens.—After that they all go to weeding the rattoons and plants, and continue at that labour till about the middle of Auguſt, when many of the ſtrongeſt of the gang (commonly about forty, more or leſs according to their ſtrength) go to holing the land neceſſary for the following crop;—the reſt of the Negroes continue weeding.—When the land is holed, and the dung is carried out on the grounds by carts and mules, they carry the dung from the heaps in the field, and put it into the different holes.—When the land is dunged, the Field Negroes of the gang plant it;—this, with the making of dung, repairing the roads, and clearing the proviſion grounds belonging to the eſtate, occupy the time of the field gang from the time of their finiſhing the crop till they begin the next crop.

At what time of the day does the labour of a Field Negro begin, how late does it continue, and what hours are the intervals of reſt?

They are commonly in the field about ſun-riſe (which never differs above half an hour from ſix o'clock) and never earlier, and continue till ſun-ſet.—In Grenada, and I believe in the other Ceded Iſlands, we gave three quarters of an hour, ſometimes an hour, for breakfaſt, and from twelve o'clock to two for dinner.

What is the ſeaſon of the greateſt labour to a Field Slave?

A Field Negro is the ſame time at labour at crop time as out of crop time.—But in Grenada, and the other Ceded Iſlands, we keep about the works and the boiling of ſugar the whole night; from which circumſtance, we commonly divide our gang into three ſpells of boilers, people to attend the mill, firemen, and to carry out cane traſh—this work requires the labour of from twenty to thirty Slaves, according to the number of coppers that are boiling—theſe ſpells are changed at midnight, ſo that it only comes on every third night that they loſe their reſt of ſix hours; and when eſtates are fully ſlaved, there are often four ſpells.

Is the crop time therefore, in your judgment, the ſeaſon of hardeſt labour?

The cutting of canes is not very hard labour—the tying them is very eaſy labour—the feeding the mill, and the work done by the firemen, are the moſt laborious—all the reſt of the work

is very eaſy, and, on the whole, I think the crop time is what the Negroes like the beſt, and continue more healthy in; and I never knew them to complain of the work at that time—the mill gang are commonly ſinging the whole night.

Though the labour employed in different parts of collecting the crop is not hard of itſelf, yet is not the labour of crop time, conſidering its continuance during part of the night, more hard than the ordinary daily work of a Field Negro at other periods of the year?

Moſt certainly it is, as one-half of their time at other ſeaſons is only weeding, which a boy from twelve to fifteen, having a light hoe, can do as well as they—during the other half of the ſeaſon, out of crop time, they are employed in holing, dunging, planting, and the other works which I have mentioned before—all of which are eaſy works; the holing of land being the moſt ſevere.

Deſcribe the manner in which the dung is carried, the ſize of the baſket, and the weight carried?

While the land is dunging, we divide our gang commonly into two parts—in Grenada we commonly give but half a baſket of dung to a hole, where the land is rich or in good heart, and a baſket where the land is poor—the baſkets for the Negroes are made out of crop time by ſome Negroes appointed for that purpoſe—they are made of two ſizes—that for the ſtrong gang commonly holds about 30 pounds weight, and that for the weakly and younger Negroes about 15 pounds weight—the baſkets are made of twigs, and weigh about a pound weight, and are about 18 or 20 inches acroſs—the Negroes come together to the heap, fill their baſkets, and go in a row, and put the half or the whole of the contents of the baſket into a hole, as the manager thinks requiſite for the land; and in the ſame way the ſmall gang go by themſelves, headed by their own driver, and put the dung into the hole—the drivers walk always with the gang to the heap, in order to ſee they put the dung in the hole, but ſome put more and ſome leſs into their baſkets.

Is the weight of a loaded baſket ſuch, that the Negro carrying it appears to be oppreſſed, or does he appear to carry it with eaſe?

It is impoſſible for any Field Negro, man or woman, in health, feeling the weight of 25 or 30 pounds, to think it laborious—the dung in Grenada, and other Iſlands, where carts, or mules, with baſkets

baſkets can go, is carried into the field by ſuch carts or mules, and the Negroes ſeldom have above 200 yards at the moſt to carry and diſtribute it in the holes.

Are carts or mules, with baſkets, uſed in all caſes, for the purpoſe of carrying out dung, as far as they can be?

From what I have ſeen in Grenada, and the other Iſlands, carts and mules, where they could be uſed, have been univerſally ſo uſed.

Is there at the time of holing (which is ſtated as a harder ſpecies of labour) a more eſpecial attention paid to the health of the gang, and an additional allowance of proviſions?

In Grenada we gave no proviſion to a healthy Slave (except herrings or ſalt fiſh) without their own proviſion ground ſhould fail them, and in that caſe we gave no more allowance at any one time than at another—We often give them while holing, twice a day, weak grog—I do not conſider holing to be ſo laborious as to occaſion any ſickneſs or diſorder to the Negroes, nor did I ever know them complain of the hardneſs of that work—— they ſeem to be fond of it, and commonly ſing while employed—I know ſeveral taſk gangs, who, from one end of the year to the other, are employed in holing land by taſk work, and continue equally healthy in that employment with Negroes employed in the other works of an eſtate.—Nor do I think holing ſo laborious as mowing, ſhearing, ditching, or ſeveral other works done in this country.

Conſidering the whole labour of a Field Negro, ordinary and extraordinary, is it, in your opinion, more, or leſs, hard than that of a common labourer in thoſe parts of Europe with which you are acquainted?

Much eaſier than the common labour of this country.

How are Negroes fed?

Negroes are fed differently on different iſlands—In Grenada, where the eſtates are large, and have a great deal of new ground, it has univerſally been the cuſtom to allot ſo much land to each Negro for himſelf, his wife, and his children, as was thought ſufficient to maintain them, and to diſpoſe of the ſurplus for their own private benefit; and, as it has been univerſally conſidered the greateſt benefit to a planter that his Negroes ſhould have a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and the more money the Negroes got for themſelves, the more attached they were to the property, it has been

been the cuſtom to give them as much land as they could work —The cuſtom was to give them one afternoon in the week, from the finiſhing of crop till the beginning of crop again, to work in their grounds—The manager, or overſeer, went to the grounds, and called the liſt, to ſee if they were in their grounds, and again called the liſt in the evening—beſides this, it was the univerſal cuſtom on Sunday morning, at about Nine o'clock, for the manager or overſeer to go into the grounds, call over liſt, and ſee who were in their grounds; as it was generally the orders of the owner or manager for the Negroes to go to their grounds, except ſuch as had paſſports from the owner or manager of the eſtate to go to market to ſell their proviſions, or to go to church, or ſee their countrymen—and I never knew any Negro who came to aſk leave to be abſent from the eſtate, when there was occaſion for it, refuſed.—The manager went ſometimes over the Negro grounds, and the overſeers went twice a week, in order to judge of the ſtate of the Negro gardens; and when they found ſome gardens were not properly taken care of, or that there was not ſufficient food for the Negroes, they always gave ſuch Negroes an allowance, and very often gave them further time to get their gardens in order—Theſe were the cuſtoms in Grenada; and if any owner of an eſtate did not give ſufficient and proper grounds to his Negroes, it would be the means of their ſtealing and robbing the proviſion grounds of their neighbours, and it might occaſion a revolt among the Negroes; and it becomes of the greateſt conſequence to the inhabitants of the Iſland, that all the Negroes are properly ſupported.—As ſome people were not ſo attentive to their intereſt as others, I think, in 1766, the Legiſlature of Grenada paſſed a law, by which the juſtices, at the general ſeſſions of oyer and terminer, were directed to appoint inſpectors in each pariſh, to examine into the ſtate of the Negro grounds; and ſuch inſpectors were to fine ſuch as were deficient.—In 1788 the Legiſlature of Grenada paſſed another act, which is to be ſeen in the Report of the Privy Council, by which the owner of each Slave is obliged to appropriate ſo much land to the uſe of every Slave as is ſufficient to maintain him; which land he cannot take from him, or change, without the approbation of the guardians, who are appointed in each pariſh, to ſee if the Slaves have ſufficient ground; and if the guardians conſent to the change of grounds, the new ground muſt be planted a twelvemonth before the old is given up; and the owner is obliged by law to allow them half a day in a week to work in the ground, till the beginning of the next crop—What proviſions they raiſe more than ſufficient for their own and family's ſupport, they have a right

to ſell for the higheſt price they can get, and to whom they pleaſe.—They have the liberty of raiſing poultry and hogs, which they ſell wherever they can get the beſt price for them.

What are the proviſions which they raiſe for their own uſe, or for ſale?

At Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands, plantanes and fig bananas, (which are a favourite and good food), caſſada, yams of two kinds, couch couch, taniers, potatoes, Indian corn, Guinea corn, black-eyed peas, calavances, Lima beans, French beans, pidgeon peas, and various other ſorts of peas and beans.—They have likewiſe cabbages, ſhalots, onions, garlic, and other vegetables.—They have alſo pine-apples, water-melons and muſk-melons, and different ſorts of pepper. Every one of theſe ſpecies of proviſions the Negroes have in their grounds at ſome one or other ſeaſon of the year. I would wiſh to add, that in cultivating theſe proviſions, very little labour is uſed in the planting, and they only require from two to three weedings when the ground is covered, ſo that no further labour is requiſite till they are gathered. The children from twelve to ſixteen years old, will do equal work with their parents in weeding. In Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands, plantanes, caſſada, yams, and taniers, are the principal food that Negroes cultivate for their ſupport. The manner of cultivating the plantane-tree, is to dig a hole about two feet long, ſix or eight inches broad, and ſix inches deep, in which a plant is put, and which plant will require three or four weedings; when the plant throws out three ſuckers, which cover the ground, ſo that weeds do not grow under them; and, in twelve months, each ſucker bears a bunch of fruit. If the land is good, the bunch is larger, and one bunch and a half, or two bunches, are ſufficient for the ſupport of one Negro for a week; ſo that each plant having three ſhoots, is ſufficient for a fortnight's maintenance for one Negro. When the fruit is taken off, the tree is cut down even with the ground, and ſprings up freſh ſhoots, which bears again the following year; and no cultivation is required but the weeding. The tree commonly, in good land, and in ſeaſonable weather, grows from twenty to thirty feet in height. The other ſorts of proviſions before mentioned likewiſe cover the grounds in a few months, and only require weeding. The Negroes need not work one half of the time allowed them in their gardens; and, as the rains do not ſet in before May or June, before which time they cannot plant, they have no occaſion to work in their grounds, but out of crop-time.

Though

Though there is no allowance of ſuch proviſions as are the produce of the land to ſuch Negroes to whom lands are allotted in Grenada, is there not an allowance of ſalt meat?

There certainly is.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 15° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded in their examination.

Mr. CAMPBELL.

Is any allowance of ſalt proviſions given in the Ceded Iſlands to the Negroes, and how much?

In Grenada it is cuſtomary to give the Negroes once a week an allowance of from eight to twelve herrings, according to the ſize of the herrings, or ſalt fiſh in proportion; and for the children and infants one half of that allowance is given to their parents—the Negroes likewiſe have beef or pork given to them at Chriſtmas.

Is it cuſtomary to have land planted in Negro proviſions, excluſive of what is allotted for Negro gardens?

In Grenada, and in the Ceded Iſlands, it is cuſtomary—and in Grenada it is fixed by a law, that a certain quantity of land ſhould be planted in proviſions, and cultivated by the gang of the eſtate, to ſupply proviſions for the Hoſpital, and for Negroes who from indolence neglect their grounds, or who, from caſualties, have not proviſions ſufficient to maintain them in their own grounds—and there are guardians appointed in each pariſh, whoſe duty it is, as ſet forth by the Act of the Legiſlature of Grenada, to viſit and inſpect the proviſion grounds; and in caſe there is want of proviſions in theſe grounds ſufficient to ſupply the ſick Negroes, or thoſe who have not a ſufficiency of proviſions in their own grounds, it is cuſtomary for the maſters of ſuch Negroes to buy proviſions for them.

How are new Negroes fed and taken care of when they firſt come upon the eſtate?

When new Negroes are purchaſed, they are cloathed and diſtributed

tributed in the houſes of the principal Negroes of the eſtate, and are regularly fed with proper food three times a day, which is regularly ſerved to them—this is commonly done for a twelvemonth after they are firſt purchaſed, and longer, till they have a ſufficiency of proviſions in their own grounds, and till they are accuſtomed to the ways and manners of the other Negroes, and able to provide for themſelves.—It is cuſtomary, on their arrival on the eſtate, to have grounds allotted them; and their firſt work is to plant and cultivate theſe grounds; and they are allowed, at different times, days to keep the grounds clean from weeds; and they generally are allowed to ſell the firſt proviſions produced on their grounds, in order to attach them to the eſtate, and encourage them to cultivate their grounds—the having property which they call their own, makes them happy, and gives them a better idea of their ſituation—it is likewiſe very common for their maſters to give them poultry, to encourage them to rear them—this has been my own, and the general practice.

Is the land allotted to each family ſufficient to maintain it?

In Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands the land allotted is not only fully ſufficient, but in general the Negroes diſpoſe of proviſions, poultry, and hogs—that every Slave who makes proper uſe of the time allowed him to cultivate his grounds, may ſell produce to the amount of from £. 7 to £. 15 ſterling yearly, more than ſufficient to maintain him; and ſome Negroes that have good land, and are induſtrious, often ſell from £. 30 to £. 40 ſterling —Negroes and Slaves having children (land being allowed them for their children) their proportion amounts to more than that of ſingle Slaves; and I believe in all the Ceded Iſlands, that one-half of the current ſpecie is the property of the Negroes.

What uſe do the Negroes make of the money ſo acquired?

Negroes are naturally fond of gaiety and dreſs; and though they are allowed ſufficient cloathing from their maſters (which they wear on working days), on Sundays going to church, to market, or to viſit their countrymen, they wear fine cloaths, which they purchaſe themſelves—it is very common, in Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands, to ſee the Negroes dreſſed in white dimity jackets and breeches, and fine Holland ſhirts, and the women in muſlins—and it is very common to ſee the Negro women wear four or five India muſlin handkerchiefs on their heads, which coſt from eight to ten ſhillings each—and this is common among the Field Negroes—They are likewiſe fond of giving entertainments to their friends and countrymen—I have often ſeen Slaves

give feaſts to 100 or 200 other Slaves, when they have had every rarity, and wines, and which I could not have given for £. 60 ſterling—and they very often borrow their maſters plate and linen to entertain their friends—theſe feaſts are very frequent amongſt the Slaves—When large hogs are killed by the Negroes on the plantations, it is cuſtomary to ſell them to the other Negroes, in ſuch ſmall quantities as they want.

How are the Negroes lodged in the Ceded Iſlands?

Every Negro who has a family, or any ſingle Negro, who are deſirous of having a houſe, are aſſiſted by their maſter to build a houſe—the houſes are commonly from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen feet broad, divided into three parts—the ſides and tops are covered with wild cane, and thatched over with cane-tops—they are warm, dry, and comfortable, more ſo than if covered with boards, and are eſteemed more healthy—and at one end of the houſe, on the outſide, each Negro has a hog pen, and at the other end of the houſe they have a conveniency for their poultry.

Is there a ſufficient number of well-informed experienced medical men in the Weſt Indies?

I know no country where there are more able medical men, according to the ſize of the country, and its inhabitants, than in the Weſt Indies—in Grenada there are about forty eminent and experienced medical gentlemen.

What is allowed to the doctor for each Negro?

At Grenada the doctor is allowed 7s. 6d. currency for each Slave, young and old—He is beſides paid for every fracture, or other ſurgical operation, which he performs, and 20s. currency per head for inoculation.

How are the Negroes treated when ſick?

When a Negro feels himſelf indiſpoſed, he comes to the proprietor or manager of the eſtate, and informs him that he is indiſpoſed—He is immediately ſent into the hoſpital, where there are always two nurſes, who conſtantly attend the ſick, to give them phyſic, nurſe them, and to ſee that they are regularly fed with proper proviſions and nouriſhment—the doctor, if not reſiding on the eſtate, always viſits the hoſpital three times a week, and as many times more as is neceſſary—and the owner or manager, with the chief nurſe of the hoſpital (who has been accuſtomed to attend the ſick), examine all the Negroes in the hoſpital every morning—

The hoſpitals are convenient and proper for the ſick, with different diviſions—there is an hoſpital upon every eſtate, which is obliged to be kept in good order and repair by a law of the iſland—Wine, and every thing that is requiſite, is generally found for the ſick—I believe the hoſpitals in general, on the plantations at Grenada, are as well attended to as the hoſpitals in this country—if the leaſt ſore appears on the leg of a Negro, not ſo large as a ſixpence, without having any other ailment, it is cuſtomary to lay up that Negro in the hoſpital, as it is difficult to cure ſores without confinement; and the Negroes are regularly fed by their maſters while in the hoſpital—it is very cuſtomary for Negroes to come into the hoſpital who have no apparent complaint, but that of a dry ſkin, and they are allowed to remain a day or two in the hoſpital, without their complaint being known.

What is the general character of the managers and overſeers in the Weſt Indies?

On an eſtate in the Weſt Indies, conſiſting of 3 or 400 acres of land, with Slaves and ſtock ſufficient to cultivate it, and which may be eſtimated at 30 or 40,000l. ſterling, the manager of ſuch an eſtate would be required to be a man of ſenſe, humanity, and good conduct—He is not only to ſtudy the temper of each Slave, but he muſt be acquainted with the care of the ſtock and the culture of the land, ſo that it requires a man of the firſt abilities to direct an eſtate in the Weſt Indies, and it is for the intereſt of the proprietor to get ſuch a perſon—He takes every pains to procure proper perſons to direct his property—Every planter knowing that the principal management of an eſtate is to have the Negroes in good heart, and taken care of, the firſt principle they look to is humanity in the manager, and, without having ſuch a character, no planter would employ even his brother—The allowance given to managers, in Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands, is commonly from 150l. to 300l. ſterling, which, with the proviſions and ſtock, and other allowances given them, which they can raiſe upon the eſtate, is ſufficient to enable them to live comfortably and happily, and to ſave the greateſt part of their wages—and, if their conduct is humane and proper, they are generally as much reſpected as the proprietor of the eſtate, and very frequently become proprietors themſelves—that it is only men of ſome education and ability that are fit for ſuch employments, and they are very often ſons of gentlemen from this country, Scotland, and Ireland, who go out from this country as overſeers, and by their good conduct, after having experienced the management of Slaves, and manufacturing the produce of the grounds, they become managers.

What

What are the offences for which Negroes are generally puniſhed by their maſter or the manager?

Negroes in general are ſubject to thieving, and are fond of ſtrong liquors; and a number of ill-diſpoſed Negroes, coming from the coaſt of Africa, are often guilty of breaking open the ſtores, the rum cellars, ſtealing proviſions from their maſters, or from each other, quarrelling and wounding each other, and running away from the eſtate; theſe are the general cauſes for which maſters puniſh their Slaves.—All the eſtates are obliged to keep guards on the Negro proviſion gardens, and to guard the cattle pens, ſtorehouſes, and rum cellars.

Can the maſter, or manager, inflict what puniſhment he pleaſes, or is he limited?

In Grenada, by the law of the iſland, proprietors or managers cannot order any puniſhment to be given to any Slave which exceeds thirty-nine laſhes, for any one crime, and that muſt be on the breech—nor can any overſeer order a puniſhment of more than twelve laſhes.

Is the puniſhment which, in fact, is inflicted, generally ſevere, or is it ſlight?

In compariſon with the puniſhment of fifty laſhes given to a ſoldier in this country for ſmall crimes, it is not ſo ſevere—and, being given on the breech, it is ſoon cured; and proprietors and managers of eſtates often forgive great crimes to a Negro who has not been puniſhed before, becauſe, after they have been flogged ſeveral times, they conſider it as little puniſhment; and good Negroes, and thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to be whipped, feel the diſgrace more than the whipping—and whippings are more frequent on ſome eſtates than on others.

Is not the puniſhment in general only a few laſhes, and does it not but ſeldom exceed a few laſhes?

Proprietors or managers of eſtates ſeldom or ever puniſh for ſmall crimes; but they find it requiſite at times to puniſh, but not too ſeverely—it is for the intereſt of the proprietor not to puniſh ſo ſeverely as to keep the Negro from going to work—nor did I ever ſee a puniſhment given which I could call very ſevere, or more than the Negro could bear.

Are the overſeers allowed to puniſh, or order puniſhment, to the Negroes?

No overſeer is allowed to puniſh a Slave himſelf; nor can he,

by a law in the iſland, order more than twelve laſhes to be given to a Slave.

In your viſits among the iſlands, did you obſerve any oppreſſions or ill treatment of the Negroes?

In the Weſt Indies, like every other country, there are ſome men who are more indulgent to their Negroes than others; but I never, that I remember, ſaw any ill treatment or cruelties exerciſed on the Negroes, although I have heard of ſome proprietors being more ſevere than others.

Did you obſerve in the iſlands any beggars, or other miſerable objects, ſuch as are frequently ſeen in the ſtreets in this country, and other parts of Europe?

During the ten years, from 1779 to 1788, that I was in the Weſt Indies, I never ſaw any beggar, or object of miſery, except at Barbadoes, where I ſaw a great many White beggars and miſerable objects—ſome of them ſerving Free Negroes and Slaves, who pay a certain weekly allowance to their maſter for their time.

In your viſits to the French iſlands, have you obſerved whether the French treat their Negroes better than the Engliſh do?

The remarks that I made were, that the French Domeſtic Negroes are very often made the companions of their maſters and their miſtreſſes—and many of them are the Mulatto children of the maſters—In general, their domeſtics are better treated than the domeſtics in the Engliſh iſlands; but they do not cloath or feed their Field Negroes ſo well as the Engliſh feed their Negroes; and they generally make their Field Negroes work more, and are more ſevere in their puniſhments.

Do the French Negroes appear to be better diſpoſed, in general, than the Engliſh Negroes?

I think they are conſiderably ſo—they are not ſo given to thieving—almoſt all the Negroes being Chriſtians, and are more enlightened, and have more proper ideas between right and wrong—Generally every evening, out of crop time, the Negroes meet of their own accord, after throwing graſs, at prayers, and to ſing hymns; which ſervice of prayers is always performed by one of themſelves, and ſeemingly with a fervency and devotion equal to that ſhewn in the ſervice in the churches of this country.

Are

Are the French Negroes, of which you ſpeak, Roman Catholics?

I believe all in the French Iſlands are.

You have ſtated that you purchaſed 1200 African Negroes to put on your eſtates, What ſtate did they appear to be in?

All the new Negroes that I ever purchaſed ſeemed to me to be in an unenlightened and ſavage ſtate—the Gold Coaſt Negroes ſeemed more tractable, and better acquainted with the nature of ſome ſort of work.

Did you obſerve any ſymptoms of diſcontent or unhappineſs among them when they were purchaſed, or upon their firſt coming to the plantation to which they were deſtined?

When they were expoſed to ſale they in general wiſhed to ſhew themſelves off to be purchaſed, and after being examined, ſeemed to be diſappointed if they were not taken by the perſon who looked at them—when cloathed and gone to the plantations, and meeting with their countrymen, who they ſaw cloathed and enjoying comforts, they ſeemed very happy and remarkably cheerful—nor did I once, to the beſt of my knowledge, ſee one who ſeemed to be diſcontented at his lot in coming to the eſtate.

Have you ever endeavoured to diſcover whether any of them wiſhed to return to Africa?

I have often aſked that queſtion of ſome of the Negroes which I have purchaſed, and their common anſwer was, "No, Maſter, me "know better"—nor did I ever know one of them who expreſſed a wiſh to return—they in general wiſhed to be thought not African Negroes, and it is a common expreſſion among them, when they quarrel "You are a Salt Water Negro," which is as much as to ſay, You are a ſavage.

Are there many Chriſtians among the Negroes in Grenada and the Ceded Iſlands?

In Grenada all the Creoles, and the greateſt part of the new Negroes which have been imported, are Chriſtians, it being common for new Negroes, two or three years after their arrival, to be chriſtened. In all the eſtates which I viſited in Grenada, the Negroes aſſembled every evening, out of crop-time, after throwing graſs; and on every Sunday evening, in crop-time; when they went through the ceremony of prayer with ſeeming fervency and devotion, and ſung hymns more divinely than is common in this

country in the ſervice of cathedrals. They often read the ſervice over their dead, and are deſirous to bury them in the churches. They often attend the churches, ſometimes the Engliſh and ſometimes the Roman Catholic churches. The clergy at Grenada are obliged, by law, to chriſten the Negroes without any fee, and a certain number of times in a year to viſit each eſtate, and inſtruct the Negroes in religious principles. I believe the Negroes in the other Ceded Iſlands are equally religious, although there is no law of the Iſlands to oblige the clergy to chriſten them without fee, or to viſit the eſtates.

Are any of them Chriſtians at the time when they are firſt imported from Africa, or did you ever know a ſingle inſtance of it?

Not that I know of.

Are you acquainted with the Caribs of Saint Vincent's; deſcribe them, their mode of living, and their conduct?

I ſettled an eſtate, and had Negroes, for two years, adjoining the Carib country. I have often ſeen them at Saint Vincent's, and I have an iſland within five leagues of Saint Vincent's, where they often come to fiſh—I have often ſeen them at that iſland—They are in poſſeſſion of the beſt and richeſt part of land at Saint Vincent's, where there are ſpots here and there near their houſes cleared; and which land is put in plantanes and caſſada by the women. The men, when there is want of food, employ their time in fiſhing and looking for crabs; at other times they are quite idle, and go amongſt the ſmall Iſlands in the Grenadines in ſearch of fiſh, birds, and eggs. They generally go naked, except a rag tied round their waiſt to cover their nakedneſs, and live in the ſame ſavage ſtate as they did on the coaſt of Africa. They generally ſpeak French, and there have always been French miſſionaries among them, till the Iſland was ceded to Great Britain; but they have never been able to make Chriſtians of them. The women ſometimes raiſe a little tobacco, and the men make baſkets, which they ſell among the neighbouring Iſlands for liquors. I have often known my own Negroes feed them, as thinking them objects that required it. My own Negro Slaves conſidered themſelves much happier, and the Caribs as beneath them, although they came originally from Africa.

Are the Caribs free?

Yes—and conſidered ſo by this country, which has entered into

into treaty with them, and confirmed the poſſeſſion of their lands.

Have the Caribs, though the owners of the beſt part of Saint Vincent's, cultivated any part of their poſſeſſions, except thoſe ſmall ſpots deſcribed?

I believe not, nor do the men ever work in the field.

Can you form any judgment of the ſtate of population amongſt the Caribs?

There had been no returns made of their numbers when we entered into treaty with them—nor is it known what their numbers conſiſted of; but at the time of the treaty it was ſuppoſed, and generally ſaid, they were about 800 men fit to bear arms; it is now generally believed, they are not ſo ſtrong, and that they have decreaſed; but I believe there is no perſon who can give an exact account of their numbers then or at preſent.

Do you not conceive, that, before the ceſſion of Saint Vincent by the treaty of Paris, their numbers were kept up by the acceſſion of runaway Negroes from the other Iſlands?

The Iſland of Saint Vincent being contiguous to the Iſlands of Martinique, Saint Lucia, Barbadoes, and Grenada, the Negroes could come in ſmall open canoes from theſe Iſlands.—I believe it was the receptacle for runaway Slaves, and their numbers greatly increaſed by them; and it is clear that they intermarry with the yellow Caribs at Saint Vincent's, from the difference of their hair and complexions from thoſe which come directly from Africa.

Are you acquainted with the ſtate of the yellow Caribs in Trinidada? deſcribe them, and their mode of living.

I viſited Trinidada in 1787.—I went between twenty and thirty miles into the country.—In my way I paſſed, at different times, between fifty and ſixty of the yellow Caribs, in different parties of men and women, ſome of whom had their children on their backs carried in baſkets or cradles.—The women and children were naked, excepting rags about their waiſts.—They ſeemed in a perfect ſavage ſtate; and I underſtood from the Governor, that there was a great number of them in different parts of the Iſland, who were in poſſeſſion of a great many parcels of land (generally of the richeſt land) but not cultivated.—A few plantane trees and orange trees were planted near their houſes or villages.—Their huts were only temporary, ſuch as they could build

build in a day, as they often changed their grounds in ſearch of fiſh and prog.—I underſtood from their Governor, and other inhabitants of Trinadada, that it was one of the firſt ſettlements of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies; and though they have had, ſince the firſt ſettlement, Spaniſh prieſts amongſt them, and though the Spaniards are zealous and bigots to their religion, always taking uncommon pains to make converts, they have never been able to convert them to Chriſtianity.—I believe they are at this day in the ſame ſavage ſtate as they were at the firſt ſettlement of the Iſland.

Are they a free people?
They are.

Are you acquainted with the ſtate of Free Negroes and Mulattoes in the ſeveral iſlands where you have reſided?
Yes.

Deſcribe their mode of life, and the manner they ſupport themſelves.
The principal part of theſe Free Negroes have been formerly Slaves, and have been made free by their maſters, as being favorites, or as a reward for their ſervices—I have known many of them, who wiſhed for their freedom, afterwards repent of their being made free, as they found it difficult to maintain themſelves ſo well as they were maintained before; and if they were taken ſick they were very often in want of neceſſary comforts equal to what they had before—The women commonly take to huxtering in the towns, and very often received ſtolen goods from the Slaves—Some of the men, who are tradeſmen, have followed their occupation till they could purchaſe a Negro, and then left off working themſelves—Some of them lived idle upon the gains of Negro Wenches—I never knew a Free Negro, in any of the iſlands, work in the field at daily labour, nor do I believe ſuch Negro would hire himſelf to work in the field for any wages—Their general idea of liberty ſeems to be, not to be obliged to work.

Have you ever known White people to work in the fields, in the Weſt Indies?
The ſun in the Weſt Indies is ſo intenſely hot, that very few European conſtitutions can bear it, without being ſubject to diſeaſes; and it is commonly the healthieſt and ſtouteſt young perſons that are moſt ſubject to diſeaſes in a warm country—it has

has been found by experience, that ſoldiers and ſailors expoſed to the ſun are liable to diſeaſes; and it is cuſtomary for the regiments in the Weſt Indies to exerciſe before the ſun riſes; and we often give umbrellas to the overſeers, to defend them from the ſun and the rain—It is not therefore poſſible for any European conſtitution to ſtand any kind of field labour.

Do ſuch tradeſmen or artificers, who are White men, work in the open air, or within doors and under ſhed?

White tradeſmen in the Weſt Indies ſeldom work themſelves, in doors or out of doors—there are Negro tradeſmen of every deſcription on the eſtates, whom the White tradeſmen direct, but the Negroes lay out the work—the White tradeſmen do the light and nice jobs themſelves, and ſeldom do the heavy or fatiguing work.

Is it poſſible, in your judgment, to cultivate land in the Weſt India iſlands by Europeans?

Quite impoſſible.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 16° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination.

Mr. CAMPBELL.

Have you reſided in North America, and are you acquainted with the free Indians there?

I reſided in North America, from 1753 to 1759 (except in an excurſion which I made to the Weſt Indies of about four months, and a reſidence of a twelvemonth in Great Britain)—during the time I was in North America, I ſaw ſome Indians that were ſettled on the Eaſtern ſhore of Virginia, and who had poſſeſſion of lands there; and though I believe no other Indians had come to that part of the country for fifty years before, as it was the land neareſt the ſea, and firſt ſettled by Europeans, and though there was not then above thirty of theſe Indians ſettled in the well-in-

habited country, they ſtill followed their cuſtoms and manners, and were then in a ſavage ſtate.—I reſided in North Carolina in 1758 and 1759, where ſeveral tribes of Indians had lands in the midſt of a well-inhabited country, and were for a great many years at a great diſtance from the other nations of Indians, yet they were ſtill in a ſavage ſtate—the men never work in the fields, only hunt and fiſh, the women doing all the labour of raiſing corn for their ſubſiſtence.

Have theſe Indians been converted to Chriſtianity?
No—I believe not one.

Can the plough be uſed to advantage in the Ceded Iſlands, ſo as to ſave Negro labour?

The Ceded Iſlands are generally very mountainous and ſtony, and there is very little flat land where the plough can be uſed—there are exceſſive torrents of rain at times, inſomuch that on the land ploughed on a declivity the ſoil would ſoon be waſhed away—the flat land is moſtly ſtrong clay land, and in wet weather could not be ploughed; and it is difficult to be ploughed in dry weather, on account of the dryneſs and hardneſs of the ſoil—I do not believe there are a thouſand acres of land in Grenada fit to be ploughed; and land ploughed muſt have ſome labour of Negroes employed thereon before it can be planted—the lands in the Ceded Iſlands rattoon—the lands holed in general can be done by the Negroes of the eſtate after the weeding is over, when they have little other work to do, and as the ſame number of Negroes are obliged to be kept on the eſtate to take off the crop in proper times.—The ploughing of land would be very little ſaving—through the difficulty of procuring a ploughman who underſtands his buſineſs, and the nature of ploughs differing in every part of this country, together with the expences of ſuch a ploughman, and the expences of horſes and cattle; the charges would be double to what the land which was to be holed would coſt, if done by taſk work.—Ploughs have been often tried, and found by experience not to anſwer; and I believe no people pay more attention to their intereſt than perſons in the Weſt Indies, or would more eagerly purſue any mode wherein they thought the labour of their Slaves could be ſaved.

Do you think it poſſible to carry on the cultivation of a ſugar eſtate but by Slaves attached to the eſtate?

I think it totally impoſſible, from the nature of a Weſt India eſtate, where it is requiſite to have 2 or 300 Negroes on 3 or

400 acres of land—the nature of the work is ſuch, that the ableſt planter cannot aſcertain at what time the conſtant attendance of the Negroes is moſt requiſite to carry on the cultivation—and the abſence of the gang for a fortnight from the eſtate, at any one time, would be very injurious to the cultivation, and a conſiderable loſs—it might be years before the eſtate could be got into proper order—it would be impoſſible, if there were not Negroes attached to the eſtate, to hire, lodge, or feed, ſuch a number of Slaves as would be requiſite.

Is it your opinion, founded on experience, that the Negro women in the Weſt Indies breed leſs frequently, and continue to breed for a ſhorter period of time, than the women of colder climates?

I believe that women in the Weſt Indies do not breed ſo ſoon, and do not continue ſo long to breed, as women in a colder climate—they ſeldom have more than five or ſix children, and they begin early connections with the ſex, and have more variety, which likewiſe tends to prevent their breeding.

Are the children in the Weſt Indies more ſubject to fatal diſorders than children in a colder climate?

I have had regular journals kept on my own eſtate for twenty-ſeven years, by which I could ſee the diſeaſes children died of, and have now upwards of 180 children on my property—I have found from my own experience, and from what I have heard from the moſt eminent men in the medical line in Grenada, that many children die of the lock-jaw in a few days after their birth—a great many die of worms—and the putrid ſore-throat is very fatal to young infants before the doctor can get them to take a ſufficiency of bark; and almoſt all the children have the yaws, of which, at times, the firſt medical men in this country have not been able to effect a cure, ſo as not to leave them liable to other diſeaſes—Theſe are the chief diſeaſes which children are ſubject to in Grenada more than in colder climates.

Are the inhabitants in the Weſt Indies, both children and adults, ſubject to ſuch epidemical diſeaſes as to produce great mortality; and what, in your opinion, are the cauſes of thoſe epidemical diſorders?

Every Iſland in the Weſt Indies is at times ſubject to intenſe heats, long droughts, heavy torrents of rain, calms, and cold bleak north winds, which at different times cauſe putrid fevers and putrid ſore-throats, and inflammatory fevers, pleuriſies, liver

complaints, and dyſenteries, which often occaſion great mortality; and it is commonly the healthieſt and ableſt of the Slaves that are moſt ſubject to theſe diſorders, and to whom it proves more fatal than to thoſe of a more delicate habit.

Are there any other cauſes which ſubject Slaves to great mortality?

All the Iſlands in the Weſt Indies are ſubject to hurricanes, guſts of wind, or exceſs of rains, by which the proviſions are deſtroyed, from July to November; and theſe happening at a ſeaſon when there is no ſhipping in the country, and the diſtance from this country being too great to ſend for a ſupply of proviſions to feed the Slaves with, they are often obliged to eat the ground proviſions and corn before they are fully ripe, which often occaſion fluxes and great mortality among them; and I have often known, from theſe cauſes, that half of the gang of an eſtate have been taken with fluxes, and this happens very frequently—formerly (when we traded with America) when theſe calamities happened, we could ſend to America and get dry proviſions in a ſhort time to feed our Negroes, but being at preſent deprived of that ſupply, the above diſorder becomes very fatal to Slaves, and I believe from this cauſe as many Slaves are loſt as from the diſorders in the country—this may be remedied by eſtabliſhing a commercial trade with America in ſmall veſſels, which would be for the advantage of both countries.

Are thoſe epidemical diſorders frequent in all the Iſlands in the Weſt Indies?

I believe there is no Iſland in the Weſt Indies but what is ſubject to them at different times; and ſeldom above three or four years paſs in any of the Iſlands without the inhabitants being ſubject to ſome or other of theſe diſorders, both among the Whites and Blacks—very often an eſtate will increaſe in its numbers, by more births than deaths, for a certain time, and very often in one month or two loſes a fourth or fifth part of its Slaves by theſe epidemical diſorders—I myſelf have an eſtate in Grenada, ſituated in the healthieſt part of the iſland, where from 1766 till 1786 I had not put on above twenty new Slaves, and ſold near as many, and my numbers did not diminiſh above ten in that time—the gang conſiſted of about 200 Slaves—in 1786 I loſt ſixteen Slaves, and four only were born—in 1787 I loſt twenty-five Slaves (moſt of them being the ſtouteſt and ableſt of my gang) with a liver complaint, of which they died in a few weeks—all the neighbouring eſtates ſuffered equally, and one of my neighbours in particular

particular loſt forty-ſeven Slaves, out of a gang of 300, of the ſame diſorder; and the year following the diſorder was fatal in other parts of the iſland of Grenada, where it attacked the Whites as well as the Blacks—and of which diſorder I loſt my nephew, and ſeveral of my managers and overſeers were attacked with it —The diſorder had never been known ſo common or fatal in the Iſland of Grenada before, but has ſince been more frequent in all the Iſlands; and I believe this diſorder muſt have been occaſioned by the climate.—I left the Weſt Indies in June 1789, and by the returns of my Slaves at Grenada in June 1789, I have had an increaſe of eight Slaves, births more than deaths; but by the letters of October laſt, the inhabitants of the Iſland are very ſickly, and in ſix weeks I have loſt ſeventeen Slaves with the flux, moſt of them able Slaves; and by the laſt accounts the Iſland ſtill appears more unhealthy, and it is probable I ſhall have an account of the loſs of as many more—all the Iſlands, I believe, have ſuffered in proportion with myſelf—and, from the accounts from ſome of the other Iſlands, it appears that the inhabitants are equally ſickly with thoſe of the Iſland of Grenada; and in particular at Saint Kitt's and the Leeward Iſlands they loſt a great many of their Slaves about two years ago.

If you could not have purchaſed Slaves to ſupply the places of thoſe who died in the years 1786 and 1787, what muſt have been the conſequence?

In the gang of the eſtate, conſiſting of about 170, I was obliged to have about 30 cutters in the field, and twenty tyers—and if I could not have ſupplied myſelf with grown Slaves to replace thoſe which I loſt, even the loſs of fifteen or twenty grown Slaves would have occaſioned at leaſt ſixty or ſeventy hogſheads of ſugar, and forty puncheons of rum, difference in my crop; and I am afraid, in ſpite of every attention to humanity, rather than ſuffer ſo great a diminution of my crop, the other Negroes would have been made to work more than they would have done if my eſtate had been fully ſlaved, and it might be the occaſion of a greater loſs of Slaves the year following than I ſhould otherwiſe have had, and a greater diminution of my crop in proportion—whereas, by purchaſing twenty new Slaves from the Coaſt of Africa, I ſhould pay to this country, for the manufactures, profit, and freight, a thouſand pounds; for the coſt of the Slaves, the duties, freight, and charges to this country on the ſixty or ſeventy hogſheads of ſugar I ſhould make, and one-fourth of the rum that would come to this country, would be a thouſand pounds more; beſides what I ſhould pay to this country for herrings, cloathing, and imple-

ments of huſbandry, which would be at leaſt £.100 more; ſo that, by the importation of ſuch twenty Slaves, this country would benefit upwards of £.2,000, and I ſhould be repaid the loſs in one year—and the cauſe of humanity would be protected, as it would be ſaving my other Slaves from more labour, and would be the means of bringing twenty Slaves from a naked and ſavage ſtate, to be cloathed, better fed, and made Chriſtians of.

If an eſtate is not fully ſtocked with Slaves, ſo as to continue the cultivation of the whole, what muſt be the conſequence?

Every perſon who is acquainted with the nature of a ſugar eſtate muſt know, that if the eſtate is weakly handed, the crop muſt be begun as early as the beginning of January, and continue till June or July; the conſequence of which is, that the canes are at that time watery, and that it will take ſometimes from 2,500 to 3,000 gallons of liquor to make a hogſhead of ſugar; whereas, if I was fully handed, I could begin in the months of March, April, or May; and in that caſe 1,500 gallons, or leſs, would make the ſame quantity of ſugar, with half the labour to the Slaves and ſtock; ſo that it is much for the intereſt of the proprietor, and for the eaſe and comfort of the Slave, that the eſtate ſhould be fully handed. It is well known, that lands in the Ceded Iſlands being newly cleared, if only neglected for a twelvemonth, would grow up into wood and bruſh to the heighth of ten or twelve feet; and if the gang were weakly, part of the eſtate muſt be abandoned, and the Slaves rendered more unhealthy by means of ſuch land growing up into bruſh and wood.

Suppoſing the Ceded Iſlands were at this time entirely cleared, in full cultivation, and fully ſtocked with Slaves, would the then number of Slaves be ſufficient to continue the ſame cultivation, and raiſe the ſame produce?

No—by no means; for at preſent the lands at Grenada, and the Ceded Iſlands, are new and rattoon, and when holed require leſs dung. The longer the land is in cultivation, and the oftener it is opened, the leſs it will rattoon, and it will require more land to be opened, and more dung and cultivation to be given to it; ſo that an eſtate with 200 Slaves (which are fully ſufficient at preſent, where the land is new and rattoons) will, in twenty-five or thirty years hence, require near 300 Slaves to keep up the produce of the eſtate, and I conſider the increaſe of labour will be equal to two per cent. yearly to keep up the produce of the eſtate.

Having

Having ſtated, in a former part of your evidence, that there were many more men than women amongſt the Slaves in the Ceded Iſlands, do you conceive if the number of women was made equal by purchaſes to the number of men, that the ſtock of the Slaves could be kept up by breeding?

I do not think it poſſible.

Can you, from your own judgment, founded on experience, or from the accounts which you have received from others, eſtimate the yearly decreaſe of Slaves?

My own eſtates are partly in the iſland of Grenada, to the windward of the iſland, ſituated in as healthy a ſituation as any in the iſland, having proviſion grounds of ſeaſonable good land, ſufficient to maintain four times the number of Slaves I ever had; and, during the twenty-ſeven years I have been a planter, about two-thirds of that time I have had one of the moſt eminent medical men of the profeſſion living on the eſtate; and during the reſt of the time, an able medical man attended three times a week, or as much oftener as was required.—Regular journals have been kept on my eſtate, from 1763 to this day, of births and deaths; but as I cannot now have recourſe to them to ſtate the exact number of births and deaths, I ſpeak to the beſt of my knowledge, and believe that the deaths exceeded the births about three per cent. annually upon an average.—From my own obſervations, and from what I have learned from others, I believe the decreaſe on the whole Iſland has been as much, if not more; and I believe the other Ceded Iſlands have loſt full as many in proportion.—The decreaſe in the Old Iſlands, I believe (not being ſo well ſupplied with proviſions as the Ceded Iſlands, although the Ceded Iſlands are rendered more unhealthy by not being fully cleared) is near as great.—In Grenada, from the capture of the iſland in 1779 till the reſtoration of it in 1784, from eſtimations made, the loſs was eſtimated at four per cent. although the iſland was at that time more than commonly healthy, few of the White inhabitants having died while it was in the hands of the French; and I believe the additional mortality was owing to the ſcarcity of proviſions, which, in time of war, could not be procured.—I am intereſted in a mortgage on three eſtates ſituated in a healthy part, to the windward of Dominique, where there was plenty of ground proviſion on the eſtates, and a medical man conſtantly reſiding thereon, and on which eſtates there have been no ſupply of Negroes put from 1779 to this time; and I believe the decreaſe there has been equal to four per cent.—Two ſets of the works were obliged to be abandoned, from the decreaſe of the Negroes—the eſtates have grown

grown to bruſh and wood, and do not make half the produce they did in 1779.

If the Slave Trade was to be aboliſhed, what effect do you conceive it would produce on the minds of thoſe Slaves who are already in the Weſt Indies?

The Slaves being ſenſible that when an eſtate is underhanded it is liable to more labour, by means of the crop being obliged to be taken off at unſeaſonable times; and being ſenſible that part of the eſtate, growing into bruſh and wood out of cultivation, would be rendered unhealthy, and that the labour would fall more hard upon them, they would become broken-hearted, and give themſelves up to deſpondency.—Nothing makes the Slaves more happy than to ſee new Negroes come on the eſtate, as it eaſes their labour, and is the means of their getting wives; and it is well known to every perſon who has ever been in the Weſt Indies, that nothing makes the Slaves deſpond ſo much as when there are no freſh ſupplies brought to the eſtate.—By letters which I have received lately from ſome of the members of the Legiſlature of Grenada, they ſay, that the Slaves begin to be a little turbulent, and expreſs themſelves, that the Parliament of Great Britain would make them free if it was not for their maſters.—With theſe ideas, the whole of the White inhabitants might be deſtroyed in a night or a day; and I believe, if they knew that the Parliament of Great Britain meant to aboliſh the Slave Trade, ſo eſſential to their eaſe and comfort, and could come at thoſe who ſhould paſs ſuch a law, they would not heſitate at deſtroying them.

During the laſt war, was not the importation of Slaves from Africa interrupted, and what was the conſequence?

Amongſt the Iſlands captured by the French, the importation of Slaves was almoſt entirely ſtopt; and I believe there was very little importation to the other iſlands for ſome years; the conſequence of which was, that the iſlands fell off greatly in their numbers and cultivation, Grenada having diminiſhed nearly to the amount of ſeven thouſand, and I believe the other iſlands have diminiſhed in the ſame proportion; and ſince the capture, all the iſlands have been and are in great want of Slaves; and the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, have given half as much more for them as we have given in our iſlands—The demands being great from the foreign iſlands, we were obliged to take the Slaves in lots of young and old, ſetting aſide the ſick and diſeaſed—The buyer being at the will of the ſeller, he could not purchaſe women,

men, and ſuch Slaves as he could wiſh—There is a greater proportion of men than women; and a great many women, when brought from the coaſt of Africa, are paſt child-bearing.

Did not that diminution of the number of Slaves occaſion a diminution of the produce of thoſe Iſlands?

Moſt certainly.

Has the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of abolition produced any effect on Weſt India credit and property?

Moſt certainly it has—The mortgagees and creditors of Weſt India property are alarmed at the conſequences, and are deſirous of getting their money.—It has put a total ſtop to the further loan of money on Weſt India property, and to the ſale of Weſt India eſtates. The Weſt India proprietors ſettled on theſe Iſlands, and who hold their property guaranteed by charters and acts of parliament, conſidering themſelves, although in the Colonies, as having equal rights to the protection of their property, and the management of it, as if they were ſettled in this country; and finding that they are likely to be deprived of the only means of preſerving the value thereof, by acts of parliament made by the Legiſlature of Great Britain (which cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſo fully acquainted with their ſituation), they conſider their eſtates as in a more precarious and uncertain ſtate, and, under ſuch circumſtances, cannot ſell or diſpoſe of any property.

What, in your opinion, would be the conſequence to the Weſt India Iſlands, and to this country, if the Slave Trade was to be aboliſhed?

The decreaſe being three per cent. yearly on the Slaves in the Weſt Indies, and that decreaſe falling more in proportion on the able and grown Slaves, the loſs of labour may be eſtimated in the proportion of two per cent. more; and the annual increaſe of labour being equal to two per cent. to keep up its produce, and that ſtill rendered more by the Iſlands being rendered unhealthy from the lands growing into bruſh and wood, and from the deſpondency of the Slaves, the loſs would be in a greater proportion—If any epidemical diſorders were to happen in any part of this kingdom, ſo as to cauſe a loſs of half its inhabitants, that decreaſe could be ſupplied from this, or the neighbouring kingdoms; or if the like diſorders were to happen in any part of Africa, Slaves might be bought, or inhabitants procured, from the other parts of Africa, to ſupply the loſs occaſioned by ſuch diſorders—But if the Slave Trade is aboliſhed, and if ſuch diſorders happen in any one

of the Iſlands, it cannot be ſupplied from any of the reſt, as no perſon would part with a Slave at any price.—For theſe reaſons it is natural to conclude, that in a certain time the abolition of the Slave Trade will be the ruin of the Weſt India property, and the deſtruction of the Slaves that are already there.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 17° die Februarii 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded in their Examination.

Mr. CAMPBELL. If this country ſhould aboliſh the African Negro Trade, would it, in your opinion, be carried on by other nations; and what would be the conſequence?

My opinion on that ſubject is, that it would be the means of other nations, who have hitherto carried on very little of that trade, going very extenſively into it—France having Colonies in the Weſt Indies, which are not half cultivated, and which are equally fertile and fit for the cultivation of ſugar, and other Weſt Indian produce, and knowing that the ſettlement of thoſe Colonies by Slaves would be the means of encreaſing their ſhipping and ſeamen, and that it would enable them to man their navy, and be the means of their acquiring wealth, and ſupplying the other powers of Europe, having no Colonies of their own, with thoſe productions of the Weſt Indies, which are become the neceſſary articles of conſumption; and ſeeing how advantageous this trade would be, have granted bounties on Slaves, and the ſhipping importing them to their Colonies.—Spain, whoſe policy has hitherto been to keep the greateſt part of their Colonies in an unimproved ſtate of cultivation, and to keep them unknown and unconnected with the other powers of Europe, content themſelves with the bullion and productions which grow naturally, and can be applied to commercial profit, now ſee clearly that it is abſolutely neceſſary for them to change their whole ſyſtem of colonizing, as without ſhipping and ſeamen, and manufacturers, which will employ their ſhipping, they cannot defend their Colonies, which may be taken from them by other powers—

Spain

Spain having ten times more Weſt Indian territory than all the other powers of Europe put together, ſeeing that the parliament of Great Britain are about to aboliſh the Slave Trade, and that it would be for their intereſt to have their lands, that are at preſent uncultivated, put into ſugar and other produce of the Weſt Indies, by which they would acquire wealth, ſhipping, and ſeamen, and thinking this the moſt favourable time for them to procure Slaves, which they could buy cheaper in Africa by Great Britain aboliſhing the trade, they laſt ſummer publiſhed an edict, opening all their ports in the different Colonies for the importation of Slaves, to all nations, free of duty, and they give bounties on Slaves imported into their own Colonies—They have alſo publiſhed an edict, inviting all Slaves of other Colonies to come to them, and that they ſhould be made free upon their arrival; which ſhews of what material conſequence they think it to them to have their Colonies ſettled.—They have likewiſe made ſome of their Iſlands free ports, inviting the ſubjects of other nations to come and ſettle in them, in order to procure Weſt India produce, and to encourage their navigation and ſeamen.—I am informed, and it is well known in this country, that, for the laſt two years, a conſiderable number of veſſels, owned by the merchants of this country, have been fitted out from France as French veſſels, with an Engliſh captain, and French ſailors, to carry Slaves to the French Colonies, and receive the bounties.—This trade is carried on with Engliſh capitals.—It is well known to the French, who encourage it, as tending to create more ſeamen, and being the means of ſettling their Colonies.—It will increaſe their ſhipping and ſeamen, by tranſporting the produce of their Colonies, and their fiſheries, by ſupplying the Slaves.—If the Slave Trade is aboliſhed, our merchants and capitals employed at preſent in the Trade, will go to France and Oſtend, where they will carry on the Trade, and not only carry their Slaves to the French and Spaniſh ſettlements, but alſo to the free ports of Saint Euſtatia, Saint Thomas, and Saint Bartholomew, belonging to the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Danes;—theſe nations would likewiſe go into the Trade, and ſupply our colonies.—It is well known, that the greateſt part of the manufactures which go to the coaſt of Africa, are cottons and linens, and that theſe, when raw, are much cheaper in France than in this country.—There is a great deal of cotton brought from France to this country, which pays a duty in France of twelve per cent. before ſhipped, and the charges, before it comes into the hands of the manufacturer, is twelve per cent. more.—It would coſt twenty-five per cent. more to ſend theſe articles manufactured to France.—That if the revolution in

France takes place, when perſon and property are ſecured by laws, the manufacturer of this country will go to France, where he will carry on his Trade to an advantage of fifty per cent. and it may be the means of their ſupplying us, inſtead of our ſupplying them; ſo that, in my opinion, the aboliſhing the Slave Trade would be enriching and increaſing the navigation and ſeamen of the powers of France and Spain.—Thoſe powers would acquire, by this one act of the Legiſlature, what their forefathers have for centuries ſtrove to gain, and what our forefathers, for centuries paſt, have ſtrove to keep from them, and which has coſt this nation £. 270,000,000 to keep; it might alſo reduce this nation to the ſtate of Holland, by employing its riches and capitals in loans to other nations, to carry on their ſettlements, who have not the ideas which ſeem to prevail in this country; for, knowing that all their Slaves are Chriſtians, enlightened and improved, ſerving God and man, they conſider it as an act of the greateſt humanity to bring the Negroes from the coaſt of Africa, from a ſtate of nakedneſs and ſavageneſs.—It is well known, that the value of the Weſt India produce is at leaſt equal to nine millions to this country; and that, by the eſtimate in the Report of the Privy Council, it appears that the Weſt India produce, which went to Ireland and North America, was not valued;—it was calculated in a year when ſhort crops prevailed in the Weſt Indies, and that the prices are ſtated below the medium prices.—Upwards of three millions of the above nine millions are paid to this country in duties, freight, and other charges; the other ſix millions are conſumed in the manufactures and fiſheries, and center in this country.—It is my opinion, that the aboliſhing the Slave Trade would be the ruin of the Colonies, deſtructive to the Slaves at preſent in them, and be the moſt impolitic act, and the greateſt inhumanity, and breach of faith, which this country could paſs.

Will the Britiſh Planters in the Weſt Indies be prevented, by any regulations made here, from purchaſing Negroes?

If a Weſt India Planter ſaw his Negroes decreaſe, and his property go to ruin (which muſt certainly be the caſe, if the Slave Trade is aboliſhed), he would conſider himſelf as a Britiſh ſubject, having the rights adherent thereto; and knowing, when he firſt ſettled, that the cultivation of his land muſt depend upon the importation of Slaves, which had been hitherto ſecured to him by acts of parliament, charters, and rights, he has hitherto conſidered that he could not be deprived of his property without the power which took away his right paying him an equivalent

valent—and ſeeing his property and Slaves waſting, he would think it incumbent on him to get Slaves in any way that he could, and at any price he could purchaſe them for—he would go to the free ports before mentioned, and purchaſe ſuch Slaves —thus being obliged to purchaſe Slaves at theſe free ports, from whence they muſt be tranſported in ſmall veſſels, which cannot have proper accommodations for the Slaves, it would ſubject them to heats and colds, and by being a few days on board ſuch veſſels they would be expoſed to more maladies than in a voyage from the coaſt of Africa, and would coſt the Engliſh proprietors near double what they do at preſent.—In my opinion, the Legiſlature of this country could paſs no act which could prevent the Weſt India planters from ſupplying themſelves with Slaves, nor do I ſee, if the men of war of this country ſhould ſeize ſuch Slaves ſo importing, how the Slaves could be diſpoſed of afterwards by the captors.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Was there not a condition in the grants of lands in the Ceded Iſlands, that half the land granted ſhould be brought into cultivation within twenty years?

Yes, I think ſo.

Was not the grantee liable to a penalty for a non-performance of this article?

I think ſo.

Have any of thoſe penalties been enforced?

None to my knowledge.

Have you any objection to ſtate, what you conceive to be the net profit, after deducting all charges, from the moſt profitable of the eſtates mentioned in your former evidence?

To that queſtion it is impoſſible for me to give a direct anſwer, as the profits depend on ſo many different circumſtances, of management, expences, loſſes, and the weather, whereby the different eſtates produce more one year than another.

It is not meant to aſk you, if you object to give an eſtimate of future profits, but, if you object to give an account of the paſt ordinary profit from the moſt fertile of the three eſtates, leaving out of the queſtion any extraordinary accidents?

I ſhould be very happy to give any information in my power; but to aſcertain a profit, a value muſt be firſt aſcertained, and that profit differing yearly, from the different cauſes before mentioned, and not recollecting what the revenues and expences have been yearly, it is impoſſible for me to anſwer the queſtion.

You have ſaid, that from 8 to 10,000 acres of land have been abandoned in the Iſland of Grenada; do you know what the perſons, by whom they were cultivated, did with their ſtocks, Negroes, &c. on that abandonment?

I know the eſtates, and a great many perſons who cultivated the lands—moſt of them were new ſubjects, ſome of whom having been indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, and the Iſlands, carried off their Slaves to the French and Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to avoid the payment of their debts; and others, on account of the decreaſe of Slaves (there being no Slaves imported into the Iſland with which they could be replaced) have been obliged to abandon their cultivation; and from the ſame cauſe of not being able to procure Slaves, ſome planters, who had ſugar, coffee, and cocoa eſtates, have been obliged to take the Slaves from off thoſe eſtates to put on the ſugar eſtates, to ſupply their loſs; and ſome other planters, whoſe Slaves had decreaſed by mortality, and who had not the means to replace them, were obliged to abandon their property.

You have ſaid, that the Slaves in Grenada are protected from ſevere puniſhment by law; how long have they been thus protected?

When Grenada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, and the proclamation from the King was iſſued, declaring that the ſubjects in that Iſland ſhould be entitled to the laws of Great Britain, equal to the moſt favoured of the other Colonies, it was then conſidered that the laws of Great Britain were in force.—In 1764 or 1765, a Legiſlature was formed at Grenada, which paſſed ſuch laws as were thought requiſite for the good government, management, and protection of Slaves—there was no law paſſed to prevent the owner of a Slave from inflicting ſuch puniſhment as he thought his crime merited, it being conſidered by the Legiſlature and the Gentlemen of the Iſland at that time, that no law which they could paſs could prevent improper puniſhments, ſo much as the laws of Great Britain, which were then in force. —Any proprietor or owner of a Slave, giving ſuch Slave a cruel or an improper puniſhment, would become a matter of the greateſt

conſequence

conſequence to the neighbours and to the Iſland—and all the inhabitants were intereſted in protecting the Slaves from ſuch cruel treatment, as inſurrections among the Slaves might be occaſioned thereby—the Iſlands being ſmall, and the eſtates not conſiſting of more than 3 or 400 acres, the treatment of Maſters to their Slaves is generally known.—When any cruel or unjuſt treatment has been given to the Slave, information has been given to the Juſtices of the Peace, or the Seſſions, and ſeveral Maſters have been indicted and fined by the Juſtices at the Seſſions, and one White man was hanged, but whether he was a maſter or not I cannot ſay.—As it was the general intereſt of the proprietors to protect the Slave againſt ill treatment from others, I myſelf conſidered theſe powers being veſted in the inhabitants by the laws of Great Britain, would ſecure the Slave more than by any local law that could be made. And theſe I know were the ſentiments of the Legiſlature of Grenada, being myſelf a member thereof.

Why then is it ſtated, in the act of the 3d of November 1788, that the laws heretofore made for the protection of Slaves have been inſufficient; and why is the reſtriction of puniſhment to thirty-nine laſhes the firſt article in that law?

There have been a great many laws made in Grenada for the protection and management of Slaves.—Some of thoſe laws having been found inadequate, about a twelvemonth before I left the iſland, in 1788, a Committee had been appointed of the Council and Aſſembly (of which Committee I was a member) to reviſe and conſolidate all the laws, and to reform any defects therein; but having, after many meetings, made our report to the Aſſembly, the law could not be paſſed in June 1788, when I left the iſland; and in the report then laid before the Aſſembly, there was no reſtriction of puniſhment to thirty-nine laſhes—and I believe the reaſon the Legiſlature of Grenada reſtricted the puniſhment to thirty-nine laſhes was, to ſhew to Great Britain, who had received petitions in favour of the abolition of the Slave Trade, that there was a law exiſting for confining the puniſhment to thirty-nine laſhes, conceiving that the people of Great Britain could not be judges how the ſlaves were protected, not knowing the laws then in force at Grenada;—and, in my opinion, the Slave was full as well protected before as he is by the preſent law; and, had I been then in the Legiſlature, I would have given my opinion againſt the meaſure.

Was it then generally underſtood before the paſſing of this law,

and from the time of your firſt reſiding in Grenada, that the Slave was protected by the common law of Great Britain?

It certainly was ſo underſtood and practiſed.

You ſay there is one inſtance of a capital puniſhment having been inflicted on a White man for cruelty to a Slave; what is the inſtance to which you allude, and do you remember the circumſtances of the trial?

I was not on the iſland when it happened, but I was one of the Committee of the Legiſlature of Grenada, who was to report to the queries concerning the protection and management of Slaves; and, on this matter being mentioned by ſome of the members, we ſent to the Secretary of the iſland, and directed him to make out a copy of the whole proceedings of the trial, and to certify them, as keeper of the records of the iſland, and to procure the ſeal of government to be affixed thereto, and to tranſmit the ſame to the Secretary of State's Office in Great Britain; which, I believe, were accordingly tranſmitted—with reſpect to the circumſtances of the trial I know nothing.

What is the quantity of proviſion ground uſually allotted to a Slave?

There is no fixed quantity; it depends on the quality of the land, and its ſituation.—Some perſons having more land than others, will give to the Slaves what they are able to work—but I never knew leſs than an acre given to ſix perſons, reckoning women and children.

When an eſtate is ſaid to conſiſt of any given number of acres, is the Slaves proviſion ground included in the account?

Yes.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 18° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Are goats, poultry, and ſuch other articles as the Negroes raiſe and

and ſell, ordinarily ſold at reaſonable prices in the Weſt Indies?

In Grenada it is not common to allow Negroes to keep goats, but the other articles are ſold very reaſonable, according to the Weſt India prices—the price of pork is about five pence ſterling per pound, fixed by law—the price of a fowl is from eighteen pence to three ſhillings ſterling, and other poultry in proportion—the price of a roaſting pig is four ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling.

Do any proprietors of land in Grenada allot their ground to the purpoſes of raiſing and carrying on a traffic in this ſort of ſtock?

I do not know any White man in Grenada who employs any part of his land in raiſing ſtock of this ſort—a few poultry and hogs are raiſed ſometimes by the proprietors, about their houſes, but their chief conſumption is bought of the Slaves.

Are the Slaves in the French Weſt India iſlands allowed proviſion grounds?

The Field Slaves are, but I do not know the quantity—I believe it is much the ſame as at Grenada.

Are you acquainted with the regulations of the Code Noir?

I have ſeen the Code Noir, and am acquainted with the French manners and cuſtoms of treating their Slaves—On our making the firſt laws in Grenada, there were many regulations for the management of Slaves, which we took from the Code Noir; but I cannot at preſent remember what the particulars were.

Having ſtated that illicit intercourſe between Freemen and Slaves is extremely frequent in the French Weſt India iſlands, and that in other reſpects the regulations of the Code Noir are broken through, to what do you attribute its inefficacy?

The generality of proprietors in the French Iſlands are Creoles (whoſe forefathers were Creoles, and have been there for ſome generations); they are unacquainted with the cuſtoms of other countries, and, having known no other cuſtoms but of thoſe perſons that they are brought up with, and which perſons generally conſiſt of their Houſe and Domeſtic Slaves, and very often the Mulatto children of the proprietors ſerve as domeſtics, which naturally leads thoſe proprietors to be more familiar with their Domeſtic Slaves, than the proprietors of eſtates in the Engliſh Iſlands; who are

 generally

generally men of this country, and who have made fortunes in the Weſt Indies, and laid out thoſe fortunes in purchaſing eſtates; or perſons of fortune in this country, who have purchaſed eſtates in the Weſt Indies; their manners and cuſtoms being different from the French Creoles, and not acquainted or brought up with their Domeſtic Slaves, or accuſtomed to be ſo familiar with them, makes the difference between the French and Engliſh Domeſtic Slaves; but both countries are upon a footing with reſpect to the Field Slaves, with this difference, that till the laſt war, the Engliſh Weſt India Colonies found all ſorts of proviſions come reaſonable to them from the American Colonies, and fiſh and ſalt proviſions from this country cheaper than could be had by the French; by which the Engliſh planters were able, and did feed their Negroes with ſalt proviſions, and other neceſſaries, better than the French did their Field Slaves—and, coarſe woollens and cloathing coming cheaper from this country, they were in the cuſtom of cloathing them yearly, which the French planters ſeldom did to their Negroes, they being obliged to ſupply themſelves from what they ſold out of their Negro grounds.—The French domeſtics were generally cloathed by their maſters, who were always remarkably fond of parade and ſhew.—The French Iſlands have few medical men of eminence; nor are the Negroes generally ſo well treated, when ſick, as the Negroes in the Engliſh Iſlands.—From the experience I have had, not only in the French Iſlands, but with the French planters who reſided at Grenada, I found they worked their Negroes much harder, and their puniſhments were more ſevere than in the Engliſh Iſlands; but the French now enjoying the American trade, and being ſupplied from thence, they will be able to feed their Field Negroes better than the Engliſh Planters can.

Do you apprehend the French have been uſed to allow their Slaves weekly two pounds of ſalt beef, or three pounds of fiſh, agreeable to the regulations of the Code Noir?

I do not believe that the French ever did make ſuch an allowance to their Negroes, nor do I believe that one-half of the White inhabitants had, at times, beef and fiſh for their own maintenance, as nine-tenths of the beef that was uſed for the conſumption came from Ireland, and their fiſheries were not much more than able to ſupply their own demands in France, till the trade was opened with America. I believe it is only of very late years that theſe allowances have been fixed by the Code Noir. I have known ſalt beef ſell for ſeven or eight pounds ſterling per barrel, and ſalt fiſh from forty to fifty ſhillings ſterling per hundred

dred weight, which articles were the chief ſupport for the White inhabitants; and for a conſiderable length of time I am ſure the Field Negroes got no allowance of ſalt proviſions given them; and that during the wars between this country and France, the French Slaves ſeldom or ever could have any ſupply of ſalt proviſions.

Were not the French Slaves allowed by their maſters annually two ſuits of cloaths, or cloth ſufficient to make them, agreeable to the regulations of the Code Noir?

As for woollen cloathing and blankets, which we conceive to be more proper on account of the damps and cold bleak winds, I never knew the French give any to their Slaves; nor do I believe the Code Noir was exactly followed in giving them other cloathing. In 1763, when I lived at Martinique, I ſaw the Negroes on a Sunday at church, or at market, full as well cloathed, if not better, in the French Iſlands, than in the Engliſh Iſlands; but I believe it was owing to the French planters having greater quantities of land which they allowed the Negroes to cultivate; and, having more certain ſeaſons to raiſe proviſions on their grounds, the Negroes were enabled to purchaſe cloaths for themſelves, more than the Slaves in Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Leeward Iſlands, where the land is more exhauſted, and where ſometimes there was no rain for a twelvemonth, on which account the land produced but little, and the maſters were obliged to feed and cloath their Negroes. In Grenada and the other Ceded Iſlands, I think the Field Negroes are in general better cloathed than in the French Iſlands.

If the French Slaves were not provided agreeably to the Code Noir, did this appear from their complaining to the Procureur, purſuant to the regulation, he being expreſsly ordered to proſecute their ſuits without charge?

The Procureur has power given him by the Code Noir, but whether he has exerciſed that power or not, it is impoſſible for me to ſay—while Grenada was under the French government, we had different Procureurs de Roi there, and the firſt time I ſaw the then Procureur de Roi there, he was marched before 200 ſoldiers, with a dozen loaves of bread tied about his neck, through the ſtreets, in order to expoſe him, for giving ſhort allowance of bread to the ſoldiers, and for other crimes—this puniſhment the ſoldiers inflicted of their own accord, and the Procureur was afterwards diſmiſſed from his office by Government.—Such men may have been often appointed to that office in the Iſlands, but I believe

that part of their duty reſpecting the Slaves has not been attended to by them in any one of the Iſlands.—Attempts of inſurrection have been more frequent in the French Iſlands than in the Engliſh, as is the caſe at preſent at Martinique, which ſhews that the French Slaves have greater cauſe of complaint than the Engliſh Slaves have.

Are Slaves in the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands treated better now than they were formerly?

In my opinion, the principal object is, that the Weſt India planters ſhould take care of their Slaves, and keep them in good heart; as by that means their eſtates would go on and flouriſh—and I never knew but one man in Grenada, who was ſaid to uſe his Slaves more ſevere than common, but what his property was ruined—I think there is a great difference for the better in the treatment of Slaves ſince I knew the Weſt Indies.

By whom are the mechanical trades in the towns chiefly exerciſed?

It is common to have White tradeſmen to lay out and direct the work; but almoſt the whole of the labour is done by Negro tradeſmen.

Do you mean Free Negroes, or Slaves?

Slaves.

Was it not uſual, fifty or ſixty years ago, to have Whites for tradeſmen on moſt of the eſtates?

I do not know what was the cuſtom then; but in moſt of the Iſlands there were laws paſſed, obliging proprietors to keep a White man for ſo many Negroes, for fear of revolt amongſt the Slaves, and for a defence againſt the enemy in time of war; and that proportion of White men being more than was requiſite for the direction of the eſtate, White tradeſmen were ſent from this country to inſtruct the Negroes in their different trades; but now, the Negroes being inſtructed, very few White men are employed on theſe eſtates, as formerly; and at Antigua, in particular, finding the wages and expences of a White man is double the value of that of a Black man, the fine collected for the deficiency of White men is nearly ſufficient to pay the whole expences of the Iſland; and, I believe, the other Iſlands follow the ſame cuſtom.

Have

Have you happened to change any of your managers, and when?

I have ſeveral times changed my managers, but not for theſe four or five years paſt; except at Tobago, where my attornies have ſeveral times changed my managers, ſince I left the country.

Does the planter ordinarily employ his manager to purchaſe Slaves?

It is the general practice for the owner, or his attorney in his abſence, to purchaſe the Slaves, but with the advice and aſſiſtance of the manager, who generally attends the ſale.

Do managers ever keep Slaves of their own, whom they employ in jobbing, or otherwiſe?

Moſt managers that I know lay out what they ſave of their ſalary in purchaſing Slaves; but ſuch Slaves are ſeldom or ever allowed to be kept on the eſtate where the manager directs, or hired by the proprietor of ſuch eſtate—they commonly let them to other proprietors, for the firſt year for their maintenance, and afterwards they hire them out at yearly wages, or employ them in gangs for taſk work.

What do you conceive to be the amount of the current ſpecie in the Iſland of Grenada?

It is impoſſible for me to ſay what the exact amount is.

What is, and uſually has been, the amount of the poll-tax in Grenada?

Before the capture of Grenada in 1779, part of the taxes were raiſed by a poll-tax, ſometimes on the whole of the Slaves, and ſometimes on Slaves at certain ages; but ſince the reſtoration in 1784, the taxes of the Iſland were raiſed on the produce of each eſtate.—On the Negroes in towns, and not attached to the eſtates, and who did not cultivate Weſt India produce, there was a certain poll-tax, which differed from twelve to eighteen ſhillings currency per head yearly, according to the ſums neceſſary for the uſe of the government of the Iſland. In 1784, there was a perpetual tax laid on all Slaves of all ages, at Grenada and the Grenadines, of eighteen pence currency per head, for the ſupport of the clergy.

Do you not think that it would be for the intereſt of our Weſt India Iſlands to prohibit the Britiſh African merchants ſupply-

ing the foreign Weſt India Colonies with Slaves, either mediately or immediately?

I am very clear it would be very much for the intereſt of the Britiſh Weſt India Colonies to keep the African Trade to themſelves, as thereby the Britiſh Colonies would get better choice of Slaves, and at a much cheaper rate; and by which they would be enabled to cultivate better their own Colonies, and it would be more for the health and comfort of the Slaves, being fully handed; and they would be enabled to procure a proper ſupply of women, and ſuch Slaves as they wanted; being at preſent obliged to take them in lots as the ſeller chuſes, from the very great demand and high prices given in the French Iſlands;—and that, as much as it would increaſe the revenues of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, it would decreaſe thoſe of foreign Colonies, they not being equally ſupplied with Slaves; by which the Britiſh Colonies would be benefited.—How far it would be advantageous or diſadvantageous to this country, I do not enter upon.

Do you believe that any further increaſe in the price of Slaves in our iſlands would materially operate to prevent the cultivation of the lands, conſidering the abſolute neceſſity you have ſtated of a ſupply from the Coaſt?

I believe the further increaſe of price would ſtop the further cultivation of uncleared lands, and be of material injury to the lands now in cultivation. From the annual decreaſe of the Slaves by mortality, and from the increaſe of labour, which I have before mentioned in my evidence, it is abſolutely neceſſary for the proprietors to purchaſe Slaves at any price, or their property will diminiſh yearly, and ſoon go to ruin.

The price of Slaves being conſiderably increaſed, would the planter ſtill purchaſe them, though at a higher price, or would he diſcontinue working ſome part of his lands for want of hands?

I ſhould think any planter leaving any part of the eſtate that has been in cultivation to grow up into bruſh and wood, which would cauſe the eſtate to be more unhealthy, would rather purchaſe Slaves to keep the eſtate in cultivation, at higher prices.

Are the roots which ſerve for the Slaves proviſions liable to injury from hurricanes?

Yes; the tops of the plants being broken off by the violence

of the winds, they are much deſtroyed, and ſeldom grow afterwards till newly planted.

Are Domeſtic, or Field, Slaves commonly the more healthy?

They are equally healthy; if there is any difference, more in proportion of the Domeſtic Slaves die than the Field Slaves—Their rambling more of nights is probably the cauſe, eſpecially among the young men.

Do you think the Regulating Bill has conſiderably increaſed the price of Slaves?

I do not know it has increaſed the price of Slaves; but I fear, from the fear of the Slave Trade being aboliſhed, and almoſt every eſtate in the Weſt Indies not having a ſufficient ſupply of Slaves, ſuch planters who had money or credit to purchaſe, and the demand being great from the French or Spaniſh Colonies, the prices roſe from forty to fifty pounds ſterling for Gold and Windward Coaſt Slaves; and the prices are riſing daily.

Will not the prohibition of the Slave Trade put the planter under the neceſſity to purchaſe Slaves at any rate, or to ſubmit to the ruin of his property or capital?

I have mentioned before, in my evidence, that in my opinion there was an annual decreaſe of three per cent.; and by that decreaſe falling chiefly on the grown Slaves, it made it equal to two per cent. more; and the increaſe of labour alſo equal to two per cent.: therefore, if the Engliſh proprietor cannot purchaſe Slaves, his property muſt in a few years be entirely ruined.

Will not the being obliged to diſcontinue part of the cultivation leſſen the ability of the planter to diſcharge his obligations to his creditors, and diminiſh the value of his capital, and be very injurious to him?

Moſt certainly it will.

If no impediments are thrown on the African trade, do you not think that the merchants will be able to extend their trade to Africa, ſo far as not only to be able to ſupply our Colonies with all the Slaves they may want, but alſo to furniſh the French and Spaniards with a conſiderable number annually?

The Britiſh African merchants having at command the manufactures of this country, and of the Eaſt Indies, ſuch as are wanted on the Coaſt of Africa (which manufactures at preſent are ſent to France to aſſort the cargoes of ſuch ſhips as are fitted out from thence

thence to the Coaſt of Africa, at an advance of 25 per cent.), and having greater capitals, and being better acquainted with the trade, will certainly not only keep the trade, but will increaſe it yearly, and will be able to underſell any other foreign powers.

Having ſtated in your evidence, that ſuch Slaves, who do not go to church on Sundays, or to market, or to ſee their countrymen, go about nine o'clock to their proviſion grounds, do you mean that they work the whole of that day?

In Grenada they commonly go to their grounds at about nine o'clock on a Sunday, and return about twelve; the reſt of the day they are dreſſed, and amuſe themſelves with dancing or walking, till about ſeven o'clock, when they aſſemble, and proceed to their evening prayers, which they never neglect on a Sunday throughout the year; after prayers they return to their houſes, and paſs the remainder of the evening.

You have ſtated that it was impoſſible to prevent the proprietors of eſtates in the Weſt Indies from getting Slaves from other powers (in caſe the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place), and if ſeized, that the captors could not diſpoſe of them; explain yourſelf on that ſubject?

If a cargo of Slaves were landed in any one of the Iſlands, and were ſeized by the cuſtom-houſe officers, or by the captains of men of war, they could not find any proper place to detain the Slaves in, and they would be liable to an expence for which no proviſion is made—they could not take the men and women on board a man of war, where there is no conveniency for more than the crew—they could not ſell them to any other powers, for the benefit of the captors, as Slaves, as they would not receive them as free, and in that ſavage ſtate; and would be obliged to ſend them to this country, and from this country they would be obliged to be ſent to the coaſt of Africa, where they would not be received as freemen, but be ſold again to African captains, and be ſubject to be ſold again, and ſent to the Weſt Indies under the ſame calamities.—In my opinion, no law could be made in this country to prevent the Britiſh Planters from ſupplying themſelves with Slaves.

Do you know whether the White man, executed in Grenada for the murder of his Slave, was a Planter or Slave Owner?

I do not know.

Are men, or women, uſually preferred for the performance of the more laborious parts of plantation duty?

Men.

Do men, or women, with equal appearances of youth, health, and ſtrength, fetch the greateſt prices?

In the beginning of the ſettlements in the Ceded Iſlands (Negro women not being fit for the falling of trees and clearing of grounds) the men ſold conſiderably higher than the women; but at preſent, eſtates heing ſettled and nearly fully ſlaved, women are more wanted than men, and are generally preferred, and, from the age of from fifteen to twenty, fetch full as high a price as the men, and generally higher; but the women, after twenty-five years of age, ſell for a price conſiderably under that of the men.——Female children, from the age of twelve to fifteen, ſell at an equal price with boys of the ſame age.

Is there not a very large proportion of the lands in the Ceded Iſlands yet uncleared?

There is.

How many White men have you at preſent on each of the three eſtates (of which you have given an account) in the Iſland of Grenada?

I have at preſent a manager, and two overſeers in each eſtate—and a tradeſman of eminence, who has worked at the machine mills in this country, and who is employed occaſionally on each of my eſtates—and I have a doctor who attends the eſtates, but does not reſide thereon.

Do you apprehend that the White ſervants, on eſtates of other gentlemen, are nearly in the ſame proportion?

I ſcarcely know any ſugar eſtate in the Iſland, but has at leaſt the ſame number of White ſervants, that number being requiſite for the management of the eſtate.

Is one White ſervant reckoned ſufficient to ſuperintend a gang of Negroes, either in the field, or when employed in the boiling-houſe or mill?

I think ſo—no more are employed.

Do you think that it would be injurious to the intereſt of the Iſlands, that the number of free Negroes ſhould be increaſed?

In all the Iſlands that I have known, both Engliſh and French, they have conſidered free Negroes and Mulattoes as a nuiſance, as the free Negroes never cultivate the land themſelves; and the free women and Mulattoes huxter proviſions, ſell rum, and are the receivers of ſtolen goods, whereby the morals of the Slaves are corrupted; and the only advantage the Colonies can receive from them is by employing them in defence of the Iſland, in caſe of invaſion.

Do not the planters imagine that they have a right, both in juſtice and humanity, to exact as much labour from their Slaves as they now uſually perform?

I think the preſent labour required by the maſters of Slaves is what is proper, and not more than they can do with eaſe, and without injury to their health; I think that a workman of this country does more labour in five hours than the Slave does in nine hours, and no doubt their maſters would expect the ſame labour from them that they do at preſent.

Do you mean that the ſixth part of an acre, allotted to each Negro for his proviſion ground, is excluſive of what is called the common proviſion ground of the eſtate, which is cultivated by the gang under the controul of the maſter, to be diſtributed as he thinks fit?

I do.

What deſcription of Negroes are fed from the produce of the common proviſion ground?

Invalids and ſuperannuated Negroes, who cannot work on their own grounds—alſo Negroes while in the hoſpital, and alſo thoſe who from inattention to their grounds, or from the weather, hurricanes, or other accidents, deſtroying their grounds.

Is every able Negro compelled to work in the common ground, as a regular and uſual branch of the plantation duty?

The field gang work at the common grounds, and do the other works of the plantation.

Are they compelled to labour at their own ground?

Yes.

Can you ſtate what was the average value of ſugar per hogſhead, the produce of your own eſtates, in any one, two, or three years?

I cannot anſwer the queſtion.

Are

Are not the cane-holes neceſſarily obliged to be ſtaked out and dug by the Negroes, even on thoſe plantations where the plough is uſed?

I believe it is poſſible, with a good ploughman, by ploughing the furrows at a proper diſtance from each other, that the canes might be planted in the furrow without holing; but it muſt be done immediately, or the furrow would fill up and require to be ſtaked out and holed again, and I believe very few ploughmen could be got in this country who could plough ſuch a furrow (as it is requiſite the furrow ſhould be perfectly ſtrait), and I do not know it ever was or can be practiſed in the Weſt Indies with ſucceſs.

In fact, did you ever know a planter, in all your experience, but what was obliged to have his cane-holes dug by the Negroes with hoes?

I never did.

Is it not as eaſy to form an average of the quality or price of the ſugar grown on a plantation, as it is to make an average of the number of hogſheads which any plantation, with a given number of Negroes, will produce?

I do not think it is; becauſe a perſon may know at once the number of hogſheads of ſugar which may be made in a year; but as to the prices or value (the ſugar perhaps being ſold at fifty different times) the planter muſt reſort to accounts and vouchers, the contents of which he cannot be ſuppoſed to retain in his memory.

Does not the quantity and the quality of the ſugar depend upon the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances, in the Weſt Indies?

Moſt certainly.

Does not the very idea of an average imply a difference in the quantity and the quality?

It certainly does.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Campbell be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 19th FEBRUARY 1790.

Witneſs Examined,

Mr. CAMPBELL.

N° 3.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Martis, 2° die Martii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Veneris, 19° die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

JAMES BAILLIE, Eſquire.

Are you a native of Great Britain?
I am.

Are you much acquainted with the Weſt Indies?
I am—having reſided there, at different times, for about ſixteen years.

Did you at any time purchaſe any lands there, when and where?

I purchaſed an eſtate in the Iſland of Grenada in 1765; and in the year 1775 was concerned in the purchaſe of a conſiderable tract of land that was granted by government to General Monckton, in the Iſland of Saint Vincent.

Did you purchaſe the eſtate in Grenada from French proprietors?

I did.

What ſtate of cultivation was the eſtate in?

In a very imperfect ſtate.

Would you have made thoſe purchaſes, could you have conceived that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes to the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies?

I certainly would not.

Have you acted as an attorney for other plantations, not your own?

I have, both in the Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Grenada.

Are you by theſe means acquainted with the manner in which lands in the Weſt Indies are cultivated, and Negroes treated?

I am.

What ſtate is that land in which you ſaid you purchaſed in Saint Vincent's?

In its natural ſtate, being altogether covered with wood.

What was the quantity of land you purchaſed of General Monckton at Saint Vincent's?

The grant from the crown was for 4,000 acres, and it meaſured a few hundred acres more.

If the African Negro Trade ſhould be prohibited, will you be able to ſell thoſe lands?

We have already ſold about 3,000 acres to different proprietors, and in different eſtates, who are now bringing them to a ſtate of cultivation; and if they have acceſs to a market for African Slaves, the eſtates may be brought to a ſtate of perfection; but ſhould the African Trade be aboliſhed, and the proprietors of thoſe lands prevented from purchaſing Slaves, the lands muſt return

return to their natural ſtate.—There are about 1,400 acres of the land ſtill unſold, which muſt remain in that ſituation until the preſent queſtion is determined; and if the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place, theſe lands will be entirely loſt to the proprietors.

If at the time when the commiſſioners appointed for the ſale of lands ſold thoſe lands on the part of government, it had been underſtood that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes, could ſuch ſales have been practicable, or the lands ſold?

The lands never could have been ſold.

Is there not a large quantity of the land ſo ſold yet uncultivated?

Very conſiderable tracts, particularly in the Iſland of Dominique.

Of the plantations which have been begun to be cultivated, is not alſo a great part of the land belonging to them ſtill uncultivated?

The eſtates in the Ceded Iſlands are by no means in a ſtate of perfect cultivation; and are ſtill capable of very conſiderable improvements, if the proprietors have acceſs to a market for African Slaves.

Have not the proprietors laid out large ſums of money in erecting buildings, and making other improvements for the cultivation of a much larger quantity of land than is in actual cultivation?

They have—the buildings being conſtructed with ſufficient accommodations for taking off the crops that the whole of the lands each plantation is ſuppoſed to be capable of producing.

Have not ſimilar improvements been made upon the eſtates purchaſed from the French in Grenada?

There have.

Is Grenada fully ſtocked with Negroes?

The Iſland of Grenada was never ſufficiently ſtocked with Slaves; but during the late capture of it, the number, by exceſs of labour on the French military works, and other cauſes, diminiſhed conſiderably. Many thouſands have been purchaſed by the inhabitants of the Iſland ſince the peace; but the eſtates

on

on that Iſland in general are far from being ſufficiently handed, and there are conſiderable tracts uncultivated in Grenada, that may be improved, if the proprietors are permitted to purchaſe African Negro Slaves.

Will there be any further improvement if the future ſupply of African Negroes ſhould be cut off?

Improvements muſt immediately ceaſe in Grenada, as well as in all the other Weſt India Iſlands, if there is not a regular ſupply of African Negro Slaves; for the preſent ſtock of Slaves are by no means ſufficient to keep the lands in their preſent ſtate of cultivation without occaſional ſupplies.

Will the preſent ſtock be kept up without future ſupplies from Africa?

It certainly cannot.

From your experience, are you of opinion that by breeding the ſtock can be kept up?

It cannot; for even in my own eſtate, which is called The Hermitage, in the iſland of Grenada, and is a remarkable healthy ſituation, and where only two White men have died in the courſe of twenty-four years, it has never been in my power to keep up the ſtock of Slaves by breeding. From the year 1765, when the eſtate was purchaſed, to the year 1771, I was in the habit of improving it, and increaſing the ſtock of Slaves, which from about 140 I brought to 300 in the year 1771, when I left the Weſt Indies. From 1771, till the capture of Grenada in 1779, there was not a decreaſe on the eſtate of above one per cent. per annum, although no new Negroes were purchaſed in that period. During the French captivity, the number decreaſed for the reaſons before mentioned. In the year 1786 a contagious diſtemper came upon the plantation, which in a few months carried off forty-ſeven of the beſt Slaves, which number has been ſince replaced by the purchaſe of African Slaves.

Was the increaſe which you have mentioned to have taken place from 1765 to 1771 effected by the purchaſe of African Negroes?

The increaſe was effected by the purchaſe of ſeaſoned Slaves and new Negroes from Africa, and not by births.

If you could not have ſupplied that loſs of forty-ſeven Slaves which you ſtate to have happened in the year 1786 by African

Negroes, what muſt have been the conſequence to your property?

The cultivation of the eſtate muſt have diminiſhed in proportion to the loſs of Slaves.

As the loſs was of the ableſt Negroes, muſt not the diminution of the produce have been much greater than the proportion which the number loſt bore to the whole number?

It certainly muſt.

In what time did that loſs happen?

From the firſt appearance of the diſorder on the plantation, to the time of its ceaſing, it might have been from four to ſix months; and as a number of Negroes recovered, who had been afflicted with that diſorder, were very weakly, the work of the plantation was, during the whole year, in a ſtate of great backwardneſs.

What was the nature of the diſeaſe which proved ſo fatal?

It was repreſented to me by my attornies, and the phyſical gentlemen who attended the eſtate, that it was a complaint in the liver, which was rarely known in that Iſland amongſt Slaves before.

Had thoſe Negroes who were afflicted with that diſeaſe all proper neceſſary care and attention?

The eſtate was always rather over-handed, and no plantation could be better appointed in proviſion-grounds for the uſe of the Slaves; there were warm and convenient hoſpitals for the accommodation of the ſick, ſituated in the moſt healthy part of the plantation; and notwithſtanding the Negroes had always of their own the greateſt abundance of proviſions, I always ſupplied the hoſpital with flour, rice, bread, wine, and ſuch other refreſhments as were neceſſary for their ſituations—and there was a general order on the plantation to ſupply the ſick with mutton and ſuch other freſh meat as the eſtate afforded.

Had thoſe Negroes alſo proper medical aſſiſtance?

For the firſt ten years of the ſettlement of the eſtate there was always a ſurgeon kept for the ſole purpoſe of attending on the Negroes; and they were afterwards attended by the ableſt practitioners in the neighbourhood.—During the time the contagious diſtemper raged on the eſtate, a phyſician went from the town of Saint George, for the purpoſe of attending the Hermitage, and

ſome other eſtates in the neighbourhood, which were in the ſame ſituation.

Did the regulations of which you ſpoke in your two laſt anſwers prevail during the whole time you have been in poſſeſſion of the eſtate?

They did.

From 1771 to 1779, when there was a decreaſe of one per cent. per annum on the whole number, were the births, during that period, included in that account?

They were.—And notwithſtanding the eſtate had a number of children born on it, and was remarkably well appointed in nurſes, yet ſo many infants died within the ninth day, of what is called the tetanus or locked-jaw, that we never could keep up our numbers.

Was the difficulty experienced in raiſing Negro children owing to any want of care, or any exceſs of labour of the mothers?

By no means—for when women are known to be in a ſtate of pregnancy, their work is gradually diminiſhed, till within two or three months of their delivery, when they are applied to the ſlighter work of the plantation, ſuch as picking of graſs, and other light work.—During their confinement, they are comfortably lodged in their own habitations, and are attended by able midwives and nurſes, which the Weſt India eſtates in general abound with.—They have alſo all ſuch refreſhments and cordials as are proper for perſons in their ſituation.—They are allowed four or five weeks for recovery; and it is generally two or three months after their delivery before they return to what is conſidered the harder labour of the plantation.—When they work in the field, there are elderly women generally employed in taking care of the infants.

Do Negro women on your plantations lye-in in their own houſes?

In almoſt every inſtance.

Have you found any inconvenience, or greater mortality, ariſing from that practice?

I have not; and I have always preferred it to ſending them to hoſpitals, as in that caſe they are deprived of the little comforts peculiar to their own habitations.

Do you apprehend that thoſe regulations which you have ſtated to be practiſed on your plantation in the treatment of the ſick or pregnant women, have prevailed in general on other plantations?

I believe they have generally.

In general is there a ſufficient ſupply of food and cloathing for Negro Slaves?

I have always obſerved the greateſt abundance in all the Iſlands I have been in; but as the Iſland of Jamaica and the Ceded Iſlands are better appointed in proviſion grounds for the uſe of their Slaves, they certainly have a greater abundance of proviſions in thoſe Iſlands than in the ſmaller Iſlands, where they are more circumſcribed in point of bounds, and the climate is more uncertain.

By what means are the markets in the Ceded Iſlands ſupplied with vegetables and freſh proviſions?

The Negroes bring a great deal of freſh proviſions to market, and the markets in all the Iſlands are univerſally ſupplied by the Negroes with all the roots and vegetables natural to tropical climates.

Do the Negroes apply to their own uſe the profits ariſing from the ſale of ſuch commodities?

The Negroes are poſſeſſed of conſiderable property, and I never knew an inſtance, during my long reſidence in the Weſt Indies, of any violation on the part of the proprietors in that reſpect—I have Negroes on my own eſtate that are worth forty, fifty, one hundred, and even a few as far as two hundred pounds ſterling, and that property is regularly conveyed from one generation to another, without any interference whatever.

Queſtion repeated.

They certainly do.

Are Slaves in general properly lodged?

They are, for their habitations are full as warm and convenient as the climate requires.

In general is the labour of Slaves proportionate to their ability, or can it be conſidered as ſevere?

It is always in proportion to their ability, and cannot be conſidered ſevere, when compared to the labour of the lower order of people in Europe.

What

What is the time of hardeſt labour, in crop time, or out of crop time?

I conceive the hardeſt labour to be out of crop time.

State your reaſons for conſidering that to be the time of the hardeſt labour?

I have always conſidered the holing of land as the hardeſt labour on a plantation, and that is generally the principal part of the work out of crop ſeaſon.

Is not that performed by the ableſt of the gang; and what length of time does it uſually continue?

It is always done by the ableſt of the gang, and the holing of land generally commences in the month of Auguſt, and continues to the beginning of January—I ſpeak of the manner of cultivating land in the Windward Iſlands.

Is any particular attention paid to the Negroes during that ſeaſon?

There is—for even in the Iſlands where there is the greateſt abundance of the natural proviſions of the country, the Negroes employed in holing have generally a certain allowance of bread, and very frequently ſpirits mixed with water.

Can thoſe puniſhments which are inflicted on Slaves on the eſtates be conſidered as ſevere?

They cannot by any means, when compared with the diſcipline that is uſually maintained in our navy and army.

Have you been a conſiderable importer of African Slaves into the Weſt Indies?

During my reſidence in the Weſt Indies I was in the habits of ſelling conſiderable numbers of Slaves in every year, but never imported any on my own account.

What is the uſual interval between the arrival of ſhips importing Slaves from Africa, and the diſpoſal of their cargoes in the Windward Iſlands?

In the Windward Iſlands, where I have reſided, the cargoes are generally diſpoſed of within ten days after their arrival from Africa.

Can you ſtate what is the mortality in general, during the interval between the arrival of the ſhips and the ſales?

I have

I have very often ſold cargoes without loſing a Slave; and I think the average of the loſs in the Windward Iſlands cannot well be eſtimated at much more than one per cent.

Is it a common practice in the Weſt Indies to make up Slaves newly imported for the purpoſe of ſale; is it meant, by making up Slaves, by ſtopping their ſores, and ſimilar practices; or are any medical arts uſed to conceal the real ſtate of health in the Slaves?

It is not a common cuſtom. The captain and other officers, who have the charge of cargoes, always make a point of purchaſing ſuch proviſions, roots, and vegetables, as are proper and neceſſary for the Slaves, in order to refreſh them, after ſo long a voyage; and it is ever cuſtomary, on the arrival of Guineamen, to carry ſome of their countrymen on board, in order to inform the Slaves of the purpoſes for which they are carried to the Weſt Indies; but there never, to my knowledge, occurred an inſtance of any undue or improper means being uſed in the phyſical way to prepare Slaves for the market.

At the time of the ſales of Negroes, is any attention uſed to prevent the ſeparation of thoſe Slaves who are connected by relationſhip or other ties?

There is the greateſt attention uſed. I never knew an inſtance of children being ſeparated from their parents; and even where Slaves have contracted habits of friendſhip in their paſſage from Africa, they are almoſt in every inſtance ſold together.

Do Slaves newly imported, or thoſe who have been made free, generally expreſs a deſire of returning to Afrca?

I never knew an inſtance of it.

Did you ever find amongſt Slaves newly imported a ſingle Chriſtian?

I never did.

Are the Slaves in Grenada in general Chriſtians?

They are.

Are thoſe Slaves, whom you have ſeen during your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, in a ſtate of apparent happineſs or comfort, or otherwiſe?

They are in a ſtate of comfort and happineſs.

Do you recollect any inſtances of Negro Freemem marrying Negro Slaves, though they know that the certain conſequence of ſuch connection is, that the children of ſuch perſons are born Slaves?

I recollect ſeveral inſtances.

Is it poſſible, in your opinion, by any regulation in this country, to prevent the introduction of new Slaves into the Weſt India Iſlands?

It is not poſſible.

Has France endeavoured to extend her Slave Trade of late years, by bounties, or any other means?

She certainly has. The bounty on the tonnage employed in the African Trade from France, and the gratification paid by government on the importation of Slaves in the French Weſt India Iſlands, amount nearly to ſeven pounds ſterling per head; and notwithſtanding the preſent diſtreſſed ſituation of the revenues in France, ſhe is ſo extremely anxious to forward the proſperity of her colonies, that theſe bounties and gratifications are even now regularly paid.

Can you ſtate what number of ſhips are employed by France in her Trade to the Weſt Indies?

I cannot preciſely ſtate the number, but knowing the French Weſt India Trade to be much more conſiderable than that of the Britiſh Colonies, and that ſhe is by her marine laws obliged to carry double the number of men that are uſually carried in Britiſh ſhips, I am firmly of opinion, that the number of ſeamen employed in the French Weſt India Trade is upwards of fifty thouſand.

Can you ſtate what number of Slaves are imported from Africa by France into her Weſt India Iſlands, or bought by her from other foreign nations?

I cannot exactly ſtate the number, but from the information I have received of the French African Trade, and the number of Britiſh veſſels that are maſked under French colours for the purpoſe of carrying Slaves to the Weſt India Iſlands, I think her annual importation muſt exceed twenty thouſand.

Can you ſtate whether Spain is now purſuing any meaſures to acquire a ſhare in the Slave Trade?

Spain is giving every poſſible encouragement to her ſubjects

to

to engage in the African Trade, and a great many inferior officers have gone from this country to aſſiſt in navigating her ſhips; but as the merchants of Spain are extremely backward in following commercial purſuits, the Spaniſh government have opened ſeveral free ports in their Weſt India and American Colonies for the purpoſe of admitting all foreigners with Slaves.

Has America adopted any meaſures for the purpoſe of acquiring a ſhare in the Slave Trade?

She has—and there are ſeveral conſiderable inſurances now making in this city on Guineamen belonging to the American States.

From what ports or provinces of the United States of America is this Trade carried on?

The principal African Trade carried on from America is from the ſtates of Maſſachuſet's Bay and Rhode Iſland; but the inſurances I allude to are on Guineamen from Boſton, from the ſtate of Virginia, and from Charles Town, South Carolina.

Are not all other foreign powers who have any ſhare in the Slave Trade at this very period endeavouring to increaſe that ſhare?

They certainly are; and being in correſpondence with the moſt conſiderable houſe in Copenhagen, I can affirm that a conſiderable number of Guineamen will be fitted out from that port, the very inſtant the trade is aboliſhed in this country.

Can you form an eſtimate of the value of the African and Weſt India Trade to this country?

From my knowledge of the Weſt India and African Trade, as a merchant, I am of opinion, that the groſs value of both thoſe branches of valuable commerce, including freight, and the charges attending the commodities of the Weſt India Iſlands, exceeds ſeven millions ſterling per annum.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place for a few years only, could the trade in your judgment ever be recovered?

I am of opinion that it could not, for after trade has been once diverted out of its natural channel, it is almoſt impoſſible to recover it.

What effect do you apprehend the abolition of the Slave Trade

would produce in the minds of thoſe Slaves who are already in the Weſt Indies?

It muſt immediately throw them into a ſtate of diſcontent and deſpondency; for, it is remarkable, that every freſh importation of Slaves is highly acceptable to the minds of the reſident Negroes of the Iſland.

What effect do you apprehend that it would produce on the minds of the White inhabitants of the Weſt Indies?

As this meaſure is conſidered by the inhabitants of the Weſt India Iſlands in general as a violent innovation of their rights, and a direct attack on their properties, it cannot fail of introducing diſorder into all the colonial legiſlative bodies, and alienating the affections of our ſubjects in the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands from this country.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Can you ſtate the quantity of ſugar, and other produce, from your eſtate, in the years from 1780 to 1789 incluſive?

I cannot exactly ſtate the produce, but I am of opinion that the average of the crop of ſugar, during that period, might be 240 hogſheads per annum; the common proportion of rum produced may be eſtimated from ſixty-five to ſeventy gallons for every hogſhead of ſugar.

Was there any material difference in the produce in any one of the years above mentioned?

The eſtate fell off conſiderably for three years, after the loſs in 1786, and has not ſince recovered itſelf.

Have you ſince the year 1786 worked the ſame quantity of land that you worked before, and for the ſame ſpecies of produce?

In the Iſland of Grenada the land generally rattoons for a number of years; and by the falling off of our gang, in conſequence of the ſickneſs in 1786, we have not been able to open or re-plant the quantity of land which we otherwiſe ſhould have done.

How many different managers have you had on your eſtate; and if more than one, diſtinguiſh the period of new ones being appointed?

It is not poſſible for me to recollect the different periods at which

which managers have been diſcharged.—I have had five managers on the eſtate ſince it was purchaſed in 1765.

Has there been any change ſince the year 1783 or 1784?
There has not.

Are many of the Free Negroes perſons who have purchaſed their freedom of their maſters.
There are many in that ſituation.

What proportion of the whole number of Free Negroes is it your opinion may be claſſed under this deſcription?
It is impoſſible to ſpeak with any accuracy, as to the number; many purchaſe their freedom, but the greater number are emancipated by their maſters for their faithful ſervices.

Were the Negro women, of whom you ſpoke as being ſometimes married to Free Negroes, of the deſcription of field Negroes?
Very frequently.

What was the proportion of males and females in your ſtock of Negroes?
I had a greater proportion of females than were upon eſtates in general; and I believe they might amount to rather more than two-fifths, having, when I left the Weſt Indies, ſent all my female houſe Slaves to my eſtate.

What was the effect on their minds upon their being ſo ſent?
They were perfectly ſatisfied with their ſituation.

Are the field Slaves in general as contented with their ſituation as the domeſtic Slaves with theirs?
The domeſtic Slaves, from their ſituation, have a few comforts and conveniencies which the field Slaves cannot poſſibly have; but I have always obſerved, that the field Slaves were full as happy as the others.

Of the deaths which have happened amongſt your Slaves, what proportion has been amongſt children?
The ſituation of my eſtate being remarkably healthy, and the Slaves exceedingly well attended to, the women were more prolific than they are in general; and therefore I had a greater num-

ber of children; but as a very great proportion of them died within the ninth day, I think that the loſs of infants was fully equal to that of grown Slaves.

Have Negroes ever been hired for the cultivation of your eſtate?

I have frequently hired gangs of Negroes for the purpoſe of opening land, and in particular when the eſtate was in an imperfect ſtate of cultivation.

Do you believe the Slaves in the Weſt Indian Iſlands to be better or worſe treated than they were formerly?

I think they are much better treated.

Has the price of Slaves increaſed of late years; and to what do you attribute that increaſe?

The price of Slaves has increaſed conſiderably ſince I was firſt in the habits of ſelling cargoes of Slaves in the Weſt India Iſlands; and there has of late been a very conſiderable riſe in their value, owing, I ſuppoſe, to the apprehenſions of the inhabitants of having the African Slave Trade aboliſhed in this country.—The average value of cargoes preceding the late war was from twenty-five to thirty-three pounds ſterling per head, according to the countries they came from; but ſince the war the general average of Slaves has been from thirty to forty pounds ſterling.—Now indeed, in the Iſland of Jamaica, many cargoes have lately averaged from forty-two to fifty pounds ſterling.

Can you ſtate what was the increaſe in the price of male and female Slaves reſpectively?

The increaſe was proportioned according to their uſual value.—In cargoes that have averaged forty pounds, the men Slaves might be ſold as high as fifty pounds, when the women brought about forty-five pounds.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 20° die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Inform

Inform the Committee at what periods and at what time you have reſided in the Weſt Indies, and on what Iſlands? Mr. BAILLIE.

I have reſided in the Weſt Indies from 1755 to 1771—my chief reſidence was in the Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Grenada, but I had occaſion to viſit all the Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, even including French, Daniſh, and Dutch, except the Iſland of Jamaica.

Can you inform the Committee of the actual diminution of your crop ſince the year 1786?

In the years 1787 and 1788 the crop fell off about one-fifth of the uſual returns—in 1789 the crop was better; and as the Negroes that were purchaſed to replace thoſe who died in 1786 are now perfectly ſeaſoned, I expect my eſtate this year will give the uſual returns.

Of what number did your gang conſiſt in 1785?

To the beſt of my remembrance about 290 Slaves.

What number of theſe were old, what infants, what domeſtic, what artificers and tradeſmen of the various deſcriptions in the gang of Negroes, and what able field Slaves?

The domeſtic Slaves did not exceed ſix—but as I am not prepared with a particular liſt of my Slaves, I can only ſay, that the eſtate, in tradeſmen, drivers, and field Negroes, was full as well appointed as any eſtate in the Iſland, having always made it a point to keep my plantations rather over-handed.

What quantity of proviſion-ground is commonly allotted to a Negro Slave in the Iſland of Grenada?

The quantity of land depends in a great meaſure on the quality of it, but upon the Hermitage eſtate, which contains in all very near 400 acres, fifty acres of the moſt valuable and ſeaſonable part of the eſtate is allotted for proviſion-grounds; and as the eſtates in the Iſland of Grenada are in general very extenſive in proportion to the quantity of ſugar they make, the Negroes are univerſally well appointed in proviſion-grounds.

Is the proviſion-ground worked by the whole gang, or has every Negro his own diſtinct allotment?

The proviſion-grounds are regularly laid out in allotments, proportioned to the number in the different families of the Negroes—they are moſtly attended to by the Negroes themſelves at their ſpare hours, but one day in the week is always allotted for

ſending the whole gang of Negroes, with the White overſeers, to inſpect the proviſion-grounds, and help the working of them, ſo as to keep them in a proper ſtate of cultivation.

What would you ſay of the treatment and condition of Slaves in the French Weſt India Iſlands, comparing them with our own?

The French domeſtic Slaves, from their greater habits of intimacy with the White people, are generally better cloathed than the domeſtic Slaves in the Engliſh Iſlands; but from my obſervation of the French Weſt India field Negroes, I do not conſider their ſituation by any means ſo comfortable; and I have always obſerved, that puniſhments are adminiſtered with much more ſeverity in the French Iſlands than in the Engliſh Iſlands.

In what other reſpects do you think the ſituation of the field Negroes in the Weſt India Iſlands leſs comfortable?

The eſtates in the French Weſt India Iſlands being in general much more under-handed than in the Britiſh Iſlands, their work is conſequently much harder; and, from my obſervations, I do not think them ſo well cloathed as the Engliſh Negroes.—The laws of the French Iſlands in reſpect to proviſions are in general founded upon proper principles, but they are by no means well adminiſtered.

Are not the proprietors of plantations in the French Iſlands more commonly reſident on their eſtates than proprietors are on the Engliſh Iſlands?

They are much more ſo.

Are not Slaves ſold dearer in the French than in the Britiſh Iſlands?

They always are, for the French Iſlands being conſiderably larger than the Britiſh Iſlands, the improvements are conſequently greater, and that never fails of raiſing the value of Slaves.

Are the taxes higher in the Engliſh than in the French Iſlands; and is there commonly any poll-tax on Slaves in the latter; and if there be any, at what period of the Slave's life does it commence?

The taxes in the Britiſh Iſlands previous to the late war were much more inconſiderable than in the French Iſlands; but ſince the war, the inhabitants of the Britiſh Iſlands have moſt readily given liberal and conſiderable aids to government in fortifying the Iſlands—this has augmented the taxes very much; and at preſent I am of opinion that the taxes in the Britiſh Iſlands are full as heavy

heavy as in the French Iſlands—the taxes in ſome Iſlands are raiſed by a capitation or poll-tax on Slaves, and in other Iſlands by certain aſſeſſments on the produce; and I believe that in Iſlands where the capitation tax prevails, the tax is paid generally on Slaves of every age, although there is always an exception made by the legiſlature of the colonies, of the Slaves of neceſſitous aged people, and of neceſſitous orphans, who generally pay no tax—I believe the taxes in the French Iſlands are generally raiſed by a capitation or poll-tax—but I cannot poſſibly ſpeak as to the period of its commencement.

Does the French planter furniſh his Slaves with proviſions at a dearer or cheaper rate than the Britiſh planter?

The French Weſt India Iſlands, from their ſize, and the ſeaſonableneſs of their climate, have ſufficient grounds for ſupplying their Negroes with proviſions, and they are in general allotted to them in the manner they are in the Engliſh Iſlands; but ſuch proviſions as are imported from North America for the uſe of the Slaves and White Inhabitants are now had upon much more reaſonable terms on the French than on the Engliſh Iſlands, owing to the open and uninterrupted ſtate of the trade between the French and American Colonies—but ſuch ſalt proviſions as go from Europe for the uſe of Slaves are in general dearer in the French than in the Britiſh Iſlands.

Is the number of Whites in the French Iſlands greater or leſs than in the Britiſh?

Much greater in the French Iſlands.

Is the number of White ſervants employed by the French planter greater or leſs than that employed by the Britiſh?

I think in general they are pretty nearly the ſame.

What number of White ſervants have you commonly had in your own employ, and in what ſituations?

I have generally employed five and ſometimes ſix White people, to wit, a manager—two overſeers—a carpenter—a waggoner—and, for the greateſt part of the time I have been in poſſeſſion of my eſtate, a ſurgeon.

Do you apprehend the conſumption of Slaves to be greater or leſs in the French Iſlands, than in the Britiſh?

I believe the conſumption to be conſiderably greater in the French Iſlands.

What is the condition of Slaves in the Daniſh Iſlands, compared with what it is in our own?

The Daniſh Iſlands are in general ſmall, and therefore not well appointed in proviſion-grounds; but having acceſs to an uninterrupted intercourſe with North America, they have the proviſions of that country on much more reaſonable terms than in our Iſlands.—The condition of the Slaves I apprehend to be pretty much the ſame, as three-fourths of the planters, in the Daniſh Weſt India Iſlands, are Britiſh-born ſubjects, or their deſcendants. —The Daniſh government have given every poſſible encouragement to the introducing of the Chriſtian Religion among their Slaves, and they are permitted to attend the ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church of Denmark, the Roman Catholic chapels, or thoſe of the different ſectaries with which that Iſland abounds; and I am of opinion that if the government of Great Britain was to pay more attention to the inſtruction of Slaves, their morals might be very much improved, and that it might in the end prove a greater ſecurity to the welfare of the Weſt India Iſlands than people in general are aware of.

What do you apprehend might be the conſequence to the Daniſh Iſlands, of ſtopping or obſtructing the intercourſe for their proviſions between them and North America?

The meaſure would be extremely diſtreſſing; for the Daniſh Iſlands, as I obſerved before, are very ſmall, and very uncertain in their ſeaſons, therefore they can ſeldom or ever depend on an ample ſupply of proviſion for their Negroes, from the lands that are allotted for that purpoſe.

Can you give the Committee any information reſpecting the conſumption of Slaves in the Daniſh Iſlands?

I cannot be very particular on that ſubject; but, although the Daniſh Iſlands are at preſent in a ſtate of perfect cultivation, they are under the neceſſity of purchaſing a number of Slaves annually to keep up their numbers.

What has been, and what do you conceive to be at preſent, the price of Slaves in the Daniſh Iſlands, compared with the prices in our own?

As the Daniſh Iſlands are all free ports, and are open to the introduction of Slaves in American and other foreign bottoms, I am of opinion that Slaves are at preſent on rather more reaſonable terms in the Daniſh than in the Britiſh or French Iſlands.—Formerly that was not the caſe, for when I reſided in the Iſland

of Saint Chriſtopher, I ſold many cargoes to the inhabitants of the Daniſh Iſlands, at better prices than could be got for them in the Britiſh Iſlands.

What is the condition of Slaves in the Dutch ſettlements?

The condition of Slaves in the Dutch Iſlands (which is the only part of their ſettlements that I have been in) is by no means ſo comfortable as in the Britiſh Iſlands.

What is the ſituation of Slaves in the Spaniſh Iſlands?

The only Spaniſh Iſland I ever was in, was Hiſpaniola, and from all the obſervations I could make on the manners of the Slaves and inhabitants, they all ſeemed to live in a ſtate of nature, cultivating barely as much land as appeared neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; but that Iſland, as well as all their ſettlements, abound with proviſions and fruits, in ſuch profuſion, and wild cattle and hogs, that the Slaves live very comfortable.

What prices are at preſent paid by the Spaniſh merchants for Slaves in their continental and inſular ſettlements?

I cannot be particular as to the prices paid by individuals, but the Spaniſh government contracts have generally been made of late from thirty to thirty-three pounds ſterling per head, and as the Negroes they take are not of the moſt valuable kind, and the cargoes are always paid for in ready money, thoſe are conſidered good prices.

Do you think the regulating act has operated to encreaſe the price of Slaves in our Iſlands?

I have always conſidered that act to be an advantage to the Trade —and were it not for the ideas that are entertained in the Iſlands of a total abolition, I am perſuaded it could not have the effect of raiſing the value of Slaves.

Have not our African merchants certain advantages for carrying on the Slave Trade, which enable them to carry it on, on cheaper terms than the merchants of other nations?

They certainly have; but the advantages of carrying on trade are not peculiarly confined to their ſituation, but ariſe from the great improvements in every branch of our manufactures, trade, and navigation.

Is the capital employed in trade by the African merchants conſiderable?

It is very conſiderable.

Does it require a conſiderable capital to carry on the African Trade?

It certainly does, notwithſtanding the great opulence of our tradeſmen affords accommodations to the African, as well as all other merchants, that are not known in other countries.

Do you conceive, in caſe of the introduction of Slaves into the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands being prohibited, it would be impoſſible, or extremely difficult, to prevent Slaves being run in from the neighbouring Iſlands?

I certainly do; for though the inhabitants of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands are in themſelves as affectionate and as warm ſubjects as any in His Majeſty's dominions, yet an attempt of this kind would be conſidered ſo extremely oppreſſive, that univerſal reſiſtance would be given to it; and where it is the intereſt of every Black and White inhabitant of an Iſland to introduce new Negro Slaves, no laws can be formed that can prevent the importation of them into our Iſlands.

Do you conceive it would be for the intereſt of the public in general, and of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands in particular, to prohibit the African merchants from furniſhing Slaves for the ſupply of foreign ſettlements, mediately or immediately.

I do think it would be very much to the injury of the Trade of this country to take any meaſure of the kind; for were the Britiſh African merchant prevented from ſupplying foreigners with Slaves by a trade carried on directly in Britiſh bottoms from this country, conſiderable numbers of them would remove themſelves and their families to other ports in Europe, where they would meet with very great encouragement; and this would not only prove an immediate loſs to the trade and navigation of this country, but might be the means of encouraging many of our valuable manufacturers to leave this kingdom, and eſtabliſh themſelves in foreign governments.

Do you not think the terms were very reaſonable on which the lands were granted to the ſettlers in the Ceded Iſlands?

Very far from it, for every acre of His Majeſty's lands in thoſe Iſlands was ſold conſiderably above its value.

Was it at a conſiderable expence that they were ſettled; and by what was that expence chiefly occaſioned?

They were ſettled at a very conſiderable expence, ariſing in the firſt place from the tedious manner in which ſugar plantations are brought

brought into any ſtate of cultivation, ſo as to make a return to the proprietor—the buildings in every inſtance are of conſiderable value; and in the ſettlement of all new lands there is certainly a greater proportion of Slaves loſt, than on eſtates that are in perfect cultivation.

Are the lands which you have ſold at preſent in the hands of the perſons to whom you have ſold them?

They are in general.

Were the Slaves, ſome of whom you mentioned as having £. 200 property, field Slaves?

The only Slave who was poſſeſſed of a property of that value on my eſtate was a field Slave, in the capacity of a driver; and all his family, which conſiſted of upwards of forty perſons, were employed in different occupations in the field; and their conduct was ſo very exemplary, that during my reſidence on my own eſtate there never was one of the family puniſhed.

What was the price of Slaves about the period of the ſettlement of the Ceded Iſlands?

The average value of Slaves at the time the Ceded Iſlands were ſettled was about thirty pounds ſterling.

What is the condition, in reſpect to religion and morals, of the Slaves in the new and old Iſlands belonging to Great Britain?

In the Iſland of Grenada, which was ceded to us with a conſiderable number of Slaves upon it, the Negroes were all Roman Catholics, and continue ſo to this period—they are all baptized, and one-third of every gang of Slaves are admitted to attend divine ſervice on Sunday—they are likewiſe in the habits of attending to morning and evening prayers, according to the rites of their religion, round the houſe of the proprietor or manager; and I am convinced, from my obſervations on Slaves in that and other Iſlands, that religion has an exceeding good effect on their morals.—In the old Engliſh Iſlands, and even the Ceded Iſlands of Saint Vincent and Dominique, the Negroes in reſpect to religion are very ſhamefully neglected.

Is it not a conſiderable time before the African Negroes underſtand the language of the Iſland ſufficiently to profit from the inſtructions of their teachers?

The new Negroes in general have a remarkable quickneſs in learning of languages; and as they are always committed to the care of the old and experienced Slaves, in Iſlands where religion

is attended to, their protector, as he is called, makes a point of introducing them very early to the miſſionary of the diſtrict, and they are always baptized as ſoon as they are ſuppoſed to have any idea of the language.

What were the ſymptoms of the complaint that was ſo fatal to your Slaves in the year 1786?

I can only ſpeak of that by the repreſentations which were made to me by my attornies—the complaint from their account ſeemed to originate with a violent pain on their right ſide, which never failed of bringing on a fever, and that I ſuppoſe continued until their diſorder proved fatal to them, or came into a ſtate of recovery.

Was it more fatal to the field or to the domeſtic Slaves?

The diſorder ſeemed to prevail univerſally among my Slaves; and from a paſſage in my attornies letters I remember their mentioning the loſs of two very fine young perſons, one a male and the other a female, who were about ſixteen years of age, and were employed as domeſtic Slaves.

What number of White men are ordinarily employed in plantation ſervice, and in what ſtations?

I believe in general that the proportional numbers will hold to be pretty much the ſame on all other eſtates as I have mentioned them to be on my own.

What was the ſum you paid for the grant of lands you bought of General Monckton?

£. 32,000 ſterling for the grant, which contained 4,000 acres.

How long is it before the great expence of buying Slaves for clearing new lands, for erecting works, and all other charges incident to a ſugar eſtate, will allow ſuch eſtate to make any return?

From the beſt of my obſervation, I am of opinion that no return whatever can be expected from an eſtate ſettled out of woods, in leſs than four years; and that it will require ten years to make returns of any conſiderable value.

What might it coſt you to replace the Slaves who died on your Hermitage eſtate in 1786?

It is impoſſible for me to eſtimate the exact expence of ſupplying that loſs—theſe Slaves, at the time of their death, were

worth at leaft £. 3,000 ſterling; and as a greater number muſt be purchaſed to replace ſo many ſeaſoned Slaves loſt, I cannot poſſibly eſtimate my loſs at leſs than £. 3,500.

Are you of opinion that the plough can be uſed in any of the Iſlands you are acquainted with to any material advantage in the cultivation of lands in the plantations?

I am perſuaded it cannot.

Are you of opinion that the plantations can be cultivated by Europeans?

They certainly cannot.

Are not the French Weſt India Iſlands and the Britiſh Ceded Iſlands, ſo called in general, more ſeaſonable as to rain, and more plentifully furniſhed by conſtant ſtreams of water, than the old ſettled Britiſh Iſlands?

They certainly are.

Are not the eſtates in the Old Windward Iſlands in general of far leſs extent than in the Ceded Iſlands; and are not the Negro proviſion-grounds in the former conſequently leſs in quantity than in the latter?

The eſtates in the Old Windward Iſlands are not in general of above one-half the extent they are in the Ceded Iſlands, they are of courſe worſe appointed in proviſion-grounds; and as the climate of thoſe Iſlands is much more uncertain, very little dependance can be placed on their ſeaſons, therefore it is not above one year in three that their proviſions anſwer.

Is not the conſequent deficiency of the native ground proviſions in theſe Old Iſlands made up by the proprietors, by the purchaſe of imported articles of food and ſupport for their Negroes?

It certainly is.

Did not the regular and conſtant ſupply of proviſions from North America to the Old Britiſh Windward Iſlands, before the late prohibition of it, afford the planters a more certain and plentiful means of feeding and ſupporting their Slaves, than any they now have by the other ſubſtituted channels of importation?

It certainly did.

You ſaid that the average price of Slaves at the time of ſettling the Ceded Iſlands was thirty pounds—do you mean by that the average

average price of Slaves by the cargo, or the average value of the prime new Negroes?

I meant the average price of Slaves by the cargo.

Did you ever in your experience know a free Negro offer himſelf to work for hire in the field in any of the Britiſh Iſlands?

I never knew an inſtance of it.

Are there not large ſums of money due from the Britiſh planters upon mortgage and otherwiſe, to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

Very conſiderable ſums.

Are there not alſo conſiderable ſums due from them to foreigners who have been encouraged to lend their money by Britiſh acts of Parliament, on the ſecurity of their plantations, Slaves, and other property in the Weſt Indies?

There are conſiderable foreign loans on eſtates on almoſt every one of the Windward Iſlands.

Is it not common in contracts and engagements entered into by the planters, for them to convenant with their mortgagees and other creditors to keep up the number of their Slaves, and to add to the ſecurity all ſubſequently purchaſed ones, ſo as to prevent a diminution of the value and produce of the eſtate?

It is almoſt in every inſtance.

Is not alſo a ſimilar engagement entered into by leſſees of ſugar eſtates in the Britiſh plantations?

It always is.

What will be the conſequence to the credit of the Britiſh planters with their creditors in this country, and among foreigners, if the Slave Trade ſhould be aboliſhed?

The credit of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands is already ſo materially injured by the meaſures which have been taken in this country, that it is not now poſſible to borrow money on any terms, upon the beſt ſecurity that can be offered in the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands; and if the African trade is aboliſhed, the creditors of thoſe colonies will no doubt take immediate meaſures for the recovery of their debts, as they will not any longer conſider them in a ſtate of ſecurity.—The eſtates, if no regular ſupplies are granted them, muſt daily diminiſh in crop, and of courſe the ſecurity, in a certain time, will come to nothing.

Do

Do you know any of the circumſtances of a tranſaction which is ſaid to have happened reſpecting the carrying away from the coaſt of Africa to Barbadoes a certain number of pawns, and what became of thoſe pawns?

Being the correſpondent of the houſe of Meſſ^rs^. Arnold, Bruce, and Company, in the Iſland of Dominique, I was informed by letter from theſe gentlemen, ſome time in the month of May or June 1788, that the ſhip Molly of Liverpool, commanded by Captain Bebby, had arrived to their addreſs from the Cameroons on the Coaſt of Africa with a cargo of Slaves, among whom the captain ſaid there were a certain number of pawns; that a few days after the arrival of the Molly at Dominique, the ſchooner Gainſborough arrived from the Cameroons with a Free Black Man on board, named Quaoo, and inſtructions and letters from the captains of ſeveral ſhips at the Cameroons, who had been ſeized on and detained by the natives of that country, until ſuch time as theſe pawns were redeemed; the very day the ſchooner arrived at Dominique, Meſſrs. Arnold and Bruce carried the Free Man Quaoo on board the Molly, and deſired him to point out the Negroes he conſidered as pawns; he accordingly pointed out twenty-two men, who were immediately carried on ſhore, and treated with the greateſt tenderneſs and humanity, until the ſchooner Gainſborough was refitted, and in a condition to return to the Coaſt of Africa; theſe pawns, ſome time in the month of July 1788, went on board the ſchooner, and ſailed for Africa; the ſaid ſchooner arrived ſafe at the Cameroons on the Coaſt of Africa, and ſo far were the inhabitants from being diſpoſed to redeem thoſe pawns, that they would not have any thing to ſay to them, notwithſtanding the many applications that were made by the Captain of the Gainſborough, and the other commanders who were trading in the river Cameroon at the time. After laying a conſiderable time on the Coaſt, the pawns were returned to the Weſt Indies, and are now in the Iſland of Dominique, on the plantation of Mr. Winſton, the late attorney-general of that colony, where they are gently wrought, and are amply cloathed and ſupplied with proviſions; they are conſidered by my correſpondents as Free Men, and remain now in that ſituation.

Was it ever repreſented to you, or do you believe from any thing that you have heard, that theſe pawns, or any of them, were the ſons or relations of princes, or great men of Africa; or what was their condition?

I do not believe they were; for by my correſpondence with Meſſrs. Arnold, Bruce, and Company, I am aſſured that the

pawns were obtained by Captain Bebby in the common courſe of trade—I am alſo aſſured by theſe gentlemen, that Captain Bebby, in the Molly, lay five or ſix weeks in the river Cameroon, after he was completely ſlaved, uſing his endeavours, during that time, to prevail on the natives to redeem the pawns.

As you have had much experience in the Slave Trade from the arrival of Slaves in the Weſt Indies, have you reaſon to believe, from the obſervations you have made, that Negroes imported from the Coaſt of Africa are taken from a more happy ſtate, thereby to be placed in a worſe?

It is impoſſible for me to ſpeak with preciſion to that queſtion, having never been on the Coaſt of Africa; but from my long intimacy and acquaintance with many commanders of Guineamen (whom I have found very intelligent) I have not a doubt of their ſituation being infinitely more comfortable in the Weſt India Iſlands than on the Coaſt of Africa.

In the accounts of the population of the Weſt India Iſlands, are Free People of colour ordinarily ranked under the deſcription of Free Negroes?

They generally are.

Conſidering that in one day, or in one day and a half, the Slaves are to cultivate proviſion-grounds ſufficient for their whole ſubſiſtence, and ſufficient alſo to enable them to make the acquiſitions they are repreſented to poſſeſs, is not this a laborious ſervice?

Very far from it; for the cultivation of proviſion-grounds in the Weſt India Iſlands that are ſeaſonable is attended with very little labour; and a great proportion of the food of Slaves is the fruit of bananas and plantane-trees, which do not require continual attention.

Is not vegetation very quick in the Weſt India climates, and conſequently proviſions and other fruits of the earth very ſoon at maturity?

They are.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Mr.

Mr. JOHN CASTLES called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?
Of England.

Have you reſided in the Weſt Indies?
I reſided in the Weſt Indies from 1766 to 1788, except one year, which I ſpent in a viſit to England.

In what Iſland?
In the Iſland of Grenada.

Did you practiſe phyſic and ſurgery in that iſland?
I did till within two years of the time I left it.

What number of plantations did you attend?
Generally from ſix to ten ſugar plantations.

About what number of Negroes did you attend?
From twelve to fifteen hundred.

Are you a proprietor of land yourſelf?
I purchaſed a piece of land uncultivated and in wood, in partnerſhip with another gentleman, in the year 1771, which we cultivated and put into ſugar—I afterwards bought the other moiety, and now poſſeſs the whole.

Would you have purchaſed that land, or could you have effected that ſettlement without a ſupply of Negroes from Africa?
No—we furniſhed the eſtate entirely with Negroes from the Coaſt of Africa.

According to your joint experience, both as a planter and as a medical man, is it your opinion that the population of Negroes in Grenada will remain in its preſent ſtate, without recruits from time to time of new Negroes from Africa?
No—I think the population will diminiſh every year.

What are your reaſons for that opinion?
There are ſeveral; in the firſt place, the Negro women are not ſo prolific as the women of this country, which I apprehend to

be owing to exceſſive and promiſcuous intercourſe with the other ſex, and that commenced at a very early period; from this cauſe, they do not in general breed till a pretty advanced age, viz. from twenty-five to thirty years of age, when they are not ſo much the objects of deſire with the men; therefore a great part of the moſt proper time for the propagation of the ſpecies is totally loſt. When they do breed at an early period, which is very ſeldom the caſe, the children generally die, and the mothers ſuffer ſo much, that they are unfit for bearing children at a more advanced and more proper age. When they do bear children, they keep them at the breaſt generally two years, by which means there can be one birth only in two years and a half, or three years, being a longer period than is generally allowed in this country for that purpoſe.—Children are ſubject very ſoon after their birth to a diſeaſe called the tetanus or locked jaw, which is ſo fatal, that the Negro women conceive only one half of the danger of the birth with reſpect to the child till the ninth day, to which time they look with great anxiety. To be underſtood with reſpect to the cauſes of this diſeaſe, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that phyſicians, in deſcribing the cauſe of diſeaſes with any degree of accuracy, divide them into two claſſes; the remote procatarcic, or prediſpoſing, and the proximate, without the concurrence of both of which the diſeaſe cannot be produced; for inſtance, one perſon, from laying in damp ſheets, ſhall only be ſlightly indiſpoſed, or catch a cold, as it is commonly called; whereas another, from the ſame cauſe, ſhall be ſeized with a dangerous or perhaps fatal pleuriſy or peripneumony: there muſt be ſome reaſon why the ſame cauſe has not had the ſame effect. It will be found, in the latter caſe, a plethora, or inflammatory diatheſis, had been induced in the ſyſtem, perhaps by full or hard living, or violent exerciſe, which is the prediſpoſing cauſe of the pleuriſy or peripneumony, which would however have poſſibly gone off without any danger, and would not have produced the diſeaſe without the acceſſion of the proximate cauſe, which is ſudden ſtoppage of perſpiration by laying in wet linen. The prediſpoſing cauſe of tetanus or locked jaw, I conceive to be exceſſive irritability of ſyſtem, induced by the warm climate. That this irritability exiſts in a very high degree in the Weſt Indies, is well known; for this diſeaſe is frequently occaſioned by the moſt trifling cauſes, ſuch as a cut or prick in the finger or toe, or from ſuddenly catching cold after violent exerciſe, even in adults of all deſcriptions, of White or Black; but phyſicians know that, ceteris paribus, irritability of ſyſtem is greater in young perſons than in old, and that in proportion to the age or nearneſs to the time of birth; hence

hence the greateſt degree of irritability muſt exiſt immediately after birth, and hence this diſeaſe muſt be more frequent at that time than at any future period of life. The proximate cauſes of tetanus are all cauſes of pain or irritation; the moſt common are, the wound left on the navel on the ſeparation of the navel-ſtring, the retention of the meconium, bad milk, or ſudden expoſure to cold. Theſe cauſes, I apprehend, occur as frequently in this country as in the Weſt Indies, but they do not produce the diſeaſe, becauſe the prediſpoſing cauſe is either abſent altogether, or exiſts in a very ſmall degree.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 22° *die Februarii* 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination.

Mr. CASTLES.

Does the proximate cauſe exiſt in a greater degree in the Weſt Indies than in this country?

On the contrary, I think that the proximate cauſe of infantine tetanus muſt occur rather more frequently in this country than in the Weſt Indies, for want of that medical aid, and thoſe comforts which the Negroes in the Weſt Indies ſo univerſally enjoy.—Convulſions and fatal fevers often happen from dentition, from the ſame reaſon as the tetanus, viz. exceſſive irritability of the ſyſtem.—It is certain that as much pain is occaſioned by the teeth making their way through the gums in this country as in the Weſt Indies; but the prediſpoſing cauſe of convulſions or fever being abſent, few are loſt in that way in this country—the ſame doctrine will hold with reſpect to worms, with this addition, that worms in children are much more common in the Weſt Indies than in England, owing, I apprehend, to their vegetable diet, great part of which is uſed in a crude ſtate, particularly fruits, which they have in greater plenty than the lower ſort of people in this country.—Another cauſe of depopulation is fatal epidemical diſeaſes—in the year 1771 or 1772 a catarrhal fever, very like the influenza, which I found on my arrival in this country in 1788,

carried off great numbers of both Whites and Blacks.—About ſeven or eight years ago a putrid ſore throat was epidemical, and proved generally fatal to children—thoſe who took the ſmall-pox naturally, generally died; and although inoculation was in general very ſucceſsful, yet on ſome plantations many died—the meaſles were not fatal in themſelves, but often left the patients in ſuch ſituations as they did not recover from—and very lately a diſeaſe, commonly called the liver complaint, carried off great numbers of Negroes on ſome plantations—with reſpect to Grenada in particular, there are a great proportion of Negroes from the coaſt of Africa, in conſequence of which the proportion of women is ſmall in compariſon to the males.—I forgot formerly to mention that women in warm countries leave off breeding ſooner than in more temperate ones.

What proportion of the children which are born die within the month?

On the eſtates which I attended, taken collectively, I think about one third part of the children died within the month—on my own eſtate I loſt more than that proportion.

Did you give all neceſſary care and attention to raiſe the children that were born on your own eſtate?

Moſt certainly, and very often conſulted with medical men on that ſubject.

Did you not think it highly for your intereſt to raiſe Negro children?

Moſt certainly, and long before I ever thought this matter would be agitated.

Do you know, or did you ever hear of any effectual remedy for the jaw-fall among children?

No—my practice was to avoid all cauſes of pain or irritation, in order to prevent the diſeaſe, ſuch as taking care to purge off the meconium, to have the wound on the navel properly dreſſed, to pay attention to the nurſe, and to have comfortable warm lodgings, when the women were brought to bed in particular.

Are not White children born there equally ſubject to this complaint?

There were but few White children in that part of the Iſland where I reſided, but I am well informed by my brother, who is major of the 66th regiment, that the women of that regiment were

were very prolific after their arrival in the Weſt Indies, but that they reared very few of their children.

What proportion of the Negro children that are born arrive at the age of puberty?

In my opinion not one-third—on my own eſtate I loſt more; and when I left Grenada I had only twenty-three Creoles, the produce of about 130 or 140 African Slaves, in the courſe of fifteen or ſixteen years, ſix or ſeven of which only were fit for mule-boys.

Among the women imported what proportion of them breed?

Very few, I think—we uſed to buy our Negroes in lots of ten, among which there were three or four females at moſt; one or two of which only were capable of bearing children.

Are there not in ſuch lots females paſt bearing children, and are there not alſo children?

Always.

Do not the Negroes bring upon themſelves diſeaſes which prove fatal to them, by their nocturnal viſits, and the manner in which they frequently paſs the night?

Very often—they are ſo fond of the dance, that they will frequently, after they have done their work, go five or ſix miles in order to enjoy that diverſion, and come home time enough at the calling of the liſt in the morning; from which reaſon I always found more ſick perſons in the hoſpital on the Monday than in the latter part of the week—the Saturday and Sunday night being the moſt common times for that kind of amuſement; I am certain they hurt themſelves more from that cauſe than from their labour for their maſter throughout the week.

Is it your opinion that the reaſon why the Negro women do not breed in a greater degree, or why children are not raiſed, is, that the Negroes are not well treated, or made to labour too hard?

Certainly not, but from the cauſes I have already aſſigned.

Has it not coſt you a large ſum of money to ſettle your plantation?

A very large ſum—more than it is worth in my opinion.

Would you have made that purchaſe or ſettlement if you had underſtood

underſtood that you were to be deprived of the means of ſupplying yourſelf with African Negroes?

Impoſſible, becauſe I purchaſed the eſtate in woods, which could have yielded no revenue at all.

Is your eſtate now fully ſtocked with Negroes?

It is.

Can you keep up the number without occaſional ſupplies from Africa?

I have kept up my number but not my ſtrength for ſome years paſt; but ſenſible that a ſupply of Negroes from Africa would be neceſſary, I ordered five per cent. to be purchaſed annually.

Would you have left that order without a conviction of the neceſſity for it?

I certainly would not—I have given reaſons before, why I think the population will decreaſe in general.

Are there not epidemical diſorders which are frequently fatal to the ableſt and moſt healthy Negroes in large numbers?

Yes—ſuch as I have already deſcribed.

Are not thoſe diſorders alone in the Weſt Indies more than ſufficient to counterbalance the increaſe by births?

They have hitherto been ſo—beſides fatal conſequences often follow the moſt trifling accidents, in conſequence of that irritability of ſyſtem, ſo univerſally induced in the Weſt Indies from the climate—hence many adults have died of the locked jaw.

When any of thoſe loſſes are experienced, what muſt be the conſequence to the planter, if he cannot recruit his means of cultivation, by the purchaſe of African Negroes to ſupply ſuch loſſes?

Ruin—becauſe his numbers will at length decreaſe ſo much, that he will not be able to make produce of any ſort, ſugar in particular.

Are not the Negro women, in reſpect of food and labour, in fully as favourable a condition for the propagation of the human ſpecies, as the labouring part of the females in England?

In my opinion they moſt certainly are.

Is not the actual condition of the Negroes in general in the

Weſt Indies, as comfortable as that of the labouring poor in England?

Much more ſo—I have had occaſion, in a tour which I made laſt ſummer, through part of England and Scotland, to be able to anſwer this queſtion poſitively.

Did you bring any Negroes from Grenada with you?
Yes—I brought two, a man and a woman, as ſervants.

Where they ſenſible Negroes?
Very much ſo.

When in this country how were they treated?
Exactly as my other ſervants—both of them were cloathed properly for this country.

Were they in all reſpects on a footing with White ſervants?
In every reſpect.

Were they not attached to you?
Very much.

Did you wiſh them to ſtay in this country?
I wiſhed them to ſtay, at leaſt for a year or two, until I ſhould determine whether this climate would permit me to ſtay in England altogether, that they might be of uſe to me in my paſſage to the Weſt Indies again.

Were they Free Negroes?
No—the one was an African Slave, purchaſed at about the age of twelve; the woman was a Creole—both Slaves;—the man had been accuſtomed to field work in general, though occaſionally employed in the houſe—the woman I purchaſed from a tavern-keeper, where her labour was harder than that of a common field Negro.

Were they ſatisfied to ſtay in this country?
No, for in about three months they begged of me to ſend them out; and on my aſking them the reaſon, they ſaid they did not like this country: and I have found, on enquiring further, that they thought this country very dull, and pined very much after their dances, and other cuſtoms, to which they had been accuſtomed—they were far from being fond of the kind of living in this country; and when they had any money, often regaled themſelves

ſelves on a herring and potatoes, inſtead of the yams and plantanes which they commonly eat in the Weſt Indies, in preference to the beſt bread made in London, and to the ordinary food of this country.—I have very often heard the woman ſpeak with great commiſeration of a barrow-woman, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, ſelling fruit in the ſtreet, and ſaid, that if ſhe was ſo far gone with child, her maſter would not put her to ſo hard labour; and whenever ſhe paſſed this woman, always laid out ſome money in fruit with her.—I therefore ſent them both home to the Weſt Indies.

Did they appear to be ſtruck or ſurpriſed at the number of beggars, and other miſerable objects, which they obſerved in the ſtreets?

Exceedingly.—They uſed to ſay, "Puccra (White Country) "not good."

Do you recollect any obſervation being made by this Negro woman, when a White ſervant, rendered incapable by pregnancy of doing her work, was diſcharged?

Yes—One of my White ſervants became ſo big with child, that I was obliged to diſcharge her—The Negro woman thought it cruel in the higheſt degree; and ſaid, if ſhe had been in the ſame ſituation, her maſter would have taken care of her, and been very thankful to her for bringing him a child—Both the Negroes conſidered themſelves in full as good a ſituation as the other ſervants, and often told them ſo, when reproached by them with being Slaves.

Have you received any account of them ſince they have been ſent home; and is it that they are contented, or otherwiſe?

It is, that they are perfectly contented, and behave themſelves well.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Were the Negroes, of whom you have been juſt ſpeaking, domeſtic or field Negroes when in the Weſt Indies?

The man had been in the field, and done all ſorts of work there, but was occaſionally employed in the houſe when any of the other ſervants happened to be ſick; and ſome time before I brought him home I lent him to my brother to take care of his horſes—The woman was never employed in the field by me.—

I pur-

I purchaſed her from a tavern-keeper about three or four years before I left the Weſt Indies, who was generally reckoned rather a ſevere maſter, and where the work was to my knowledge harder than common field labour.

What was the age of the female, when ſhe came into your poſſeſſion?

About eleven or twelve, and had two children before ſhe was fourteen.

Were theſe two Slaves on their return to the Weſt Indies placed in the ſituation of domeſtic or field Slaves?

I gave orders that the man ſhould be put to any trade he choſe —the woman was hired out to a ſtore-keeper, for the purpoſe of hawking merchandize about the country.

Were you purchaſing Slaves during the whole of the fifteen or ſixteen years mentioned in your former anſwer; or at what period of that term had you completed the number of 130 or 140, which you have ſtated as the whole of your purchaſe?

The whole of the Slaves were purchaſed before the capture of the Iſland in 1779, but by far the greateſt number were purchaſed within the firſt, ſecond, and third year.

What do you take to be the ordinary proportion of females imported, to that of males?

In general there are two males imported to one female.

What proportion of the infants born on your own eſtate do you apprehend you loſt before they reached the age of twelve or thirteen?

More than two-thirds.

Did you loſe any of your African Negroes?

A vaſt many.

Can you ſtate the number and the deſcriptions of thoſe you loſt, whether males or females?

I cannot—I began to ſettle the eſtate in 1771, and in 1780, on examining the journal, I found, that had all the Slaves I purchaſed, and thoſe that were born on the eſtate, been alive, I ſhould have had 163 or 164; inſtead of which I had not actually 100, which is a loſs of nearly ſix per cent. per ann.

From

From your not recollecting any thing remarkable concerning the proportion of males and females amongſt the Slaves you loſt, may it not be preſumed that there was nothing remarkable in it, but that you loſt about an equal proportion of both?

Yes—I think ſo.

Did you loſe the greater number at the beginning or the latter part of the period of the nine years?

No doubt at the beginning, but more particularly from the epidemical catarrhal fever which I before mentioned.

When you ordered five per cent. on the number of your Slaves to be purchaſed annually, did you mean it for the purpoſe of keeping up your ſtock only?

Not altogether; and I deſired my attorney to purchaſe females if poſſible, in conſequence of the alarm raiſed by the report of the abolition of the Slave Trade—but I am of opinion, that perhaps two or three per cent. would keep up the number, but not the ſtrength of the plantation.

Do you apprehend it is for the planter's intereſt to go upon the ſyſtem of breeding Slaves, or of purchaſing Africans?

Planters always go upon the ſyſtem of breeding Slaves.

Queſtion repeated.

Yes, certainly.

Had you a room on your eſtate appropriated to the lying-in women; or were they commonly delivered in their own houſes?

I had no ſuch place either on my own eſtate, nor was there any ſuch place where I attended as a ſurgeon.—The women were always delivered in their own houſes.

Did you uſe any, and what other precautions, to prevent the infants from being attacked by the tetanus, than thoſe deſcribed in your former anſwer?

It was a ſubject very much diſcuſſed among medical men, and there were different opinions about it.—I tried every thing ſuggeſted, and tried different midwives, in order to prevent the mortality from this complaint, but without any great ſucceſs.

Does the irritability you ſtate as produced by the climate of the Weſt Indies prevail in a high degree amongſt the inhabitants after they reach the age of puberty; and are they often attacked by the tetanus after that period?

Moſt certainly it does, for as I before obſerved, adults of all deſcriptions, and of all ages, frequently fall victims to the tetanus, and this irritability is conſequently hereditary in the children.

What were the peculiar ſymptoms of the liver complaint, and was it infectious?

The diſeaſe which carried off ſo many of Mr. Baillie's and other perſons Negroes, I never ſaw—it never reached my eſtate, nor any of thoſe eſtates in that part of the country were I lived, therefore as a profeſſional man I cannot anſwer the queſtion—an induration or ſeparation of the liver has been always pretty frequent in Grenada, ſince I have known it, but it was generally among the White people, and in conſequence of ſevere repeated bilious fevers—I have ſeen very few caſes of this among the Negroes, becauſe from the nature of their food they are not ſo much ſubject to bilious complaints as the White people are.

Do you mean to ſay, that among a lot of ten Slaves, comprehending three or four women, that only one or two will be likely to produce children?

Yes, that is my idea, for it is pretty certain that they are not fond of ſelling in Africa thoſe women beſt adapted for breeding.

From what information do you form this opinion?

I have frequently heard ſo from the captains of Guineamen, who have long uſed the trade.

Is it uſual then for theſe lots of Negroes to contain old women?

When a cargo is aſſorted and put into lots, the method is to chuſe firſt the moſt able men, according to the number of lots, one able man for each lot—then the next able men, one for each lot, are choſen, and ſo on with reſpect to the more indifferent Slaves, men or women, ſo that there muſt be good and bad, and young and old in each lot, in order to make the lots as equal as poſſible.

Do you know of any other method or rule of lotting Negroes for ſale, beſides that you have juſt deſcribed?

No, and I have frequently aſſiſted in lotting a cargo myſelf.

Do you know any thing of a practice called the ſcramble?

Yes.

Deſcribe that practice?

When the Negroes are in the place allotted for their ſale, the door is ſhut till a certain time, when it is opened, and the purchaſers go in, and purchaſe that deſcription of Negroes they like—there is no other peculiarity of circumſtance that I know of.

Do you know any thing of the mortality of children on the Coaſt of Africa?

No.

Is the climate in the Weſt Indies hotter than that of thoſe parts of Africa from which the Negroes are uſually imported?

I do not know—I never was in Africa.

In what degree of latitude are the Weſt India Iſlands ſituated?

Grenada is in latitude between eleven and twelve, and I believe the moſt northerly Iſlands are in latitude about ſeventeen or eighteen.

What number of Negroes fit for immediate labour are uſually found in a lot of ten?

Generally I think ſeven or eight.

Are not Creole Negroes uſually better able to ſuſtain labour in that climate than imported Africans?

I think there is no difference, when the Africans are ſeaſoned—my own Negroes are all Africans, except the children born on the eſtate, and are remarkable good working people.

Explain what you mean by the term "ſeaſoned?"

When a new Negro has been two or three years in the country, and acquainted with the language and manners of it, and has got his proviſion-ground in ſuch a ſituation as to ſupply himſelf with food, we conſider him then as a ſeaſoned Negro.

Does not ſeaſoning imply being habituated to the climate, and to the labour of a plantation?

I fancy the Negroes in their own country do very little work, and therefore they muſt be habituated to it by degrees—with reſpect to climate, I imagine it muſt be nearly the ſame in both countries.

Do you know whether a conſiderable proportion of New Negroes die within the firſt three years after importation?
Not many, though more than in a future period.

Were the Slaves which you brought to England with you as well treated, and as lightly worked, as in the Weſt Indies?
They were a great deal leſs worked here, and as well treated as they were in the Weſt Indies.

Would you not then yourſelf have conſidered their ſituation here as at leaſt equally eligible?
Certainly; but they did not think ſo.

Was you ever concerned as a proprietor in the allotment and ſale of a cargo of new Negroes?
No.

Do you mean to ſay then, that the method you have deſcribed in the allotment of a cargo of new Negroes, is invariably the practice adopted by the importers of new Negroes?
I cannot ſay it is, but all the lots I purchaſed were aſſorted in that manner.

Do you believe that that is the general practice uſed by importers?
Not lately, I am told; but I have purchaſed few or no Negroes for many years paſt.

Is it not a rule generally attended to, to have the families and relations (if any ſuch there be) ſold together in the ſame lot?
Always; and I remember, in lotting a cargo of Negroes, changing a great number of the Negroes from one lot to another, in conſequence of brothers and other relations being in other lots.

When you ſaid, that in a lot of ten new Negroes there were generally ſeven or eight fit for immediate labour, what is that immediate labour that they are fit for?
The moſt trifling labour, merely ſomething to amuſe them, ſuch as turning cane traſh, to render it fit for fuel to boil ſugar.

And is not that courſe taken with them to reconcile their diſpoſitions

diſpoſitions and conſtitutions to the change of ſcene and climate, until they gradually become habituated to the country, and fit to undergo the laborious part of work, in common with Negroes ſeaſoned to the country, and the work of a plantation?

Certainly.

You ſtated that your loſs of male and female Slaves was in an equal proportion; do you not mean thereby that that loſs was in proportion to the number of each ſex which you had on your plantation?

Yes, certainly.

Do you apprehend that the loſs of field Slaves could be in any degree ſupplied by ſending domeſtic Slaves to perform plantation work?

In a very trifling degree indeed, not worth mentioning.

When you acted as a ſurgeon on other plantations, in what manner was you paid for your attendance?

I was paid ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence for each Negro per annum, beſides which I was paid for all ſurgical operations.

Was the tetanus a frequent conſequence of thoſe ſurgical operations?

Sometimes—I have known three or four caſes of amputation, wherein the tetanus proved fatal.

Have you known the tetanus frequently conſequent on ſurgical operations of ſmaller importance than amputation?

No—wounds or inciſions in the muſcular fleſh ſeldom produce the tetanus.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

JOHN GREG, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?

Of Ireland.

When did you firſt go to the Weſt Indies; how long did you continue there; and in what iſlands?

I went to the Weſt Indies about the latter end of 1764, or the beginning

beginning of 1765, and continued there about twenty years—During that time, for ſeveral years, my duty required that I ſhould be in the Ceded Iſlands two or three times in each year—I have alſo been twice in Jamaica—I have alſo been at Antigua, Hiſpaniola, Martinique, and ſeveral times at St. Lucia.

In which of theſe Iſlands did you principally reſide?
In the Iſland of Dominique.

Do you know any thing of the commiſſion which was iſſued by the King of Great Britain, in the year 1764, appointing commiſſioners for the ſale and diſpoſal of lands in the Ceded Iſlands?

I do know ſuch commiſſion was iſſued—I have converſed with Mr. George Grenville and Lord Hillſborough on the ſubject of that commiſſion, and the inſtructions which were to be iſſued in conſequence of it—I have often been in poſſeſſion of the commiſſion and the King's inſtructions, and I had them regiſtered in the Iſland of Grenada, all the Ceded Iſlands being then under one government.

Did you execute any office under that commiſſion?

I did.—I was ſecretary to the commiſſion, and acted as auctioneer for His Majeſty in the ſale of lands.

Did the commiſſioners, and others appointed by the ſaid commiſſion, proceed on their duty, and diſpoſe of the whole, or any part of the lands in the Ceded Iſlands, according to their powers and inſtructions?

They did diſcharge their duty to His Majeſty in the moſt honourable, impartial, and diſintereſted manner, and diſpoſed of 174,108 acres, which amounted to £. 620,668. 7*s*. 8*d*. ſterling.

Was there a condition in the ſale of thoſe lands, by which the purchaſer was obliged to cut down, clear, and cultivate, and under what penalties?

There was ſuch a condition in the grant.

Then an extract from the ſaid grant, of which the following is a copy, was read, viz.

" And alſo, upon condition that the grantee, his " heirs and aſſigns, ſhall, from and after ſix months

" ſhall be elapſed from the date of this our grant, well
" and truly in every year clear one acre for every
" twenty acres of uncleared land in the ſaid hereby
" granted plantation, until one half of the uncleared
" cultivable land of the ſaid plantation ſhall be cleared;
" and if it ſhall happen, that the ſaid grantee, his heirs
" or aſſigns, ſhall not clear the ſame, as is hereby re-
" quired, then he or they ſhall pay to us, our heirs
" and ſucceſſors, the ſum of five pounds ſterling per
" annum for every acre which ought to have been
" cleared as aforeſaid, and which he or they ſhall ſo
" neglect to clear."

Can you eſtimate what quantity of the land ſold now remains uncleared?

It is impoſſible to ſay accurately, but the greateſt part remains in wood;—but I ſpeak particularly as to the Iſlands of Dominique and Saint Vincent's.

What quantity of land does the Iſland of Dominique contain?

186,436 acres.

What quantity of land in that Iſland was diſpoſed of under the commiſſion, and ſince, and for what price?

96,344 acres and three quarters was ſold under the commiſſion, which amounted to £. 312,092. 11*s.* 1*d.* ſterling—the commiſſioners alſo made appropriation of lands for public purpoſes—and I have been informed and believe, that Governor Ord has ſince the time of the commiſſion diſpoſed of conſiderable quantities; ſo that I believe the whole quantity under grants from His Majeſty muſt conſiderably exceed 100,000 acres.

What quantity of land does the Iſland of Saint Vincent contain?

By the firſt report of the ſurveyors appointed by the commiſſioners, and the report of the commiſſioners to the lords of the treaſury and board of trade, it appeared to contain 89,000 acres; but by a late publication of Mr. Byers (publiſher of a map of the Iſland, and who has ſince acted as chief ſurveyor) it appeared to contain about 84,000 acres.

What quantity of that land was diſpoſed of under the commiſſion and ſince, and to what amount?

20,538 acres and three quarters were diſpoſed of by the commiſſioners, amounting to £. 162,854. 11 *s.* 7½ *d.* ſterling—I have been informed that 4,000 acres were given by His Majeſty to General Monckton, and that about 20,000 acres have been ſince confirmed to Mr. Swinburne, which I believe have been or are to be diſpoſed of under ſimilar conditions of the grant of clearing, ſo that the whole quantity will appear by that to be 44,000 acres.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 23° die Februarii 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded in their Examination.

In the ſeveral ſales, under the commiſſion and ſince, were the lands ſold according to their full value? Mr. GREG.

The lords of the treaſury fixed a minimum, below which no land could be ſold, which was five pounds ſterling per acre for every acre of cleared land, and one pound ſterling for every acre of wood land. The lands were advertiſed for ſale in Great Britain, Ireland, America, and the Weſt Indies; they were put up to public ſale, and ſold to the higheſt bidder. The gentlemen attending the ſale as purchaſers bid in oppoſition to each other, and, in numerous inſtances, bid up the lands far above what any body could have an idea that they were worth.

At what time did the ſales begin, and how long did they continue?

They began in the year 1765, and continued till the year 1775; that is, the laſt ſale was in the year 1774.

Did not the ſeveral purchaſers lay out conſiderable ſums in raiſing

raiſing buildings and other works neceſſary for the purpoſe of carrying on the cultivation?

Immenſe ſums.

Were thoſe ſums in ſome inſtances greater even than the purchaſe money?

Far greater.

Can you ſtate the number of Negroes in the Iſland of Dominique and Saint Vincent?

By the lateſt and beſt accounts I have had, it appears, the number in the two Iſlands was a year ago about 27,000.

Is that number ſufficient to enable the purchaſer to fulfil his engagements in clearing and cultivating the land?

Judging by my own experience; and from obſervations on the plantations of others, I believe the preſent number to be inadequate, without very conſiderable annual ſupplies from Africa, to cultivate properly the lands already cleared. I have obſerved a retrograde ſtate of ſettlement in many of the plantations, conſiderable parts of which are returning again into a deſert ſtate for want of Negroes, the owners having been crippled in the firſt inſtance by paying ſuch vaſt ſums to the crown for the lands, and in erecting their buildings and works, and from the injuries they have ſuſtained by hurricanes and other loſſes, which diſable them from purchaſing many Negroes at the extravagant price that the rumour of the abolition of the Slave Trade has cauſed.

Can you form any judgment of the additional number of Negroes that will be neceſſary to clear thoſe lands in Dominique and St. Vincent's, which are now in wood?

I am confident in opinion that one Negro for every acre granted under the Crown would be inſufficient to clear and continue in cultivation thoſe lands—what the higheſt number would be fully to anſwer that purpoſe I cannot ſay; 120,000 additional Negroes, I think, would be hardly ſufficient to anſwer thoſe purpoſes.

Had there been any public reaſon to apprehend the abolition of the Slave Trade at the time of the ſales, do you conceive it poſſible that the commiſſioners could have proceeded in the ſales?

I think it impoſſible—no perſon would have been ſo mad as to have made a purchaſe—the commiſſioners gave every aſſurance to the people aſſembled at the ſales that they ſhould have all poſſible protection

protection and encouragement from government; and the ſame year that the ſales commenced parliament paſſed a law (the 5th of His preſent Majeſty) for the ſecuring, extending, and improving the trade to Africa.

What kind of Negroes were put on the new-purchaſed lands?
Every purchaſer endeavoured to get a few ſeaſoned Negroes in order to inſtruct and take care of full-grown new Negroes, with which it was only in his power, in general, to make the new ſettlements—none other but full-grown ſtrong Negroes being equal to the arduous buſineſs of clearing the lands.

Were the Negroes, placed on the newly purchaſed lands, in fact chiefly full-grown Negroes?
They were.

Is it not probable that ſuch of thoſe full-grown Negroes who are now living will become paſt labour in a few years?
It certainly is—they muſt be now between forty and fifty years of age.

Will there not therefore, on that account alſo, be a great deficiency of labour?
I think there will.

Was there a great mortality both amongſt Negroes and Whites within the few firſt years after the ſettlement of the lands?
There was a very great mortality amongſt the Soldiers and Whites in general, as well as amongſt the Blacks.

In your progreſs through the different Britiſh Iſlands, and during your reſidence in ſeveral, have you obſerved what has been the treatment of Negro Slaves?
I have obſerved them in all the Iſlands where I have been, much happier in general than the lower order of people in this country.

Did you ſee frequent inſtances of beggars, miſerable objects, or ſuperannuated Slaves, who had been deſerted by their maſters?
I do not recollect an inſtance of that ſort.

Does your experience enable you to form any judgment, whether the number of Negro Slaves now in the Ceded Iſlands could be kept up by breeding only?

It could not, my experience proves the contrary.—On one eſtate I had ſixty-ſix children born in the courſe of twenty-three years, twenty-two of which only are now alive, and but eight of them above twelve years of age; during which time, including the forty-four infants who died, I buried 225.

What, according to your judgment, would be the effect produced by aboliſhing the Slave Trade?

General ruin of the Whites, and general deſtruction of the Blacks.

Having ſtated that in your opinion it is impoſſible to keep up the ſtock of Slaves by breeding, do you apprehend that that can be conſidered as owing to ſevere labour or improper treatment?

I do not think it owing to either of thoſe cauſes—Beſides the common cauſes of mortality, I recollect this particular cauſe, viz. a general propenſity in all the Negro women to plunge themſelves into the rivers immediately after hard labour, and while they are hot, and under other unfavourable circumſtances—ſteeping their petticoats at the ſame time in the water, which they put on wet,—this brings on obſtructions and various other complaints unfavourable to propagation—the application of wet cloathing is not owing to deficiency of cloathing.

Have the ſeveral cauſes of mortality amongſt Negro Slaves, according to your obſervations, been counteracted or leſſened, as far as they can be, by human ſkill and attention?

They have; every means have been uſed for their preſervation, and no expence ſpared.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What was the ſtanding number of the gang of Negroes, and when was it completed?

The whole number which I purchaſed in the twenty-three years for the eſtate I before mentioned, together with the ſixty-ſix children that were born, amounted to 386, which were bought progreſſively at different times.

As near as you can recollect, did you purchaſe about an equal number every year during that term; or when had you completed your purchaſes?

No, not in equal numbers—ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs.

At about the twelfth year of that term do you apprehend you had purchaſed more or leſs than the half of your whole purchaſe of the 386?
I cannot recollect.

What was the proportion of females in your purchaſes?
About one-third.

What do you apprehend to be the ordinary proportion of females amongſt the Slaves in Dominique?
I dare ſay it may be nearly the ſame on other plantations as on my own.

By what diſorders chiefly did you loſe your Slaves, both adults and infants?
Fluxes in the adults, but the moſt prevailing diſorder was what is called by the French mal d'eſtomac, and various other complaints.

Had you many Negro men married to Negro women within your own gang?
The ceremony of marriage is not practiſed amongſt the Negroes.

Had you any paired within your own gang?
Yes—almoſt all the women had nominal huſbands.

Were moſt of the females whom you purchaſed of an age rendering them capable of bearing children, or growing up to it?
Moſt of them were of a proper age, the others were elderly.

At what age did you loſe moſt of your Slaves who died in infancy?
In the courſe of two or three days after they were born—the practice of the Negroes is to burn linen, and apply it exceedingly hot to the navel-ſtring, which I believe cauſes the part to be more ſore than it otherwiſe would be, and, in caſe any thing touches it, produces a degree of irritation which brings on the fall of the jaw—I have always uſed every poſſible means to prevent

vent this practice, and preſerve the infants; but I have always found a propenſity in the Negroes, when they are left to themſelves, to return to their own practice.

Whether the cuſtom which you mentioned as being injurious to the health of female Negroes, is not an African cuſtom?
I really do not know.

Were not many eſtates in Dominique begun to be worked with capitals unequal to the enterprize?
There may be ſome inſtances of that—in thoſe caſes the individuals depended upon their credit, and the aſſiſtance of their friends, to enable them to go through the undertaking.

Were there not ſeveral inſtances of undertakings of this kind relinquiſhed after they had been entered upon?
Yes—for the cauſes I have enumerated in my former evidence; beſides which, the circumſtance of uſurious loans procured in England ſerved to complete the ruin of the unfortunate adventurers—there are other cauſes that operated againſt the undertaking of the planters—four and an half per cent. was illegally levied on their produce for ſeven years, to the beſt of my recollection—and, notwithſtanding the condition, obliging the planter to cut down and clear away, parliament impoſed, by the Free Port Act, a duty of thirty ſhillings ſterling per head on all Negroes imported into the Iſlands by the planters, even from their own eſtates in the neighbouring Iſlands.

During your poſſeſſion of your eſtate, have you ever changed your manager?
Often.

Do many of the Free Negroes work at mechanical trades?
There are very few Free Negroes in Dominique—I do not know that any of them are tradeſmen.

What do you apprehend to be the expence of the maintenance of a Negro man, woman, or child?
I never made a calculation of ſuch expence.

How many Whites had you on your eſtate?
I generally had three.

In what capacities?

One

One as manager, one as overſeer, and one as diſtiller, beſides occaſionally a White carpenter.

Are not watchmen appointed to take care of the cane and proviſion-grounds?
Always.

From what you have obſerved in the French Iſlands, do you apprehend the Slaves in them to be better or worſe treated than in the Britiſh Iſlands?
The houſe Negroes are much better treated, and the plantation Negroes much worſe.

Are the regulations in the Code Noir obſerved, which dictate the food, cloathing, treatment, &c. of the Slaves?
I am not ſufficiently acquainted with the Code Noir to anſwer the queſtion.

Are not the Negroes apt to ſteal the proviſions from each other's grounds?
It ſometimes happens, but rarely.

Are the managers on eſtates uſually married?
Some of them are married, and ſome not.

The diſtiller, of whom you ſpoke, was he conſtantly in your ſervice, or did you hire him occaſionally?
Sometimes I had him for two or three years together—at other times only occaſionally.

How was he employed when not in your ſervice?
I do not know.

Have any managers Slaves of their own?
Yes, many of them.

How are theſe Slaves employed?
They generally let them out to ſome neighbouring plantation, if the perſon with whom the manager lives has not occaſion to employ them.

Is it uſual then for perſons thus to hire Slaves of their managers?
Some planters do, others do not approve of it, leſt any extra-

ordinary partiality ſhould be ſhewn to them, which might give uneaſineſs to the other Negroes.

Of the Free Negroes in Dominique do you conceive the larger proportion to be of males or females?
I do not know.

Do you know many inſtances of Free Negroes who have purchaſed their own manumiſſion?
I do not know of one inſtance.

Who acts for the planter in the purchaſing of Slaves?
Sometimes he makes the purchaſe himſelf, at other times he employs a town agent, or ſome of his friends in town.

If he is not reſident on his own eſtate, who then ſuperintends the purchaſes?
His attornies.

Is not the manager conſulted in ſuperintending or in approving of thoſe purchaſes?
Frequently he is.

Have you obſerved any thing peculiar reſpecting the duration of the lives of Negro Slaves?
No—ſome of them live to a very great age.

What was the price of Slaves at the original ſettlement of Dominique?
For the firſt lot, which I purchaſed in 1765, I paid twenty-ſix pounds ten ſhillings ſterling per head for prime Negroes.

What is the price at preſent?
Fifty pounds, or fifty guineas. Before the report of the abolition taking place, prime Negroes ſold from thirty-five to thirty-eight pounds ſterling per head.

What was then the value of a ſeaſoned African, or of a prime country-born Negro?
About fifty pounds ſterling.

Has the late increaſe of price been proportional on the former prices of male and female Slaves?
Yes.

Was

Was there a mortality among the Negroes of the firſt adventurers in ſettling the Ceded Iſlands, beyond what is uſual in the Weſt India Colonies that had been long cleared and ſettled?

There was.

Were the ſettlers ſubjected in the commencement of the project to extraordinary difficulties and hardſhips?

Yes, to a great nnmber of difficulties.

What was the higheſt price paid per acre for cleared land in St. Vincent's?

Many pieces of the cleared land ſold conſiderably above fifty pounds per acre.

Can you form any eſtimate of the average on the ſale of cleared land in either Dominique or St. Vincent's?

I cannot.

Was not the average higheſt price paid per acre to the crown for lands purchaſed in the Ceded Iſlands, ſo paid in St. Vincent's?

Yes.

Did not government, in 1768, project a road through parts of the Carib country?

They did.

Whether the Caribs, in 1768, did not ſhew great diſſatisfaction, and appear in numbers to remonſtrate againſt and oppoſe ſuch road?

They did—they obſtructed the road, and felled trees acroſs it.

Was there not an actual ſtate of war between the Caribs and His Majeſty's troops in 1772?

There was.

Whether from the firſt making of the road the diſcontent of the Caribs did not ariſe, and continue till ſuch period of the war in 1772?

It did.

Were not, during ſuch period, the inhabitants of St. Vincent's in danger from the Caribs; and were not buildings and

canes on ſome eſtates, purchaſed from the crown at different times, actually burnt and deſtroyed?

The inhabitants were certainly in danger—I do not recollect any particular eſtates being burnt; but I was not conſtantly reſident in St. Vincent's.

Did not the inhabitants at conſiderable expence, as well as perſonal hazard by ſervice, aſſiſt government in the Carib war in 1772?

I believe they gave all aſſiſtance in their power.

Did not the inhabitants moreover aſſiſt and ſupply the troops employed by the crown with mules, proviſions, and other matters?

I underſtood they aſſiſted them with mules, and in every reſpect that they could.

Have thoſe who made original purchaſes from the crown, and completely ſettled their lands, in the event become generally wealthy from ſuch purchaſes?

I think not.

What may be conſidered as the average intereſt made on the whole money laid out in an eſtate purchaſed from the crown, and completely ſtocked and ſettled?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion; but the ſucceſs fell very much ſhort of the ſettlers expectations.

Where was you in the year 1780?

At Dominique.

Were not Dominique and St. Vincent's at that time in the poſſeſſion of the French?

Yes.

Was there not a dreadful hurricane in that year, extending both to Dominique and St. Vincent's?

There was.

Have you not heard that there was a bounty granted by parliament, with a view to indemnify Britiſh ſubjects in the Colonies who ſuffered by that hurricane?

No—I never heard of it.

Was

Was any bounty from government diſtributed amongſt the ſufferers by the hurricane at St. Vincent's and Dominique?

None that I ever heard of.

Were the damages done by the hurricane at Dominique and St. Vincent's very great with regard to buildings, Negroes, crop on the ground, and produce already manufactured, whether on the eſtates, or embarked?

The damage was very great on the eſtates, but I do not know any thing with reſpect to ſugar embarked.

Did the eſtates in general require conſiderable ſums to re-eſtabliſh them in the ſituations they were in before the hurricane?

They did.

Were there any eſtates in St. Vincent's or Dominique, ſo devaſtated and ſo re-eſtabliſhed, that were not purchaſed from the crown, or on leaſes from the crown, with exception to the ſmall lots given to the poor ſettlers?

I do not know of any.

Have you ever been in any of the old ſettled Iſlands to the windward of Jamaica?

Yes—at Antigua and Barbadoes.

Did you make any obſervations on the manner of cultivating and carrying on ſugar plantations in thoſe iſlands?

Yes.

Does it correſpond, as nearly as circumſtances will permit, with the method adopted at St. Vincent's and Dominique?

It does.

Are not thoſe old Iſlands more commonly ſubject to continued droughts than the Ceded Iſlands?

Much more ſo.

Are not the planters in thoſe old Iſlands therefore in a great meaſure deprived of internal reſources for food to ſupport their Negroes, more than the planters in the Ceded Iſlands are?

They are—the meaſure intended by parliament (paſſed in the year 1788) for the relief of the Weſt India Iſlands in caſe of famine, is futile—it gives leave to the governor, by the advice of his council, to permit the importation of proviſions from the

foreign Iſlands only, when it is notoriouſly known to every one acquainted with the Weſt India Iſlands that there are no magazines of proviſions ever kept in thoſe Iſlands, and the proviſions are of a periſhable nature, and could not be kept for any conſiderable length of time in that climate; and the only means of relief under ſuch circumſtances muſt be from America, from whence the act prohibits ſupplies.

Are not ſuch proviſions as are commonly imported from Great Britain, viz. bread, flour, and other ſpecies of proviſions of the grain kind, ſo liable to periſh in the Weſt India Iſlands by the weevils and other vermin peculiar to that climate, as to make it impracticable for a planter, by every foreſight that humanity or prudence can ſuggeſt, to import ſuch a quantity of thoſe proviſions from Europe, in the ſhips belonging to the trade, as, under the natural cauſes of drought before mentioned, and precarioufneſs of ſupplies from other Iſlands in the Weſt Indies (as the law now ſtands), effectually to provide againſt the poſſibility of famines?

Clearly, it is hardly poſſible, under all thoſe circumſtances, for the planter to provide againſt the dreadful effects of famine; and I ſhould not be ſurpriſed, in caſe of a hurricane happening in the enſuing ſeaſon, to hear of ſome dreadful cataſtrophe ſimilar to that which lately happened in Jamaica and Antigua, by which 23,000 Slaves periſhed.

As far as your obſervation and information have gone, in the old Iſlands which you have viſited, is it or is it not a prevailing maxim amongſt the planters to endeavour to rear as many Creole Negroes as they poſſibly can, in order to avoid the expence of purchaſing new Negroes?

It is.

When the calamity which you alluded to happened in Jamaica and Antigua, were there not conſiderable numbers of White inhabitants, who alſo ſuffered thereby as well as the Negroes?

No doubt of it.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati,

Sabbati, 27° die Februarii 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

JOHN ANTHONY RUCKER, Eſquire.

Are you a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the Ceded Iſlands?

I am, in Grenada, Cariacau, and Saint Vincent's.

When did you become a purchaſer?

By agreement in 1764, but the agreement did not take effect till 1765.

Have your acquiſitions in thoſe Iſlands been conſiderable?

Very much ſo.

Would you have adventured your property in that manner, had you underſtood that Great Britain would prohibit the importation of African Negroes?

Undoubtedly not; becauſe no eſtate in the Weſt Indies can be carried on without labourers, and no labourers can be had but Negroes.—I ſhould have been happy if, in the year 1764, there had been the leaſt rumour of either aboliſhing or cramping the Negro Trade, as it would have effectually put a ſtop to my having any concern in thoſe Iſlands, and I wiſh now I never had.

Have you not lent conſiderable ſums of money in thoſe Iſlands?

I am ſorry to ſay I have.

Would you have lent that money, had you underſtood that the African Negro Trade was to be aboliſhed?

Certainly not; nor would any man in his ſenſes, according to my opinion, have done ſo.

Have

Have you Negroes ſufficient to keep up the preſent cultivation of your eſtate?

By the accounts I have from my agents, I have not.—I purchaſed ſome laſt year, and I am obliged to purchaſe more.

+ Do you conceive, that in future you can keep up the ſtock of
See folio 238. Negroes neceſſary for the cultivation of your plantations, from ſuch Negroes as can be bred upon them?

I cannot poſitively anſwer to that queſtion, becauſe I have never been in the Weſt Indies; but I have recommended it to my agents to uſe all poſſible means to raiſe children; but their account to me is, that they cannot flatter me it will be ever poſſible to have a ſufficient number ſo as to anſwer the cultivation of the eſtate in future.

What, in your opinion, will be the effect of ſtopping the ſupply of African Negroes to the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands?

In my opinion it will have a very dreadful effect, as I have no doubt that in the courſe of ten or twelve years the greateſt part of the ſmall eſtates muſt be ruined, and the large ones greatly reduced in their product; and inſtead of our now exporting our refined ſugar from Great Britain, which, communibus annis, brings into this country at leaſt £.200,000 a year (which will be loſt) there will not be ſufficient ſugars imported from our iſlands for the conſumption of Great Britain and Ireland; the conſequence of which will be, that we muſt have recourſe to foreigners to ſupply this deficiency, which in my opinion will be a balance of trade againſt Great Britain of at leaſt from one million to one million two hundred thouſand pounds, and which muſt have an influence upon all landed and money property in this kingdom.

Is not that but a ſmall part of the ill effects which would attend the abolition of the African Negro Trade by Great Britain?

There will alſo be a very great loſs in ſhipping.

Have you advanced any money upon Weſt India ſecurity ſince the agitation of this queſtion?

Moſt certainly not, nor would any man in his ſenſes do ſo.

What effect then has the agitation of this queſtion had upon the credit of the Weſt Indies?

The credit of Weſt India property was very bad before the agitation of this queſtion, and it is now grown a great deal worſe.

Is there not a large debt, to the amount of ſeveral millions, due from the planters in the Weſt Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?
I believe there is.

Would not the ſecurity for that debt be materially injured by the abolition of the African Negro Trade?
Undoubtedly.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Having ſtated that if there had been the leaſt rumour of the abolition or cramping of the Negro Trade, it would have effectually put a ſtop to your purchaſes in the Weſt Indies, and that you now wiſh you never had any concern in it, and that previous to the agitation of this queſtion Weſt India credit was very bad,—whether immediately previous to the agitation of this queſtion you were perfectly ſatisfied with the inveſtment of property you had made in the Weſt Indies?
I believe very few beſides myſelf have made ſo advantageous purchaſes as I did, and which have turned out exceedingly well—but as I before ſaid, if I could have had the leaſt ſuſpicion of the abolition or regulation of the Slave Trade, I certainly would not have engaged in any purchaſes in the Weſt Indies, nor have lent any money—and I ſhould be very glad to ſell my property there at this moment, if I could find a purchaſer for it.

Do not all the bad conſequences which you have ſtated as likely to ariſe from the meaſure now in agitation depend on the ſuppoſition that the ſtock of Negroes in the Weſt Indies will fail in conſequence of the ſtoppage of importation?
Undoubtedly.

Does your opinion of the impoſſibility of keeping up the ſtock depend on any knowledge of your own, or on the repreſentation of your agents in the Iſlands?
The experience of twenty-five years has taught me what I have ſaid.

The former queſtion and anſwer, at this mark +, folio 236, being read;

The Witneſs then explained himſelf, by ſaying, By the repeated informations from my agents, and my deſire to keep up, if poſſible, the number of Negroes, by endeavouring to raiſe the children to maturity, I found they could not do it, and have been obliged conſtantly to ſupply new Negroes on my own account; and that is what I call twenty-five years experience.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

JOHN HANKEY, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Are you a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the other Ceded Iſlands?
A very conſiderable one.

When did you firſt become proprietor of thoſe lands?
In 1764.

Have you advanced money upon the ſecurity of Weſt India eſtates?
Very large ſums.

Are thoſe ſums ſtill outſtanding?
Many of them are.

Would you have become ſuch proprietor, or advanced ſuch money, had you conceived that the importation of Negroes from Africa to the Weſt Indies would at any time be prohibited by Great Britain?
Moſt certainly not.

Can you cultivate your eſtate without Negroes?
By no means.

Have you Negroes ſufficient for the uſe of your eſtate?
Not by ſeveral hundreds.

Do

Do you conceive that in future you can keep up even your preſent ſtock of Negroes without ſupplies from Africa?

I am convinced I cannot.

Do you conceive that the deficiency of the population of Negroes in the Weſt India Iſlands ariſes from neglect, ill-treatment, or exceſſive labour?

I moſt heartily believe it does not.

Has it not been your object to endeavour to breed as many Negroes upon your plantations as you could?

I conſtantly recommended it to my agents, and I ſincerely believe they have had it for their firſt object.

What in your opinion will be the effect of ſtopping the ſupply of African Negroes to the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands?

The gradual decay, and at length the ruin of thoſe Iſlands.

What effect has the agitation of the queſtion concerning the abolition of the African Negro Trade had upon the credit of Weſt India property?

A very detrimental one.

Have you advanced any money upon the ſecurity of Weſt India property ſince the agitation of that queſtion?

I have not—I have had ſeveral propoſals made me, to which I did not ſo much as give an hearing.

Was not your refuſal to liſten to thoſe propoſals chiefly induced by the agitation of that queſtion?

Moſt certainly.

Is there not a large debt, to the amount of ſeveral millions, due from the planters in the Weſt Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?

I believe there is.

Will not the ſecurity for that debt be materially injured by ſtopping the ſupply of African Negroes to the Britiſh Weſt India ſettlements?

I believe very materially.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Have you ever been in the Weſt Indies?
I have not.

Do you think that Weſt India credit was good before the agitation of the queſtion of abolition?
It certainly was very good before the commencement of the war.

Is it to the events of the late war that you ſolely aſcribe the depreciated ſtate of Weſt India credit, previous to the agitation of the queſtion of the abolition of the Slave Trade?
In my opinion the credit of the Weſt Indies would have revived at the peace, and would be now in its full vigour, if the queſtion of abolition had not been agitated.

Do you recollect that the queſtion was agitated immediately after the concluſion of the peace?
As much as my memory ſerves me, a queſtion of regulation was agitated, but not of abolition.

How many times have you changed your managers ſince the period of 1764, when you became a proprietor of lands in the Weſt Indies?
I cannot exactly ſay; but according to my memory we (my partner and ſelf) began firſt with French managers, and we changed them three or four times—we have ſince had Engliſh managers, and we have not changed them at all.

Are you a merchant of London, and much concerned in the Weſt India Trade?
Our houſe began with the Weſt Indies chiefly in lending of money on the ſecurity of lands and Negroes, which were mortgaged to us—we afterwards became purchaſers of eſtates—we never went into the Weſt India Trade, as furniſhing of ſtores—we had ſeveral very conſiderable ſhips, which were employed in carrying out ſtores, the manufacture of this country, to Grenada, for the uſe of the plantations, and which came home laden with the produce of thoſe eſtates.

Have you any objection to ſay to the beſt of your memory to what

what amount were the advances of your houſe upon Weſt India property?

To the beſt of my memory (not being prepared to anſwer this queſtion) about £. 250,000.

What is the rate of intereſt uſual upon ſuch advances?

We never took more than £. 5 per cent. our mortgages having been made in England—the rate of intereſt at Grenada is £. 6 per cent.

Did you, at the time your advances were made, conſider the ſecurities you received as ſufficient?

Moſt certainly.

Shall you think them equally ſufficient ſhould the African Trade be aboliſhed?

Moſt certainly not.

Is it not your opinion that the Weſt India buſineſs, previous to the late war, was in general as ſecure and deſirable a one to the merchants of this country as any other ſpecies of our commerce?

Certainly, or our houſe, which had very large connections all over Europe, and has been eſtabliſhed for near ſeventy years, would never have engaged in that buſineſs.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

WILLIAM TOD, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Are you a merchant of London?

Yes.

Are you alſo a proprietor of lands in Grenada, or any of the other Ceded Iſlands?

I am, in Grenada and the Grenadines.

When did you firſt become a purchaſer?

In 1774 or 1775.

Are you alſo a creditor, by mortgage and otherwiſe, upon the ſecurity of Weſt India eſtates?

I am.

Can you cultivate your eſtates, or can the property on which you have advanced money be cultivated, but by Negroes?

In my opinion it is impoſſible.

Would you have purchaſed Weſt India property, or have advanced loans upon it, had you underſtood that Great Britain would ſtop the importation of African Negroes to her Weſt India ſettlements?

Undoubtedly I would not.

Are the eſtates in which you are concerned fully ſtocked with Negroes?

My own eſtate is not, as to others I cannot ſpeak.

Do you conceive that you can in future keep up even the preſent ſtock of Negroes if ſupplies from Africa are ſtopt?

I am convinced I cannot.

Do you conceive that the deficiency in the population of Negroes in the Weſt Indies is owing either to neglect, ill treatment, or exceſſive labour?

I do not conceive that it is owing to any of thoſe cauſes.

Has it not been your object to raiſe as many Negroes upon your property as you could?

It has been my conſtant object.

What, in your opinion, will be the effect of ſtopping the importation of African Negroes into the Britiſh Weſt India ſettlements?

It is impoſſible for me to ſay what the effect will be; but, in my opinion, it would have a very fatal one.

What effect has the agitation of the queſtion concerning the abolition of the African Negro Trade had on the credit of Weſt India property?

I cannot ſay what general effect it may have had; but ſince that period I have refuſed to lend money on Weſt India ſecurity, until I ſhould ſee the event of the preſent meaſure.

Have you not reaſon to believe that the agitation of that queſtion has had the ſame effect upon others?

I ſhould conceive ſo.

Is it not notorious that there is a large debt, to the amount of ſeveral millions, due from the proprietors in the Weſt Indies to the merchants and other inhabitants of Great Britain?
It is.

Will the ſecurity for that debt be as good as it was, if Great Britain ſhould ſtop the ſupply of African Negroes to her ſettlements in the Weſt Indies?
Surely it will not.

At the time you lent your own money upon Weſt India property, did you not think the ſecurity ſufficient?
Surely I did.

If Great Britain ſhould aboliſh the African Negro Trade, will you think it equally ſo?
Surely not.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Have you ever been in the Weſt Indies?
I have not.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel informed the Committee, That they had ſeveral other merchants of London, proprietors in the Ceded Iſlands, ready to give the ſame general evidence as Mr. Rucker, Mr. Hankey, and Mr. Tod; but that it ſeemed to be unneceſſary to trouble the Committee with a repetition of that evidence; and therefore they would now cloſe their caſe, reſerving only the liberty for the agent to produce any written or printed documents which he may think proper to lay before the Committee for their further information.

And then the Counſel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT the agent be permitted to produce ſuch written or printed documents.

And the Counſel were called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then they were again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

THAT this Examination of Mr. Baillie, Mr. Caſtles, Mr. Greg, Mr. Rucker, Mr. Hankey, and Mr. Tod, be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 19th MARCH 1790.

Witneſſes Examined,

Mr. BAILLIE,
Mr. CASTLES,
Mr. GREG,
Mr. RUCKER,
Mr. HANKEY,
Mr. TOD.

N° 4.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Lunæ, 1° *die Martii* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Mercurii, 24° *die Februarii* 1790.

THE Counſel for the Petition of the Council and Aſſembly of the Iſland of Nevis; and alſo for the Petition of Charles Spooner, Agent for the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, in behalf of the Proprietors of Lands and Negroes in the ſaid Iſland, were called in.

Mr. Piggott for both the ſaid Petitions.
Mr. Thomſon for the ſaid Petition from Nevis.
Mr. Graham for the ſaid Petition of Mr. Spooner.

An extract from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, dated the 21ſt of June 1717, was read; and is as followeth; viz.

" *RESOLVED*,

" That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the " land in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, yielded by " France to Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, be ſold to

" the beſt advantage, and that the produce of the ſame
" be applied to the uſe of the public."

Then the Counſel produced the commiſſion, dated the 4th of June 1726, which iſſued in conſequence of the above reſolution, for the ſale of that part of the ſaid Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, formerly belonging to the French.

The Counſel alſo produced another commiſſion, dated the 1ſt of May 1728, confirming the former commiſſion, for the ſale of the ſaid Lands, upon the demiſe of the crown.

The Counſel alſo produced the inſtruction to the lieutenant general, and the other commiſſioners of the Leeward Caribbee Iſlands, on executing the King's commiſſion, which inſtructions bear date the 4th of June 1726, whereby directions are given to the ſaid commiſſioners to contract and agree for the ſale of certain lands in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher.

The Counſel then called and examined

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS.

How long have you reſided in the Weſt Indies?
About nine years.

In what part of the Weſt Indies?
In the Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Nevis.

In what capacity?
In that of a Surgeon.

Have you in that capacity, been employed to attend Negroes on the ſugar plantations?
I have, during the whole period of my being abroad.

What number of Negroes have you annually attended?
To the beſt of my recollection, ſomewhere between 4 and 5,000 annually, and that in the Iſland of Nevis.

What was your uſual mode of attendance, and what Fees did you receive for the ſame?

It

It was always expected that the ſurgeon ſhould attend once or twice a week at leaſt, and daily, if occaſion required it —Moſt eſtates were attended at ſix ſhillings per head for each Negro, annually, beſides extra charges for capital operations, preternatural caſes of midwifery, and night viſits upon emergent occaſions—a few were attended only occaſionally, which was by far the moſt expenſive mode.

Did you, in the courſe of that attendance, acquire an opportunity of obſerving in what manner Negroes were treated, worked, fed, lodged, and cloathed?

I had, undoubtedly, every opportunity of acquiring a perfect knowledge of all theſe minutiæ alluded to.

Are not Negroes on a Sugar Plantation divided into certain claſſes for their better regulation, and the better management of the eſtate?

They are always divided into three claſſes (commonly called gangs). The firſt or great gang conſiſts of all the able bodied Negroes, allowing a ſufficient number for tradeſmen and watchmen, and this gang does the moſt laborious part of the work on a Sugar eſtate.—The ſecond, or weeding gang, conſiſts of Negroes from the age of twelve to eighteen or twenty, or of ſuch Negroes as are of weakly conſtitutions, or ſuch as labour under trivial chronical complaints, and this gang is uſually employed in doing the light work of an eſtate, ſuch as weeding, and other light employment.—The third gang conſiſts of children from about the age of ſix years to that of twelve, and theſe are uſually employed in picking ſheep-meat, or graſs, for the manager's or proprietor's ſtock—they are employed in this manner as well to keep them out of miſchief, as to enure them gradually to the work of a Sugar eſtate.

Inform the Committee what is the uſual mode of working Negroes in Nevis, and what are the hours of labour?

About ſix o'clock in the morning (which is generally about day-light) the whole gang were expected to appear in the field—the liſt was then called over, and abſentees were marked down—they then went to work, and continued at it till about nine, at which time they broke up for the purpoſe of breakfaſting, which was generally taken in the field, in preference to going to and from their houſes; and for this purpoſe, every good inclined Negro generally carried his breakfaſt with him—at about a quarter before ten they reſumed their work, and continued at it

until

until twelve, at which time they were diſcharged until two; when out of crop time, the major part of the gang were expected to bring a ſmall bundle of graſs: but during crop no graſs was thrown, as the cattle and mules were fed with ſliced cane-tops—at two o'clock they again went into the field, and continued at work until ſix, at which time they were again diſcharged—out of crop time, at about ſeven o'clock, a few bundles of graſs were again thrown, but none during crop-time—once a week it was uſual to give allowance, for which purpoſe the head of each family attended— the hour for this purpoſe was, on ſome eſtates, at twelve o'clock at noon, and on others at about ſeven in the evening.

How are women who have children at the breaſt, and thoſe who are pregnant, treated?

The former have many indulgencies from that labour which the other Negroes undergo, ſuch as coming an hour later into the field, never throwing any graſs, and a liberty of retiring as often as was neceſſary, for the purpoſe of ſuckling their children—with reſpect to the pregnant women, on moſt of the eſtates which I attended, as ſoon as they reported that they were three or four months gone with child, they were uſually removed, if in the large gang, into that of the ſmall one; and when they were advanced into the ſeventh month of their pregnancy, they were always exonerated from all labour whatever, and went where they pleaſed, and did as they pleaſed.

How are the women diſpoſed of and treated in their lying-in?

A Negro Midwife always officiated in natural caſes, but when any preternatural caſe occurred, a Surgeon was always ſent for, to whom a very handſome fee was uſually given. The charge for this purpoſe, in the Iſland of Nevis, was fifteen pounds currency, which is ſomewhere about nine pounds ſterling. After the woman was delivered, a nurſe was appointed to wait on her and her infant, until ſhe was able to attend to it herſelf; and every comfort was uſually afforded which that ſituation required—they were never expected, or even called upon, to work, until the expiration of four weeks, and even then, if the Surgeon reported that a longer indulgence was ſtill neceſſary, it was readily granted.

How have the Negroes been uſually cloathed in the Iſlands where you have reſided?

All ſuch eſtates as have a credit in England, uſually have ſent to them a ſufficient quantity of coarſe Baize, and alſo a ſufficient

quantity

quantity of coarſe linen, called Oſnaburgs; and many of them have warm worſted caps alſo ſent out to them, and proper hats for their watchmen.—To each Negro man is given a quantity of baize ſufficient to make him a blanket or covering, and alſo as much of the Oſnaburgs as will make him a ſhort jacket and trowſers; and to each female, as much as will make a ſhort wrapper and petticoat, with alſo a ſufficient quantity of the baize for the purpoſe before ſpecified.—To thoſe Negroes of a younger age, a proportionable quantity was likewiſe diſtributed. Such eſtates as have no credit in England, or ſuch as have no regular correſpondence, buy the above ſpecified articles from the ſtore-keepers at a very advanced price.

Is is not a common practice in many owners of eſtates to have thoſe articles you have mentioned made up into clothes for the Negroes?

Many of the Negroes are not truſt-worthy, and will diſpoſe of theſe articles for improper purpoſes; and ſome are of ſuch an indolent diſpoſition, that they will not appropriate them to the purpoſe which the maſters intend them for—for ſuch as I have above deſcribed, proprietors, or their managers, uſually have thoſe articles made into clothes, and given to the Negroes.

Do not many maſters provide a particular allowance of clothing for Negro infants?

Many of thoſe who owned eſtates for which I was employed either ſent out annually a couple of ſuits of baby clothes, or if they reſided on their own eſtates, they had them made up for them by their Negro ſempſtreſſes.

What kind and quantity of food has been uſually allowed to the Negroes of the iſlands where you have reſided?

The food uſually diſtributed amongſt the Negroes on theſe iſlands conſiſted of rice, coarſe flour, rye meal, dried peas and beans, American corn, and alſo of ſalt proviſions, ſuch as herrings, ſhads, and ſalt fiſh; ſome of theſe articles were imported from America, and others from the Mother Country—they had alſo the iſland proviſion, ſuch as potatoes, yams, Indian corn, bananas, plantanes, and caſſada; but theſe three laſt articles were never ſerved out as allowance for the Negroes, but were the produce of their own proviſion grounds which were their private property.—With reſpect to the quantity of proviſion allowed them weekly, it generally was from ſeven to nine pints a week for each Negro, of any of the before-mentioned articles, as alſo an equal

number of herrings or ſhads, or a proportionable quantity of ſalt fiſh—the above ſpecified quantity was on many eſtates given to every child as ſoon as it was weaned, who could not be ſuppoſed to conſume half that quantity.

Is the food allowed to the Negroes, in your judgment, proper and ſufficient for their ſupport?

No doubt the food is proper; and with regard to the quantity, I muſt ſay, that it may be a bare ſufficiency for their ſupport, but it is at the ſame time to be underſtood, that no maſter depends wholly upon that allowance which he weekly gives out, neither does the Negro rely upon it, as he has many advantages (if induſtrious and well inclined) of appropriating his proviſion ground to valuable purpoſes—from which he draws a conſiderable ſum of money, by the ſale of ſeveral articles which it produces—he alſo derives advantages from raiſing hogs, goats, and various ſpecies of poultry—Negroes who live on eſtates adjacent to towns, have further advantages derived from ſelling graſs and fuel to the inhabitants.

Whether from the allowance made by the maſter, and the other advantages you have mentioned, the Negroes have not food amply ſufficient for their ſupport?

I am clearly of opinion that they have; and as a proof of it, I know that many of them convert a part of their proviſion into money, and purchaſe fine clothes therewith, and not unfrequently die poſſeſſed of what may be called large ſums of money to them.

What care is taken, and food allowed, to Negroes in their ſickneſs?

I am happy to ſay, that I ſeldom found any reluctance or backwardneſs, either in the proprietor, or his manager, to give whatever the ſurgeon thought proper; and whenever I had reaſon, from the ſtate of the patient, to order any variation from his ordinary food, it was readily ſupplied; ſuch as chicken or mutton broth, or even wine—and whenever theſe articles were furniſhed by the manager, he regularly made a charge of them againſt the proprietor in his account current.

To what cauſes do you chiefly attribute the loſs of Negro children, on the eſtates which you have attended?

Dentition, worms, a diſeaſe of the ſtomach, or depravity of appetite, which induces them to eat dirt—beſides theſe cauſes may be enumerated a prevalence of epidemical diſeaſes; ſuch as a

putrid

putrid ſore throat, which, when it prevails, uſually carries off a vaſt number of them—but the cauſe which I attribute, as the principal one, is the neglect of the mothers, as many of them will leave their children, at a very early age, for whole nights together, to go in purſuit of amorous adventures and plunder—it has been ſaid, that the tetanus or locked-jaw carried off numbers of children a very few days after their birth; but I cannot ſay that many inſtances of it fell within my knowledge, although adults, or grown perſons, were very liable to it, from lacerated wounds and other injuries in tendinous parts, and from this cauſe it uſually proved fatal.

Are you able to form any judgment of the number of Negro children who arrive to the age of puberty, in proportion to the number born?

The conſtant attendance upon the duties of my profeſſion did not allow me to inquire into minutiæ of this kind, nor can I therefore form, or ſpeak with any degree of probability upon this queſtion.

Do you not know that ſome maſters have given premiums to the women for the number of children reared, and have taken every other poſſible precaution, and yet that there has been a diminution of the number of Negroes in moſt years?

The proprietor of an eſtate for which I was employed, having loſt a number of children, was induced to give a pecuniary reward, as alſo to grant indulgencies to every mother who reared her child to the age of two years, and he no doubt added ſeveral to his liſt or number which otherwiſe might have been loſt; yet notwithſtanding theſe offered advantages to the mother, and every poſſible attention which he could himſelf beſtow, he had an annual diminution of the number of his Negroes.

Are pregnant women, during the time of their lying-in, and afterwards, under greater diſadvantages than the lower claſs of White women in this country?

They certainly are not, for the reaſons before aſſigned, ſuch as being exempted from any hard labour during pregnancy, and their being taken proper care of after their lying-in.—It is no uncommon thing for a White woman to go to labour a very few days after her lying-in, or elſe her family will perhaps want bread; but the caſe is otherwiſe with the Negro woman, who never is expected to go to work, at leaſt, under an expiration of four weeks, and

ſtill

ſtill longer time, if reported by the ſurgeon to be neceſſary to the re-eſtabliſhment of her health.

To what cauſes do you attribute the decreaſe of adult Negroes on the Sugar Plantations?

Theſe are very numerous indeed—the firſt that I would mention is the free and early intercourſe of females with the other ſex; as it is evident, that proſtitution proves a bar to a ready impregnation, as women who lead that kind of diſſolute life in this country do not often breed—The ſecond cauſe to which I attribute the decreaſe of Negroes, is the frequent abortions which Negro women deſignedly bring on themſelves, either becauſe a ſtate of pregnancy in ſome meaſure puts a ſtop to their amorous purſuits for ſome time, or becauſe they do not chooſe to be incumbered with the trouble of giving ſuck and of rearing their children.—The third cauſe I would mention is, the number of chronical diſeaſes to which the women of warm climates are more ſubject to than thoſe of colder climates, ſuch as obſtructions of the menſtrual diſcharge (the whites) and a falling of the womb, which prevents an impregnation. The fourth cauſe is, the prevalence of epidemical diſeaſes, ſuch as putrid fevers, putrid ſore throats, and fluxes; the laſt of which diſeaſe occaſionally ſweeps off a vaſt number of Negroes. The fifth cauſe is, the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which Negroes addict themſelves to, and the many diſeaſes which they contract in their nightly rambles and dancings. The laſt cauſe which I ſhall mention is, the long time which Negro women keep their children at the breaſt, as few of them wean them before the age of two years; and few women ever breed as long as they continue to give ſuck—Theſe, beſides the many diſeaſes to which the human frame is liable in cold climates, I apprehend to be the moſt general cauſes of the annual decreaſe of Negroes.

Is not confinement of the Negroes very generally adopted in the Weſt Indies, inſtead of corporal puniſhment?

Corporal chaſtiſement is, I think, very much laid aſide, and ſeldom now inflicted, except in caſes of atrocious offences.

Have you in the courſe of your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, been ever called upon, in your medical capacity, to adminiſter aſſiſtance to Negroes who have been ſeverely puniſhed?

I never was.

What time did you reſide at St. Chriſtopher's?

For about twelve months, to which place I went in the year 1776.

How long did you reſide at Nevis?

In the year 1777 I went to Nevis, and continued there until the year 1785, at which time I came to England for the benefit of my health; but in the year 1788, I again returned to the Weſt Indies, and paſſed eight months in the two Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher, but not in a medical capacity, having relinquiſhed buſineſs in that part of the world.

Does not the information which you have given to the Committee, relate as well to the treatment and condition of Negroes in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, as well as that of Nevis?

It does, for I was engaged in an active line of buſineſs at Saint Chriſtopher's during my year's reſidence in that Iſland, therefore had an opportunity of being perfectly well acquainted with the mode of treatment, feeding, clothing, lodging, and working Negroes there, as well as in the Iſland of Nevis.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you know what proportion the Native Creoles at preſent, in the Iſlands with which you are acquainted, bear to the African Negroes?

I can form no proper judgment, ſo as to give an anſwer to this queſtion.

Can you ſay whether African Negroes do not die in a larger proportion, during the firſt three years after their importation, than after that time?

The change of climate, no doubt, produces an effect on their conſtitutions, as well as it does upon thoſe of White people, and I preſume that a greater proportion may die during this period; but the ſame obſervation will hold good with regard to Whites, as many die before they are ſeaſoned to the climate.

Do you then mean to ſay, that the change of climate, from Africa to the Weſt Indies, produces ſimilar effects on the conſtitutions of the Negroes, as the change of climate from England to the Weſt Indies produces on the conſtitutions of White men?

My opinion is, that the change produces very great effects on

the conſtitutions of the Negroes, becauſe many of them, even with the greateſt care and attention, and being put to no laborious employment whatever, frequently die before they can be enured to the climate.

Can you ſtate what is the uſually eſtimated proportion of thoſe who die within the firſt three years?

I cannot; becauſe very few African Negroes were imported into the Iſland of Nevis during my reſidence there.

Do you know what is the uſually eſtimated annual decreaſe of a plantation gang?

I ſhould preſume about three or four per cent.; but this is mere matter of conjecture, as I never made any calculation on the ſubject.

Do you apprehend that the labour of Slaves is ſuch as in any degree tends to ſhorten their lives?

I am of opinion that their labour is by no means attended with any ſuch effect, becauſe during crop time (which is generally allowed to be the time of year in which they undergo the moſt labour) they always appear cheerful, convivial, and merry.

Is the general character of the Negroes indolent or induſtrious?

That of a Creole Negro is generally induſtrious, but that of an African uſually very indolent.

Are men or women Slaves in general conſidered as moſt valuable, under ſimilar circumſtances of youth, health, and ſtrength?

I certainly ſhould conſider, that a woman of equal health and ſtrength with a man, was certainly far more valuable, becauſe her increaſe benefits the proprietor; whereas the maſter derives no ſuch advantage from the man.

Do not men in general ſell for more money?

Such an obſervation has not come within the ſphere of my knowledge—I have been owner of four or five Negroes, as domeſtics, and I gave much the ſame price for both ſexes—but I never was proprietor of Field Negroes.

Then do you not mean to ſpeak of the price of Field Negroes?

No.

Are Negroes in general allowed ſhoes?

No,

No, they are not—nor do they wiſh to wear them; as ſome maſters of domeſtic Slaves have given them, but they were thrown ſide as an incumbrance.

Are the Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Nevis liable to frequent or ſevere droughts?

They are very much ſo; and I believe ſuffered much from this cauſe during the laſt two years; for, during the whole eight months that I was laſt abroad, there fell but twice any thing of rain that might be called a hard ſhower.

In what inſtances did the Iſlands ſuffer from theſe droughts?

It put a ſtop to almoſt all vegetation whatever, and of courſe the uſual produce of the Iſlands was very much diminiſhed.

Can you ſtate what proportion of the infants born, die under a twelvemonth?

I ſhould think two out of three at leaſt; but this is conjecture, and not from any calculation made.

In your enumeration of the Negroes on an eſtate, you have mentioned watchmen.—What are theſe watchmen employed to guard?

On every piece of canes a watchman is placed to keep cattle from intruding during the time the plants are in a young ſtate; and when the canes come to full maturity, they guard them from the depredations of Negroes who wiſh to break them—ſometimes ariſing from miſchievous motives, and at other times from a deſire of eating them, being very fond of them.

Are no watchmen employed on a plantation but in cane pieces?

Yes—on ſtores, and other works about a plantation, where any valuable effects are depoſited.

You have conjectured that the decreaſe of Slaves in the Iſland of Nevis was about three or four per cent.—was the decreaſe of the Slaves, either old or young, during the period to which you have alluded, from 1777 to 1785, to be aſcribed to any other than the common and ordinary cauſes of decreaſe or conſumption?

During the time of my reſidence, which I have ſpecified, there once or twice prevailed an epidemical putrid ſore throat, which carried off a number of children; and almoſt every year, during

the rainy months, fluxes became very general, and were fatal to a great many full-grown Negroes, eſpecially to thoſe of weakly conſtitutions.

Did any hurricane happen during that period?
No.

At what ſeaſons do the rains uſually prevail in theſe Iſlands?
They commence uſually about Auguſt, and terminate uſually about the latter end of November, or beginning of December, which ſeaſon is the moſt unhealthy part of the year.

Do you apprehend that the fluxes which you have ſtated to prevail, depend at all on the wetneſs of the ſeaſon?
Air impregnated with moiſt particles no doubt tends to give a certain check to the perſpiration, which being thrown upon the bowels, is very apt to terminate in a flux. Another cauſe of fluxes becoming general at this ſeaſon of the year is owing to the water which is drank in common, coming down from the mountains, impregnated with many noxious particles; and after heavy rains, fluxes are very apt to ariſe from this cauſe.

Was there not an unuſually great decreaſe of the Slaves in the laſt year or two of the period you have mentioned, ending in 1785?
I do not know that there was, but in the ſucceeding year a putrid fever prevailed in both the Iſlands of Nevis and Saint Chriſtopher, which ſwept off a vaſt number of both Blacks and Whites.

Were not the Slaves, during thoſe two years, more than uſually unhealthy?
I imagine they were; for from the fatigue which I had undergone in the practice of my profeſſion, I found my health much injured, and was on that account obliged to come to England.

Do you recollect the cauſes of that increaſed unhealthineſs?
At this diſtant period of time I really cannot call to mind what were the cauſes; but fluxes and fevers of a putrid nature prevailed in a greater degree than was uſual.

What legal protection have the Slaves in the Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher from their maſters?

I think

I think there are Colonial Laws exiſting, which reſtrain the maſter from exerciſing any undue authority over the Slave.—Beſides, was any Slave-owner to ill treat thoſe who are his property, ſuch is the general contempt for every abuſe of power of this nature, that I am certain, and know it as a fact, that the perſon ſo offending would be held in contempt, and not be admitted into the ſociety of thoſe of reſpectable characters.

Are the planters in Nevis uſually reſident on their eſtates, or otherwiſe?

More ſo than in moſt other Iſlands.

To whom is the management of thoſe eſtates committed on which the owners do not reſide?

When the proprietor is not a reſident on his eſtate, but lives in England, he appoints an attorney, in whom is veſted the power of appointing a manager, to whom the management of the eſtate is committed; but he is, at the ſame time, often ſuperviſed, and his conduct inquired into by the attorney, and when guilty of a breach of truſt, or of any ſeverities exerciſed upon the Negroes, he is then diſcharged.

Was it generally believed in the Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher, that the Law of England extended its protection to Slaves in thoſe Iſlands?

Before the framing of the Colonial Laws by the legiſlative bodies of the different Iſlands, the maſter had an abſolute authority over the Slave; but as ſelf-intereſt is a paſſion predominant in the breaſt of moſt men, and that as it is contrary to the intereſt of every proprietor to be guilty of any ſeverities or cruelties to his Negroes, I do preſume that they were treated with as much mildneſs as they now are.

What proportion does the produce of the Slave's own ground bear to the proviſion allowed him by his maſter?

I have already ſtated, that the allowance given by the maſter is juſt a ſufficiency for his ſupport, and of courſe that which he derives from his proviſion ground will not be very great—the ſuperfluity ariſing from both, is converted into money for his private purpoſes.

Can you ſtate the uſual quantity of ground allotted to each Slave?

Beſides that about his houſe, which may be about a quarter of

an acre, he generally has mountain land allotted to him—but I cannot ſtate the exact quantity.

Is that quarter of an acre allotted for the purpoſe of raiſing proviſion for the Slave?

It is always planted with potatoes, or ſome other vegetables, for his uſe.

Is that allotment of ground round the houſe, increaſed in proportion to the family of the Slave?

No—but that of the mountain always is.

At what diſtance may that mountain ground uſually lie from the dwelling of the Slave?

It depends upon the ſituation of the eſtate—many of the eſtates have no mountain ground at all—in conſequence of which the proprietor gives a greater allowance of food.

Can you ſay what is the greateſt allowance given where there is no mountain ground?

The allowance out of crop time is greater than during the crop ſeaſon; but I believe eleven pints of any kind of grain per week, beſides an equal number of herrings, is the greateſt allowance.

What diminution of that allowance is made during the ſeaſon of crop?

The allowance may be reduced from nine pints to about ſix or ſeven; but at the ſame time they have many other advantages, ſuch as being ſupplied with hot ſyrup, and a liberty of eating as many canes as they chuſe, both of which are very nutritive; and Negroes are always in better order, condition, and health, during crop-time, than at any other period of the year.

On the eſtates where you attended as ſurgeon, was any part of the hoſpital appropriated to the uſe of lying-in women, or did they uſually reſide in their own houſes?

They always lye-in in their own houſes.

Did you give your perſonal attendance on the eſtates you have mentioned, or did you commit them to the care of aſſiſtants?

The buſineſs was done by my partner and ſelf ſolely, and after the diſſolution of partnerſhip, which took place in 1780, to the beſt of my recollection, it was done wholly by myſelf, until I

found my health injured from too great fatigue, and then I employed an aſſiſtant.

Do you recollect when the puniſhment of whipping began to be leſs prevalent in the Iſlands of which you ſpoke?
I cannot ſay I ever ſaw much of it at any period; but on my laſt viſit to the Weſt Indies, I found it was almoſt diſuſed.

To what cauſe do you attribute that puniſhment being almoſt totally diſcontinued?
Becauſe confinement is attended with much better conſequence; for a Negro would much rather receive a correction of that nature, than be locked up or confined.

Then you apprehend that it was for the intereſt of the maſter to diſcontinue the puniſhment of whipping entirely?
I think, to the intereſt of both maſter and Slave.

From your obſervation then of the puniſhments uſually inflicted on Slaves, is it your opinion the planters deſerve the character of a cruel and barbarous ſet of people?
The ſtigma which has been thrown upon the whole body of Slave-holders, I look upon to be very unjuſt and undeſerved. Theſe men have been accuſed of tyrannic acts of oppreſſion, and alſo of putting the human invention to the rack to find out tortures to inflict on theſe their fellow-creatures; but from what has been ſaid of the intereſt of the planter depending on the Slave, ſurely ſuch abſurdities are ſelf-apparent.

Do you think that the cultivation of Sugar eſtates can be carried on by European labourers alone, or in any degree, even if they were to be had?
I am very certain it cannot.

From your experience of the diſpoſitions of the planters in general, is it not their wiſh and endeavour to rear as many Negro children as they can, to avoid the neceſſity of purchaſing new Negroes to keep up their ſtock?
I am perfectly ſenſible it is both their intereſt and wiſh.

Have you ever been in Ireland and Scotland?
I have, ſeveral years.

From the view which you have had the opportunity of taking of

of the general ſtate and condition of the Slaves in the Weſt India Iſlands, and that of the common labourers and poor people of theſe kingdoms, whether in your opinion, the Slaves, or the laſt-mentioned claſs of men, live the moſt comfortably?

I have poſitive evidence, that the Slaves have a decided ſuperiority with reſpect to every comfort of life.

In what do you conceive that ſuperiority of comfort conſiſts?

In the Slaves being regularly ſupplied by the maſter with every neceſſary of life; ſuch as clothing, food, comfortable houſes, protection in health, and the beſt medical advice when ill, and on their deceaſe, of having a father and protector for their children.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 25° die Februarii 1790.

Counſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

JAMES TOBIN, Eſquire.

Of what country are you a native?

Of England.

How long have you reſided in the Weſt Indies, and in what Iſlands particularly?

I have reſided, in the whole, in the Weſt Indies, about ten or twelve years, at different periods—my chief reſidence has been in the Iſland of Nevis.—I have alſo been frequently at Saint Chriſtopher's, and occaſionally in moſt of the other Engliſh Windward and Leeward Iſlands, and likewiſe in ſome of the French Iſlands.

Have you any knowledge of the manner of cultivating eſtates in the Weſt Indies?

From the experience of ſo many years reſidence in the Weſt Indies, I have.

Are

Are you a proprietor of any eſtate in the Weſt Indies?

I am, and have been for upwards of twenty years in the Iſland of Nevis.

From your experience and long reſidence in the Weſt Indies, do you think it poſſible to cultivate lands there by any other means than that of Negro labour?

I do not.

Do you think it poſſible to cultivate land in the Weſt Indies, by the labour of Free Negroes?

If Free Negroes could be perſuaded to work, I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not do as much work as Slaves; but in all my experience, I never knew a ſingle inſtance of a Free Negro performing field labour.—In the Iſland of Saint Vincent, there are a great number of Free Negroes, who are improperly called Caribs; in that Iſland Negro labour is very dear; and were thoſe people inclinable to work in the field, the planters, I am very well convinced, would be ready to give them very great encouragement; inſtead of which, they live as nearly in a ſtate of nature as the Natives of the moſt ſavage countries which have lately been diſcovered. In the Iſland of Jamaica there are likewiſe a conſiderable number of Free Negroes, and from the beſt information that I have been able to procure, I do not find that any of them ever work in the field for hire.

Do you conceive it poſſible to cultivate Sugar Plantations by White labourers?

I do not.

Do you think the number of Negroes ſufficient for the cultivation of Sugar Eſtates can be kept up by the common courſe of propagation, without a regular importation of Slaves from Africa?

I do not.

State your reaſons for that opinion.

There are ſeveral reaſons—The firſt reaſon is, that there are in general a greater number of males imported than of females, and this is ever likely to be the caſe, from the natives on the coaſt of Africa being univerſally polygamiſts, and therefore very unwilling to part with their females as long as they are likely to contribute to their own ſenſual gratification.—Another reaſon is, the premature and promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes—another

reaſon is, the great variety of venereal complaints which both ſexes are ſo liable to—another reaſon is, the cuſtom among the young female Negroes of procuring abortions, for the purpoſe of preſerving their perſons as long as they are able—another reaſon is, the many chronical diſorders the female Negroes are ſubject to, in conſequence of their irregularities, ſuch as obſtructions, fluor albus, and diſorders of the womb—another reaſon is, the cuſtom of Negro women ſuckling their children a great length of time—another reaſon is, the premature debility which the men ſubject themſelves to by an immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors—another reaſon is, the little care too many of the Negro women are apt to take of their children—and, another reaſon is, the many diſorders to which Negro children are peculiarly ſubject, ſuch as fluxes, worms, and the fevers incident thereto, the tetanus or locked jaw, and what the French call mal d'eſtomac, vulgarly called eating of dirt. On my own eſtate, the gang of Negroes is particularly circumſtanced—I have had, for a number of years, nearly three females to two males, and the females have always had remarkable care taken of them. I employ a free woman at a conſiderable ſalary to do nothing elſe than attend the ſick Negroes and breeding women—Notwithſtanding all which precautions, I have but juſt been able for theſe four or five laſt years to keep up my number.

Are the children of Negroes ſubject to any peculiar diſorders?

I have already anſwered that queſtion—but, with reſpect to the tetanus, I have never found it ſo frequent in the Iſland of Nevis, as it certainly is in that of St. Chriſtopher's, and ſeveral other Iſlands.

Are not the Negroes, both infant and adult, ſubject to epidemical diſorders?

They undoubtedly are—ſuch as fluxes, putrid fevers, and ſore throats, beſides the common epidemical diſorders of the ſmall-pox, meaſles, and ſo forth.

Do you conceive that any future increaſe by breeding would counterbalance the loſſes ariſing from epidemical diſeaſes?

I have not the leaſt reaſon to think it would.

Inform the Committee in what manner the Negroes are uſually fed.

Negroes are uſually fed, in the Iſlands I am ſpeaking of, with flour, Indian corn, rye-meal, biſcuit, Guinea corn, and other grain,

grain, and with yams, potatoes, bananas, and plantanes, when they are to be procured—they have, beſides, ſalt proviſions, ſuch as herrings, mackerel, ſhads, and ſalt fiſh.

Is the quantity of food allowed to the Negroes ſufficient for their ſupport?

The quantity of proviſions allowed to the Negroes may be ſufficient for their ſupport; but it is always underſtood, both by the maſter and the Slave, that they are not to depend entirely on the proviſions allowed them, but are expected to add ſomething to them, by their own induſtry.

What are the advantages poſſeſſed by the Negroes, to enable them to contribute to their ſupport by their own induſtry?

They are always allowed land to plant, and the privilege of raiſing goats, hogs, and different kinds of poultry, and to ſell whatever they raiſe for their own account.—They have alſo other advantages in picking graſs, and other ſtock meat, cutting wood, and carrying it to the towns to ſell for their own benefit.—During my own reſidence in the Weſt Indies, at leaſt half, or perhaps two thirds of the freſh proviſions that I conſumed at my own table, were purchaſed either of my own Slaves, or thoſe of other planters.

From whence is the advantage you alluded to, of their cutting wood, derived?

From their being able to meet with a ready ſale for it.

In what manner are the Negroes uſually cloathed?

They have as much Oſnaburgs, or coarſe linen, as make a jacket and breeches for the men, and a jacket and petticoat for the women; with an allowance of woollen cloth, and generally hats or caps at leaſt once a year.—The children of all ages have an allowance of the ſame kind, in proportion to their ſize.

How are the Negroes lodged?

They are lodged in houſes built by themſelves, with the aſſiſtance of their maſters.—The moſt common houſes contain at leaſt two rooms, one for the purpoſe of ſleeping in, and the other for their common uſe;—there are many of their houſes much larger, conſiſting of three and four rooms, with ſmall buildings detached for the uſe of their cookery.—The houſes in general are thatched and wattled, and many plaiſtered—but many of the better kind of Negroes, and particularly in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, have

timber houſes regularly boarded and ſhingled.—The cabins on which they ſleep are a kind of raiſed benches, made of boards, on which they ſpread their mats and blankets.

What care is taken of the Slaves during their ſickneſs?

There are, upon all eſtates, regular nurſes to attend upon them —there is generally a ſurgeon employed by the year—they are ſupplied with broth, ſago, portable ſoup, wine, freſh meat, and every thing that it is ſuppoſed will contribute to their recovery—they have frequently poultry and mutton killed on purpoſe to make them broth—I have known one particular inſtance, where a Slave had no leſs than ſixteen lambs killed for his uſe, during his convaleſcence, at a time when each lamb was worth at leaſt two dollars.

How are female Slaves treated during pregnancy, at their lying-in, and after their delivery?

As ſoon as a Negro woman is four or five months gone with child, ſhe no longer works in any of the regular gangs, but is employed in ſome light kind of labour, ſuch as picking a little graſs, attending the Negro children in the field, or ſomething of that kind, more for the ſake of keeping her in exerciſe, and out of miſchief, than from any profit that is expected from her exertions. —During her lying-in ſhe is attended with the ſame care and attention as the ſick Negroes.—There is generally a midwife upon the eſtate, but in caſes of neceſſity, the aſſiſtance of an eſtabliſhed practitioner is made uſe of, at a very heavy expence; as midwifery, night viſits, and capital operations are all ſeparately paid for to the ſurgeon who attends the eſtate, over and above his regular allowance—they are always allowed four weeks, and more if neceſſary, before they are expected to leave their houſes; and when they return to their work, they are allowed to come an hour or two later into the field, as long as the children continue at the breaſt—I never recollect having ſeen a Negro woman far advanced in her pregnancy put to any hard labour.

How are Negroes treated when lame, incurably diſeaſed, or ſuperannuated?

They have the ſame food, the ſame clothing, the ſame lodging, and the ſame accommodations of every kind, as if they were perfectly ſerviceable.

What is the nature and extent of the puniſhments uſually inflicted on Slaves?

To

To ſpeak comparatively, and with a reference to the puniſhments inflicted on Britiſh ſoldiers and ſeamen, I am fully authorized to ſay, that the puniſhment of Negro Slaves is mild.

Under all the cirumſtances you have mentioned, as to the feeding, clothing, and lodging of Negroes, the care taken of them and their children in ſickneſs and in health, and the making them labour by correction or compulſion, as well as with reſpect to the puniſhments uſually inflicted upon them; is it your opinion that their lives are more or leſs happy and comfortable than the labouring poor in Europe, who are compelled to work from neceſſity?

With reſpect to the puniſhments inflicted upon them, no compariſon can be made; in every other reſpect, from the obſervations that I have made, I have no doubt but that the ſituation of the Weſt India Slaves is preferable to that of the labouring poor in Europe; and on this ſubject, in making the compariſon, the advantage of climate has never in my opinion been ſufficiently adverted to, for in that particular the advantage is moſt ſtrikingly obvious on the ſide of the Negro Slave; for example, in a cold climate, two of the greateſt luxuries are warm lodging and warm clothing, both which we know it is ſcarcely in the power of the labouring poor to procure; on the contrary, in a climate like that of the Weſt Indies, two of the greateſt indulgencies are cool lodging and cool clothing, both which the Negro can eaſily obtain.

State to the Committee the nature and the hours of labour aſſigned to the Negroes.

The nature of the labour expected from the Negroes is different, according to their different ſtrengths, and in ſome meaſure depends on the different ſeaſons of the year. The Negroes are generally divided into three claſſes or gangs—the great gang conſiſts of the moſt robuſt and able, both of the men and women—the ſmall gang includes younger Negroes and thoſe leſs able—and the graſs gang is compoſed of children under the direction of an old woman, merely to keep them out of miſchief, and to habituate them to regular employment—the work of the great gang conſiſts in holing the ground when that labour is required; in moſt other kinds of work, ſuch as weeding and gathering in the crop, the two gangs are generally joined together—with reſpect to the hours, the Negroes are generally called into the field by the ringing of a bell, about dawn of day, which in a latitude where the days and nights are ſo nearly equal, is generally about ſix o'clock; about eight o'clock they are allowed half an hour for their

breakfaſt, which they generally carry into the field with them, and it is uſually about three quarters of an hour before they reſume their work again, which they continue in general till noon; but in very dry ſeaſons (as out of crop time they are expected to bring graſs at noon) they are generally diſcharged at about half paſt eleven o'clock—they return again into the field at two o'clock, where they continue till about ſix, when they are diſcharged, in order to bring another burthen of graſs—in crop time, when the ſtock is fed upon the offals of the cane, and little or no graſs is required, a ſmall part of the Negroes are kept at work to attend the mills and boiling houſe for ſome hours after it is dark; and on ſome eſtates being divided into proper ſpells, they continue their attendance on the mills and boiling houſe during the greater part of the night, ſo that on the whole, the crop time may be ſaid to be the ſeaſon of the hardeſt labour; and yet it is a fact very well eſtabliſhed, that the Slaves are always better and heartier in crop time than at any other. On the whole, I am clearly convinced, that the labour of a Negro Slave, taken through the whole year, is by no means ſo ſevere as that of an Engliſh labourer.

Out of crop time, at what hour are the Negroes permitted to retire to reſt?

In general, I believe, by ſeven o'clock; but that depends in part upon themſelves, as they are ſometimes backward in bringing their graſs, and as they generally come to receive their allowance at that time in the evening.—As it is, in the latitude of the Iſlands, dark by ſix, or between ſix and ſeven, it could anſwer no manner of purpoſe to keep the Negroes out of crop time from their own houſes after that hour.

Are the œconomy and cultivation of a Sugar plantation in any reſpect ſimilar to thoſe of a farm in England?

By no means; though it has been common to treat them as if they were to be cultivated alike—the cultivation of a Sugar eſtate bears a much nearer reſemblance to that of a garden, than to that of a farm; and I have always obſerved, that thoſe planters who have kept that idea in view, have generally made the moſt of their property.—The lands in the Weſt Indies require to be prepared in a very nice manner, and there is no produce raiſed upon a Weſt India eſtate that is ſown; but every thing, even the grain, is planted by hand—the uſe of the plough, and other implements of European agriculture, are therefore excluded—they have, I believe, been tried upon eſtates which were level enough to admit of the experiment, but I am well informed, without any benefi-

cial

cial conſequences.—The cane ſprouts, upon their firſt appearance out of the ground, are remarkably tender, and require repeated hoings, to be performed in the moſt careful manner, which muſt of courſe be done by hand.—The manure uſed in the Weſt Indies is not ſpread on the ground as it is in England, but is carried and placed carefully round each plant ſeparately, ſo that wheel barrows or carts could not be uſed for that purpoſe, after the canes are come up; but the manure is generally carried in carts, and made into heaps at proper diſtances on the land before it is holed, in order to ſave as much labour as poſſible to the Negroes, who are afterwards to ſpread it. In the Iſlands of Nevis and Montſerrat, it would be impoſſible, from the rockineſs of the ſurface (except in a very few ſmall ſpots) even to try the plough at all.—The ſevere droughts to which the ſmall Iſlands are ſubject, would likewiſe be an invincible impediment againſt the uſe of the plough, as lands, if they could be turned up by the plough, would require a long while to mellow in ſo dry a climate.—The planters are ſo ſenſible of the value of Negro labour, that they have left very few experiments untried that were likely to eaſe their Negroes, and enable thoſe they are poſſeſſed of to do as much neceſſary work as poſſible, it being an eſtabliſhed maxim among all the thinking and prudent planters (with whom I have converſed) never to employ a Negro in doing ſuch work as could be performed by cattle or machines.

Is it not cuſtomary to provide manure, by ſtaking cattle and fixing pens for that purpoſe, ſo as to ſave the labour of Negroes?

In the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, the cuſtom of ſtaking cattle prevails more than in any other iſland that I know of. In Nevis we make uſe of moving pens for the ſame purpoſe, which are ſomething like the pens uſed in England for ſheep on the downs, except that they are made with rails and poſts ſtrong enough to incloſe horned cattle; and by theſe means the dung is generally made on the very land on which it is intended to be uſed.

When, from the ſituation of the land, carts cannot be uſed for carrying dung, is it not the practice to uſe mules with crooks and dung-pots for that purpoſe, ſo as to ſave the labour of Negroes?

There are very few ſituations where ſmall light dung-carts drawn by mules cannot be uſed; but in thoſe ſituations that are ſo ſteep as to exclude the uſe of ſuch ſmall carts, the manure is carried out in horſe-hair bags, on the backs of mules, in order to ſave the labour of carrying it by means of the Negroes. Dung-

pots,

pots, as they uſed to be called, are generally laid aſide, as being found to gall the mules.

Do not planters in general prefer Creole Slaves to thoſe imported from Africa, and for that reaſon pay every poſſible attention to the breeding of children?

They certainly do.

Do you know whether premiums have not in particular inſtances been given to the Negro women for the children they could rear?

I know one or two inſtances of that kind in Nevis; one is where a pecuniary reward is given to the mother after ſhe has reared her child to be two years old; the other is, where a freedom from all kind of labour is given to every Negro woman who is the mother of ſix children capable of doing any thing upon the eſtate.

According to your obſervation and judgment, do Negroes, imported from Africa to the Weſt Indies, change their ſituation for the better or worſe?

From obſervation I am not qualified to anſwer the queſtion, having never been on the coaſt of Africa; but, from the beſt information I have been able to procure, from reading moſt of the publications on the ſubject, from converſing with men well acquainted with the coaſt of Africa, and likewiſe, from having occaſionally converſed with African Negroes themſelves on the ſubject, I have every reaſon to think, that their ſituation is better, generally ſpeaking, in the Weſt Indies, than it was in their own country; and it is a very ſtriking and ſingular circumſtance, that there never was an inſtance of a Negro (even an African Negro) who had obtained his freedom, ever returning to his own country again, or even expreſſing a wiſh ſo to do—it has been ſaid, that this ariſes from the connections they have made in the Weſt Indies ſince their importation, and poſſibly that may be the caſe; but, at the ſame time, if it is ſo, it is a poſitive proof, that it is in their power to form friendſhips and connections in the Weſt Indies, equally, if not more agreeable to their diſpoſitions, than thoſe they quitted.—It is a general miſtake, to ſuppoſe that Negroes in the Weſt Indies are ſo very anxious to procure their freedom; if it was ſo, many of them have it in their power, by the money they accumulate, to purchaſe their freedom.—I have known inſtances where freedom has been offered to Slaves, upon the moſt moderate terms, and has been refuſed; and the reaſon

they have aſſigned for ſuch refuſal has been, that they ſhould loſe their friends and protectors.

In the inſtances to which you have juſt alluded, do you conceive the Negroes were able to have purchaſed their freedom at the ſum propoſed?

I have little doubt about it—in one inſtance I am poſitive, as he has ſince purchaſed the freedom of his ſon, and purchaſed likewiſe ſome Slaves for his ſon's uſe, while he himſelf ſtill remains a Slave.

Have you not known inſtances of free Negroes marrying women Slaves, although they knew that the offspring of that marriage would be ſubject to ſlavery?

According to the ſenſe in which the word marriage is underſtood among the Negroes, I have— it is, indeed, a very common caſe.

Have you not reſided for ſome years paſt in England, as a Weſt India merchant?

I have ſince the year 1784.

Do you know what effect the agitation of this queſtion for aboliſhing the Slave Trade has produced on Weſt India credit?

I have great reaſon to think its effects upon Weſt India credit have been very baneful and very extenſive—the houſe that I am concerned in has been deterred from entering into advances which, in all probability, we otherwiſe ſhould have done, from this conſideration alone, and I believe many much more conſiderable houſes have been influenced by the ſame conſideration.

Are you ſufficiently acquainted with the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher to ſay, whether the information you have been giving reſpecting the treatment and ſituation of Negroes, and the mode of cultivating the lands, applies to that Iſland as well as to Nevis?

The two Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Nevis are ſituate ſo near each other, and there is ſuch a conſtant intercourſe kept up between the inhabitants, that the planters of one Iſland are in general perfectly acquainted with the method of cultivating the lands and treating the Negroes in the other; and I have been ſo repeatedly on the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, though never a regular reſident there for any length of time, that I think I may ſafely ſay, that I am qualified to ſpeak of the cuſtoms prevalent there.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

During what years did you reſide in the Weſt Indies, and in what Iſlands?

I firſt went to the Weſt Indies, with a view of reſiding there, in the year 1758;—I remained there till the year 1766, having in the interval made a trip or two to England on buſineſs; ſo that I believe my reſidence at that time, taken altogether, might be between four and five years.—During that time my father was living, and proprietor of the family eſtate, and (great part of it) renter of another pretty conſiderable property; in the management of both which, my chief employment was to aſſiſt.—In the year 1766 I returned, and ſettled in England, where I remained till the latter end of 1777, when I again returned, and continued in the Weſt Indies till 1784.—My fixed reſidence was in the Iſland of Nevis; but, as I have already ſtated, I at times viſited moſt of the other Iſlands.

What was the actual number of your gang, and ſpecify the numbers of males and females, able Slaves, infants, and ſuperannuated Slaves?

I did not particularly attend to my gang, till I laſt left the Weſt Indies, as, before that time, I had been employed in getting rid of ſome of the worſt of them, and had taken pains to procure a gang that ſhould be likely to increaſe.—In 1784 I had ſeventy-two males and 100 females—in 1785 I had ſeventy-two males and ninety-eight females—the decreaſe of courſe was two.—In 1786 I had ſeventy-three males and ninety-eight females—they were that year even, as I purchaſed one.—In 1787 I had ſeventy-ſeven males, and 102 females—the increaſe this year was three, as there were ſix new Negroes purchaſed for me.—In 1788 I had ſeventy-ſeven males, and 102 females:—So that with ſuch a ſuperiority of females I have barely been able to keep up the number.

Can you ſtate the number of births and deaths during that period?

I cannot.

What do you eſtimate to be the ordinary conſumption of Slaves, that is, the number of deaths more than births, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher?

I have never made any calculation.

What

What is the ordinary proportion of females to males in that Iſland?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion with any kind of preciſion.

What quantity of ground is uſually allowed to the Negro round his hut, in the Iſlands of Saint Chriſtopher and Nevis?

That is very different on different plantations—In the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher the land is ſo very valuable, that the Negro houſes ſtand very cloſe, the grounds therefore appropriated to the Negroes are generally at ſome diſtance from their houſes. In the Iſland of Nevis, where land is not ſo valuable, the houſes ſtand more detached from each other; and there is generally, but not univerſally, a lot of land appropriated to each houſe; but in both the Iſlands, I believe it to be cuſtomary (in Nevis I know it to be ſo) beſides the land round their houſes, and the other which is commonly called Negro proviſion ground, to have a piece of cane land given them from which they are permitted to take off one crop.

Is the diſtant land of which you ſpeak, commonly mountain land?

It is generally either mountain land or what we call gutſides, which are not ſo eaſy for planting in canes.

What quantity of land had you in cultivation?

About 260 or 270 acres, of which in general I planted yearly about 90 acres.

What number of Whites had you in your ſervice, and in what capaicties?

Beſides my own family, I had a manager, an overſeer all the year, and a diſtiller during crop time; beſides which I had a free Mulatto woman, whom I hired to attend the ſick Negroes and lying-in women.

Were there the ſame number of Whites, and in the ſame capacities, during your abſence from the Weſt Indies?

There was.

Has it been uniformly underſtood ſince the time you have been acquainted with the Weſt Indies, that it was for the planter's intereſt to go on the breeding ſyſtem, rather than on the purchaſing one?

I never heard any ſenſible planter of a different opinion.

Do you conceive Slaves to be better or worſe treated now than they were formerly?

I apprehend the general treatment of them to be better now than it was thirty or forty years back. I know of no particular alterations being made of late in that reſpect.

What was the legal protection generally underſtood to be enjoyed by the Slave?

The legal protection which they enjoyed in the two Iſlands I have been ſpeaking of, was that of the laws of England, as I do not recollect any colonial laws in the Iſland of Nevis, which interfered with thoſe of the mother-country in that reſpect. In the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher I believe there is a law to puniſh the maiming of Slaves.

Was not this laſt-mentioned law paſſed ſo late as in the year 1783?

I believe it was.

Do you conceive it to have been the general opinion, that the Engliſh law extended to Slaves in the Iſlands of Nevis and Saint Chriſtopher?

I apprehend it was the general opinion, becauſe proſecutions have been carried on under the laws of England.

Do you recollect the offences for which any of theſe proſecutions were carried on, their circumſtances, and the reſult of them?

When I was in the Iſland of Nevis, there was a murder of a Negro, ſuppoſed to have been committed by two White men—the greateſt pains were taken to ſecure them both; one of them was apprehended, the other eſcaped off the Iſland, who was ſuppoſed to be the principal—the acceſſary was committed, with a view of being ſuffered to be the King's evidence—he however broke gaol and eſcaped—upon which, the ſuppoſed principal returned again to the Iſland—he was committed, but if I recollect right he was admitted to bail, as there was little probability of the evidence ever returning again—all which proceedings, I apprehend, were carried on under the laws of the mother-country. —Another inſtance has happened ſince I quitted the Iſland, therefore, I can only ſpeak from information.—A White overſeer was ſuppoſed to have committed a wanton murder on one of the Negroes belonging to the eſtate where he lived—he was immediately apprehended, indicted, and tried for his life, but the proofs not

appearing perfectly ſatisfactory to the jury, he was found guilty of man-ſlaughter only; but to ſhew the deteſtation in which his conduct was held, he was not, as he would have been in England, condemned to be burnt in the hand, but he was ſentenced to a year's impriſonment in one of the moſt unhealthy gaols in the Weſt Indies.

Was it commonly underſtood, that not only the life of the Slave was protected by the laws of England, but that he was alſo ſecured from immoderate puniſhment by his maſter?

I cannot ſay that it was ſo underſtood; but I know it to be a general received opinion, that all the laws of England are in force in the Weſt Indies, where they are not counteracted by particular colonial laws.

Was it uſual, during your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, for planters to have rooms appropriated to the uſe of lying-in women?

It was not a general practice—there were many planters then, and ſo there are now, in the old Iſlands, that hold even hoſpitals for the ſick to be more detrimental than uſeful, as they are one means of increaſing epidemical diſorders; and on eſtates, where a greater number of the Negroes are Creoles, the ſick Negroes and lying-in women find themſelves more at eaſe in their own houſes, than in an hoſpital.

Can you mention the price of male and of female Slaves now, and at the time of your firſt going to the Weſt Indies?

I cannot ſpeak to that queſtion poſitively, if it has reference to new Negroes, as I never purchaſed a ſingle new Negroe, either for myſelf or my friends, during the whole of my reſidence in the Weſt Indies.

Was there any poll-tax in the Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher, and at what period of the Slave's life did it commence?

There is a poll-tax in both Iſlands, and I believe it commences at the birth of the child.

What was the ſtate of the Slaves in general, as to religion and morals?

There are very few of them that pretend to much religion; as to their morals, they may probably be as good as the very lower order of people in this country; that is, as far as is conſiſtent with their knowledge.

Can you eſtimate the expence of the maintenance of full grown Slaves and children?

I never made the calculation.

Do you apprehend the regulating Act has operated in increaſing the price of Slaves?

From the beſt information I have obtained on the ſubject, it moſt certainly has.

Do you attribute chiefly to it, the late increaſe in the price of Slaves?

I certainly think ſo.

Has the riſe been proportional on males and females?

I cannot tell.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 26° *die Februarii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. TOBIN. Are you at all acquainted with the ſituation of the Slaves in the French Iſlands?

I have had ſome perſonal acquaintance with them, and have taken ſome pains to inform myſelf of their ſituation, from thoſe who have had opportunities of reſiding longer among them.

Do you apprehend their ſituation to be more or leſs eligible than that of ours?

With reſpect to the field Negroes, I have reaſon to think it is by no means better than that of the Slaves in the Engliſh Iſlands, and in particular, as far as regards the article of puniſhment, I believe they are worſe treated—as far as reſpects the domeſtic or houſe Negroes, they ſeem to be treated with more familiarity than thoſe in the ſame capacity in the Engliſh Iſlands; but

but whether ſuch familiarity is productive of any material benefits to them, I have my doubts.

Do you think that the proviſions of the Code Noir are well calculated to ſecure good treatment of the Slaves?

Thoſe regulations appear to me to be well calculated for ſuch purpoſe; but I have had reaſon to believe, that the regulations in the Code Noir are far from being rigidly enforced, and that there are ſeaſons when it is impoſſible for the planter to comply with ſome of the regulations therein contained, particularly reſpecting proviſions.

Are not the French planters more frequently reſident on their own plantations, than the Engliſh are on their's?

I believe, ſpeaking generally, they are.

Is it not in general to be ſuppoſed, that they are more attentive to their own intereſts, than thoſe ſubſtitutes whom they would be obliged to employ, if non-reſident?

It is certainly beyond a doubt, that a man is more attentive and anxious about his own intereſt, than he is to that of another; but it does not from thence follow, that the Negroes upon a Weſt India property are of courſe likely to be better treated by the proprietor, than by a prudent and well informed manager; and for this obvious reaſon (among others) that the proprietor feels immediately the expence attending upon an ample proviſion of food and neceſſaries for ſuch Negroes, while the manager does not; and it is a particular pleaſure to the manager himſelf, and at the ſame time redounds much to the credit of his general character, that the Negroes intruſted to his care, ſhould appear in good condition.

Do you apprehend that a careful and prudent manager would give more indulgence to the Negroes, than is conſiſtent with his maſter's intereſt?

That depends in a great meaſure upon what may be ſuch a man's idea of his maſter's real intereſt.

Do you apprehend managers do in fact give more indulgence than is conſiſtent with the real intereſt of his maſter?

That depends ſo much upon the temper and diſpoſition of managers, that it may be ſafely preſumed that ſome do, and others do not.

Did you ever know of managers being diſcharged for having ſhewn too great indulgence to the Negroes, in point of proviſions and labour?

Such inſtances may have happened, but I do not immediately recollect any.

Do you apprehend that the French planters have equal means of information with the Engliſh, in reſpect to their true intereſt?

I apprehend ſuch means are equally acceſſible to the French as to the Engliſh planters, but at the ſame time, from the obſervations I have made, I have no reaſon to think that the French planters (taken in general) are as well educated or as well informed as thoſe in the Engliſh Iſlands.

What is the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their own land?

The moſt material time is the whole of Sunday—ſometimes, and in ſeaſonable weather, when a little extraordinary allowance of time is likely to be particularly beneficial to them, they are allowed the afternoons of Saturday, and I believe, on ſome eſtates, they generally have that afternoon—beſides this, there are ſome holidays, ſuch as two or three days at Chriſtmas, Good Friday in general, and on many eſtates a day at the finiſhing of the crop—the other times are ſuch portions as they chuſe to take out of their times of reſt; and it may be proper to obſerve, that the two hours at noon is ſeldom employed by a Negro in preparing a regular meal, their chief meal being at ſupper—ſo that they are frequently to be found working at their grounds during that interval.

Is the allowance of proviſions from the maſter regular and ſettled, with the difference only of crop time, and the other ſeaſon of the year?

Speaking generally, I think it is; but it may be ſometimes regulated much againſt the planters inclination, by the ſcarcity or plenty of proviſions to be purchaſed.

What is the allowance of proviſions given to the Negroes?

It differs, in ſome meaſure, upon different eſtates—I think the average allowance may be ſtated at about from ſix to nine or ten pints of grain or flour for each Negro per week, among which Negroes is included every child as ſoon as it is weaned; beſides which they have an allowance of ſalt proviſions, to the amount of ſix or eight herrings a week, or mackarel, ſalt fiſh, or ſhads, in proportion; in addition to this, upon many eſtates, and upon all

of which I had the direction, they had, out of crop-time, a regular breakfaſt ſerved them in the field, of a biſcuit and a proportion of molaſſes and water, which in wet and rainy weather was qualified with rum. Whenever, from indolence or inattention to the proper dreſſing of the proviſions that were ſerved out to them, any Negroes are obſerved to fall off in condition, they have their victuals ſerved out to them ready dreſſed, and in an increaſed proportion. Negroes that are thus fed with ready dreſſed proviſions are commonly called the pot-gang; and it is conſidered as a reproach for any Negro to be ſo careleſs and improvident as to be obliged to be fed in that manner. There is on moſt eſtates a pot boiled every day for the uſe of the children and weak and convaleſcent Negroes, and for ſuch as are confined for offences.

Is grain or flour given indiſcriminately in the ſame quantity?

I believe in general it is; nor does it make that material difference as may at firſt ſight be ſuppoſed, as the grain chiefly made uſe of is either India or Guinea corn, both of which the Negroes make uſe of without ſeparating the flour from the bran.

Is the allowance of which you ſpeak meant to extend to the whole year, or is it leſſened during crop-ſeaſon?

By the expreſſion which I have already made uſe of, of the average allowance (I mean that taking the allowance both in crop and out of crop-time) it would amount to the quantity I have ſpecified;—in crop-time the allowance is generally reduced, and out of crop-time moſt commonly increaſed.

Are the Negroes permitted to neglect the cultivation of their proviſion grounds at their pleaſure?

In general they are—but on ſome eſtates they are obliged by their maſters to cultivate ſuch grounds—this is not very common; nor is any coercion neceſſary to induce an induſtrious well-diſpoſed Negro to turn ſuch grounds to the beſt advantage.

Is the general character of the Negroes indolent or induſtrious?

It is a difficult thing to anſwer that queſtion—their characters are as various as thoſe of the White people; and even among the African Slaves, their character of indolence or induſtry depends much on the part of the coaſt from whence they were imported.

Can you ſtate from what country thoſe Negroes come who are inclined to be induſtrious?

I cannot, having had very little experience among new Negroes.

What reaſon then have you to ſuppoſe that the African Negroes, from any part of the coaſt, are ſo inclined?

From the general converſation and remarks that muſt paſs among planters.

Have you found it eaſy to perſuade the Negroes to adopt ſuch alterations in the conduct and management of their own concerns as you conceived to be for their advantage?

In particular inſtances I have, but in general the Negroes are obſtinately wedded to their own cuſtoms.

Have you known frequent inſtances of Negroes being poſſeſſed of conſiderable property?

In a ſmall Iſland, like that on which I chiefly reſided, it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch inſtances ſhould frequently occur;—beſides, Negroes, in general, are very jealous of letting their owners or managers know what property they really do poſſeſs.

Would not a ſum equal to the purchaſe of his freedom be deemed a conſiderable property for a field Negro?

It would not be deemed a conſiderable property for a field Negro to be poſſeſſed of, provided he choſe to lay up the money that he could earn inſtead of ſpending it in ornamental dreſs for himſelf and his wives, and other unneceſſary articles.

What then do you imagine a field Negro may be able to earn for himſelf, under thoſe advantages, or in thoſe circumſtances, in which they uſually are?

It is impoſſible to anſwer that queſtion with any degree of preciſion, as it muſt depend entirely on his own induſtry and exertions.

Muſt it not alſo depend on the quantity and quality of the ground allowed him by his maſter, and the time given him to cultivate it?

Not nearly ſo much as on the quantity of ſtock and poultry that he may raiſe.

Has

Has a Negro the opportunity to feed his ſtock to any extent to which he may be able to raiſe it, without cultivating his proviſion grounds, or giving to that ſtock part of the proviſions he receives for his own uſe?

The ſtock I chiefly allude to is ſuch as is fed upon graſs, particularly goats and ſometimes ſheep, which the Negro always has an opportunity of feeding, to a moderate extent, on the paſtures belonging to the eſtate;—his poultry and his hogs he will probably feed, partly out of his own allowance of grain, or with what he raiſes on his own grounds.

Are the paſtures belonging to the eſtate more than ſufficient to keep the maſter's own ſtock?

In wet weather they generally are, that is, where the paſtures are extenſive—in dry weather they certainly are not.—It is to be remarked, that during the crop time, both the ſtock of the proprietor and of the Slaves are fed with great eaſe from the offals of the canes.—In the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher the paſtures are not ſo extenſive as they are in the Iſland of Nevis, and the goats that are kept by the Slaves there are, I think, generally ſtaked with a rope in ſome of the ſmall pieces of waſte land, or near the Negroes own houſes, where they can more eaſily be fed by hand.

Are not ſevere droughts common in the Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher?

They certainly are, and more ſo in the ſland of Nevis than in that of Saint Chriſtopher.

Does it not frequently happen that during thoſe droughts the cattle of the maſter are with difficulty furniſhed with ſufficient graſs?

It certainly does ſo happen; yet at the ſame time it is very remarkable, that from ſome cauſe or other, the Negro ſtock ſeldom or ever appear to be affected by ſuch droughts.

Are not the managers allowed to keep ſtock of their own?

In general not—at leaſt ſuch as go into the paſtures.

Is not ſuch ſtock of the manager, which is not allowed to go into the paſtures, fed with graſs picked for the purpoſe?

Out of crop-time they are fed either with graſs or ſhrubs gathered for that purpoſe.

By

By whom is that graſs gathered?
Generally ſpeaking, by the graſs gang belonging to the eſtate.

What is the uſual annual allowance given to ſurgeons for their attendance on the Slaves?

The uſual annual allowance, in the two Iſlands of which I am ſpeaking, is ſix ſhillings currency, per head, for each Negro, young and old, per annum; but ſuch annual allowance is the leaſt part of the ſurgeon's profit ariſing from their attendance on a plantation, as they charge for every night viſit a johannes, which is three pounds ſix ſhillings—for every midwifery caſe, where they are called in, in the Iſland of Nevis, they charge five johannes, and for all capital ſurgical operations, they charge in the ſame proportion—they make likewiſe a ſeparate charge for inoculation; and, as ſome of the moſt uſeful medicines required on a plantation (ſuch as bark in particular) they are generally ſupplied by the owners of the eſtate, or charged ſeparately by the ſurgeons.—Currency varies from 160 to 187½ per cent.

Is it uſual for field Negroes to have more than one wife?
Not very common.

Is the climate of thoſe Iſlands, and of the Weſt Indies in general, ſuppoſed to be congenial to the conſtitutions of the African Slaves uſually imported?

I apprehend that, taking the coaſt of Guinea altogether, the Weſt India Iſlands may be ſaid to be in a healthier climate; and yet, from experience, the change of climate, from the coaſt of Guinea to the Weſt Indies, has very prejudicial effects on the conſtitutions of the Negroes on their firſt arrival.

Do you recollect whether the Negro who refuſed to purchaſe his own freedom, but afterwards bought that of his ſon, was a field Negro?

To the beſt of my recollection, his chief employment is that of a fiſherman; but I do not ſpeak with certainty.

Do you apprehend that the condition of free Negroes is more or leſs eligible than that of Slaves?

As an abſtract queſtion, freedom muſt be held preferable to ſlavery; but I very much doubt whether, if the Negroes in the Weſt Indies were to have their freedom granted them, they would be nearly as happy as they are now.

It is not meant to be aſked, whether the condition of the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, if a general emancipation were to take place, would be more or leſs eligible than it is at preſent; but whether the ſtate of thoſe Negroes in the Weſt Indies, who now enjoy their freedom, is, in point of fact, more or leſs eligible than that of thoſe who continue in Slavery?

To ſuch of thoſe Negroes who have prudence and induſtry to make a proper uſe of their freedom, a ſtate of freedom is preferable, but ſuch of them who abuſe, and make a very ill uſe of ſuch freedom, I conſider as more unhappy than a well-inclined Slave.

Have you not ſtated, that it is only the induſtrious and well-diſpoſed Negro, who is enabled to furniſh himſelf with the comforts of life, in a ſtate of Slavery?

I have ſtated, or at leaſt I meant to have ſtated, that the general comforts of life are amply ſupplied to every Slave by his maſter, and that an induſtrious and well-inclined Negro is more likely to add to them, than one of a different character.

Does the maſter generally ſupply his Gang Negroes with any other articles, than thoſe you have already ſtated?

Speaking of them as a gang, I do not recollect that he does; but there are many little occaſional indulgencies ſhewn to deſerving Negroes, that cannot be particularized.

Can you ſtate what a Free Negro may be ſuppoſed uſually to earn by following fiſhing, or thoſe other employments to which he uſually attends?

It is impoſſible to anſwer that queſtion with accuracy.

Do you not apprehend that a Free Negro can earn more money by following ſundry kinds of trade, fiſhing, or other employments, (beſtowing upon them the ſame time, and the ſame degree of induſtry,) than he could do by hiring himſelf out to do the field work of a plantation, at the uſual price which is paid for that ſpecies of labour?

In the preſent ſtate of the Iſlands, and confined as the preſent number of Free Negroes is, he certainly can; but if a general emancipation was to take place, or if the number of Free Negroes was to be greatly increaſed, it might probably be otherwiſe.

Can it then be expected, in the preſent ſtate in which the Iſlands are, and have been for ſome years, that Free Negroes ſhould offer themſelves to perform field labour?

It cannot.

Can you ſtate whether thoſe premiums for rearing children, which you mentioned in the former part of your evidence, have been continued?

I underſtand they have.

Can you ſay, whether thoſe premiums have been productive of any good effects?

I cannot; but I have heard that they have not entirely anſwered the purpoſes intended.

Do you apprehend that they have, in a conſiderable degree, been productive of good effects?

I apprehend hitherto they have not.

On what do you ground that opinion?

On the information given by a witneſs already examined before this Committee.

Is there a frequent communication between the Weſt Indies and the coaſt of Africa?

Not very frequent; at leaſt from the Iſland I am beſt acquainted with; but there are veſſels occaſionally ſent from the Iſlands to trade for Slaves.

Do not managers frequently keep Negroes to let out as jobbing gangs, either to their maſters or other planters?

I believe that is very ſeldom the caſe.

Are not the cane pieces, proviſions, and other ſtores almoſt conſtantly under the care of watchmen?

They are generally ſo.

Are free Negroes as well protected from inſult and ill uſage as Slaves?

Every law is as much open to a free Negro, as it is to a White perſon.

Do you apprehend that the manager of a plantation would be thought to have diſcharged his duty properly, if the cattle and other ſtock of his maſter were very much fallen off for want of food, while the ſimilar ſtock of the Negroes was at the ſame time in a healthy and thriving condition?

The ſtock of the Negro is rarely or never ſimilar to that of his maſter's—he has no horned cattle, no horſes, no mules, and ſeldom or ever any ſheep.

Can

Can it be ſuppoſed that an African Negro can be able to lay by a ſum of money ſufficient for the purchaſe of his freedom, within a ſhort period after his importation?

Within a ſhort period, I ſhould ſuppoſe he cannot.—I wiſh to have it underſtood, that in the compariſon I have been led to draw, between the ſituation of Slaves in the Weſt Indies and Negroes on the coaſt of Africa, and likewiſe between Slaves in the Weſt Indies and the labouring poor of England, I have had in my mind ſuch Slaves as may be called tolerably induſtrious and provident, which in fact conſtitute the maſs of the Weſt India Slaves—there are upon moſt eſtates in the Weſt Indies, as well as in every part of Europe, individuals totally profligate and incorrigible, and upon whom good or bad treatment is equally thrown away.—Slaves of this deſcription are generally apt to abſent themſelves from the plantations, to ſell or diſpoſe of their cloaths, and to neglect the food that is allowed them; and are frequently to be ſeen loitering about the ſkirts of the towns, and ſtrolling along the bays and ſea-ſide, half naked, and apparently half ſtarved; and I have great reaſon to think that the deſcriptions which have been publiſhed in England, of the ſituation of the plantation Slaves in the Iſlands, have in a great meaſure been drawn from a view of ſuch miſerable objects as I have deſcribed, by people who have tranſiently viſited the Sugar Colonies, but have never had a proper opportunity of making themſelves acquainted with the real ſituation and management of a plantation, and the treatment of the Slaves thereof.

You have ſtated, that although in the Iſland of Nevis there is no local or poſitive law for the protection of Slaves, there have been within your knowledge and information, inſtances of perſons indicted in that Iſland on the common law of England, and on conviction, have been puniſhed for the ill treatment of Slaves —You are now aſked, Whether you do know, or have ever heard of any ſimilar proſecutions and judgments in Saint Chriſtopher's, founded alſo on the operation of the common law of England?

From very authentic information, I am authorized to ſay, that there have been three inſtances of perſons who have been tried, and convicted, and puniſhed for ill treatment of their own Slaves, under the common law of England, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher; and that authenticated tranſcripts of ſuch convictions have been ſent home for the information of the Houſe of Commons.

Do not ſuch proſecutions and judgments plainly evince how much the police of the Iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher have been miſrepreſented by the aſſertions which have been made, that

in thoſe Iſlands there was no law to interpoſe between the tyranny of the planters and the defenceleſs condition of their Slaves?

I am of opinion it certainly does.

Were you in the Iſland of Nevis in the year 1782?

I was.

Did the Slaves there, before or after the ſurrender of the Iſland by capitulation to the French, ſhew any diſpoſition to revolt from their old maſters, and go over to the French?

Quite the contrary.

Did you ever hear what were the diſpoſitions of the Slaves in St. Chriſtopher's towards their maſters when that Iſland was alſo attacked by the French in 1782?

They expreſſed the moſt eager deſire to have arms put into their hands, that they might be enabled to defend their maſters property againſt the invaders; and in ſome inſtances (where the White people on the eſtates they belonged to were inſulted by the French ſoldiers) the Negroes took the moſt ample and ſavage revenge.

You have been aſked, what might be the amount of the property which a field Negro in the Weſt Indies is capable of acquiring by his own induſtry—What, in your opinion, may be the probable amount of the property that common labouring men on farms in general, in this kingdom, can be ſuppoſed to lay up from their weekly wages (in many places perhaps not exceeding ſix or ſeven ſhillings per week) after feeding, clothing, and paying cottage rent for themſelves and families?

I apprehend that it requires the conſtant exertions of the moſt unremitted induſtry for an Engliſh labourer barely to ſupport himſelf and family; and that very few of them are able to do that without occaſional aſſiſtance from the pariſh they belong to; I therefore think there is very little probability of a labouring poor man being able to lay up any thing at all.

Whether, in ſaying that in the Iſland of Nevis, of your own knowledge and information, there had been inſtances of the conviction and puniſhment of perſons for ill treatment of Slaves, on the common law of England, you had in view any other than the two inſtances of murders you before ſpecified, one of your own knowledge, and the other from information?

I had not.

Within what periods have the inſtances occurred, which you have lately mentioned to have happened in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher

topher of maſters having been convicted and puniſhed on the law of England for the ill treatment of their own Slaves?

It was ſince the paſſing of the Act for puniſhing offenders guilty of particular kinds of ill treatment to their Negroes; but the indictments under which thoſe offenders were convicted and puniſhed were proſecuted under the common law of England, as will appear from the tranſcripts ſent over to England.

Do you know of any ſimilar convictions and puniſhments, previous to this period, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher?

I do not.

Do you know the circumſtances of the ſeveral caſes wherein the perſons were convicted and puniſhed, in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, in the inſtances juſt mentioned?

I do not recollect having heard the particular circumſtances of more than one, which was the caſe of one Strode, and, as far as I recollect, it was for ſlitting a Negro's ear.

Whether one motive for indicting the offender on the common law rather than on the ſtatute, might not be to prevent the criminals being ſubject to the ſeverity of the ſentence impoſed by the ſtatute, that being the forfeit of £. 500 currency and ſix months impriſonment, and the actual ſentence on the offenders, Strode and Burke, being in the one caſe the forfeiture of £. 100 currency, and in the other that of £. 50 currency, in both caſes without impriſonment?

It is impoſſible for me to judge decidedly of the motives of any man's actions, but ſuppoſing it ſhould actually have been ſo, ſtill it appears that the perſons of the Negroes are better protected by that colonial law, than they were before by the common law of England.

Whether the ſpecial verdict of the jury in the caſe of Herbert, in 1786, "That he was guilty, ſubject to the opinion of the "court, if immoderate correction of a Slave by the maſter be a "crime indictable," does not imply a generally prevailing doubt of the Slaves being under the protection of the law of England?

It ſeems to imply a doubt in the breaſt of that particular jury, but as there ſeemed to be no doubt of the ſame kind in the two other caſes, I ſhould apprehend that it is no proof of the exiſtence of ſuch a general doubt throughout the Iſland.

Have you heard of any diſſatisfaction that prevailed in the Iſland after the conviction and puniſhment of the offenders found

guilty by the two former juries, as having ſuffered from the introduction of a new principle of criminal law?

I have not.

Having ſaid, in a former anſwer, that, with reſpect to the puniſhments inflicted upon the Negroes, no compariſon can be made between them and the labouring poor in Europe, how is that to be reconciled with the idea of the Slaves being under the protection of the common law againſt the ſeverity of their own maſters?

I conſider puniſhment and ſeverity totally different.

Can the Slave be fairly held to be under the protection of the common law, when a trial by his peers cannot be reaſonably granted him?

The common law may extend to him in ſome particulars, though not in all.

Has not the maſter a right, both by cuſtom and by the colonial laws, to exact labour from the Slave by correction and compulſion; and is not the maſter, by the ſame laws, the judge of the labour to be exacted?

By cuſtom the maſter ſuppoſes he has that right; but I know of no law that gives him ſuch right, any otherwiſe than ſuppoſing ſuch right actually to have exiſted before the paſſing of ſuch law.

Is not that right ſuppoſed to exiſt in the relation between owner and Slave; and is it not in fact exerciſed, without being impeded by any poſitive law to the contrary?

It appears to me, that the ſtatute law of England ſuppoſes that right to exiſt in the maſter, as clearly as any colonial laws, as many acts of parliament have paſſed relating to the colonies, which would be palpably abſurd, without ſuppoſing ſuch right actually to exiſt.

Can then any fair compariſon be made between the ſituation of a Slave in the Weſt Indies, and that of the labouring poor in this country?

I think it can; and ſtill think that ſuch compariſon will turn out much to the advantage of the Negro Slave, taking the whole of their reſpective ſituations together.

Under thoſe circumſtances, can the Slave be ſaid to enjoy the protection of the common law of England?

I have anſwered that queſtion before.

Whatever might be the motives for proſecuting in the caſes of Strode and Burke, on the common law of England, and not on the newly-made ſtatute of the Iſland, does not the mode adopted demonſtrate, that in the opinion of thoſe who conducted the proſecutions in behalf of the Crown, that the ſtatute created no new indictable offence; but that an act of wanton cruelty by a maſter, over the perſon of his Slave, was a miſdemeanor indictable at the common law in that Iſland before the ſtatute paſſed?

I think it does.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 12° die Martii 1790.

Counſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, Eſquire.

Of what place are you a native?

Of Scotland.

Have you ever reſided in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher—how long ago, and for what length of time?

From 1749 to 1771, excepting a few months, when I was in England.

Had you any plantation there?

I had a leaſe of a part of a plantation there.

During the time you reſided there, did you manage or direct any eſtates beſides your own?

I did—two.

Was you not attorney to ſeveral eſtates, the owners of which were abſent?

I was.

How many Negroes might you have under your care?

About

About a ſixth or ſeventh part of the whole number of Negroes in the Iſland.

What ſucceſs had you in breeding and rearing children on your own eſtate, and the other eſtates you have mentioned?
We were never able to keep up our ſtock without importation; but I am ſpeaking of what happened near twenty years ago.

Do you recollect what was the general proportion of males to females on the eſtates you have mentioned?
On the eſtate of which I had and have a leaſe, I believe the numbers are 100 males, and 115 females; but in general, I believe, the number of males exceed the number of females—and, even on that eſtate on which the number of males are 100, and females 115, the ſtock has not been kept up by breeding.

Was it a particular object of your attention to increaſe the number of Negroes by breeding?
Moſt certainly it was.

Do you think it poſſible that Saint Chriſtopher's, or the Iſlands in general, could be cultivated by White perſons, or Free Negroes?
I think it impoſſible that White people could undergo the labour of field work in that climate—and the Free Negroes are too idle to work in the field for hire; and I never knew an inſtance of their ſo doing.

Do you think it probable that the proprietors could keep up the ſtock of the Negroes neceſſary for the cultivation of their eſtates, by ſuch Negroes as they can breed?
I think not.

What are your reaſons for that opinion?
I have tried it, and failed in the attempt.

Do you conceive that one of the cauſes ariſes from over-working, neglecting, or ill treating the Negroes?
I do not ſuppoſe that it is the caſe.

Is any particular attention ſhewn to pregnant and lying-in women?
After they are ſix months gone with child, they do as they pleaſe—it has been aſſigned as a reaſon, that the indolent life the mother leads, has been one cauſe of the children dying within the

the ninth day of the locked jaw. They are attended by a midwife, and ſick nurſe when brought to bed, and they have every thing neceſſary in their condition—they have alſo the aſſiſtance of a plantation ſurgeon if required—and, I believe, moſt people ſend to England for baby-cloaths, in caſe the mother ſhould be too indolent (which ſometimes happens) to provide them.

What was the general allowance of food given to Negroes in addition to the produce of their own grounds, while you lived at St. Chriſtopher's?

From ſix to eight pints of flour, beans, and Indian corn, or a baſket of yams—I have planted from twelve to fifteen acres of the cane land in yams, with which I have been able to feed the Negroes, ſometimes for nine months together; but the quantity produced depends upon the weather—each Slave has alſo ſix or eight herrings a week, or ſalt fiſh in proportion; and, at Chriſtmas, they have ſalted beef—With regard to their allowance, it is more or leſs, as the maſters ſee their neceſſities require.

Do you apprehend the allowance made to them, when added to the produce of their own grounds, is ſufficient for their ſupport?

The good Negroes live in plenty—the vagrants are often in want, and it is impoſſible to prevent it.

Have not the good Negroes in general a ſurplus beyond what they want, to diſpoſe of for their own benefit?

They have very large quantities of graſs, wood, poultry, pigs, goats, and roots, to ſend to market to ſell.

At what hour are the Negroes diſmiſſed from their labour in crop-time, and out of crop-time?

In crop-time, thoſe who grind all night divide their gangs into three or four ſpells to relieve each other; but I underſtand, of late moſt eſtates have left off the practice of grinding in the night. Out of crop-time they are generally diſcharged at about ſix or ſeven o'clock in the evening, and called out in the morning at about ſix o'clock, at day-light.

Do you conceive, that at any time or ſeaſon of the year, the reſpite granted to Negroes, in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, from their labour, amounts only to four or five hours out of the twenty-four?

I think they have from nine to eleven hours reſpite.

Are not the Negroes univerſally healthier in crop-time than at any other ſeaſon of the year?

They moſt certainly are.

Do you conſider the labour of holing lands in Saint Chriſtopher's to be more ſevere than in the other Iſlands?

The texture of the land at Saint Chriſtopher's is looſer than in the other Iſlands, and conſequently it is eaſier to hole.

At what age is a Creole Negro put into the holing or able gang?

That depends in a great meaſure on his growth or ſtrength; but perhaps at ſixteen, ſeventeen, or eighteen years of age.

Is it your opinion, from the obſervations you have made, that maſters in their behaviour to their Slaves are actuated by a conſtant ſuſpicious jealouſy, which is not ſatisfied by any exertion, or ſoftened by any attachment of the Slaves?

This to me is perfectly new—I never heard ſuch an idea ſuggeſted till within theſe two years.

Can it be ſaid, with any degree of truth, that maſters treat their Slaves in Saint Chriſtopher's with a ſpiteful degree of ſeverity?

I know no inſtance of it.

Queſtion repeated.

I think not—It is contrary to every idea I ever entertained on the ſubject.

Have you known or heard of any inſtances of kindneſs, compaſſion, and attachment from maſters to their Slaves?

I conceive that all maſters treat them with compaſſion, as being the moſt valuable poſſeſſion they have.—There may be inſtances of ſeverity, but not of my recollecting.

Do you conceive that the treatment of Negroes in St. Chriſtopher's is better or worſe ſince you left that Iſland, than while you reſided there?

By every account that I have received, I ſhould ſuppoſe, if there was any difference, it is for the better.

Do you not conceive, that every proprietor wiſhes to breed as many Negroes as he can?

Every proprietor that has common ſenſe, I think, does.

What is the difference between the value of a Creole Negro,

and one juſt imported, ſuppoſing them to be of equal age, and, to all appearance, equally ſtrong and able?

I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the knowledge of the good quality of the Creole, the Creole would be worth two, at the leaſt, or perhaps three of the newly-imported Negro, whoſe qualities the proprietor muſt be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of.

Where the proprietor is abſent, do you conceive that the perſons entruſted with the management of his eſtate have any reluctance, or ſhew any want of attention to rearing and breeding Negro children?

Quite the contrary.

Do you apprehend that the manager being a married man is a circumſtance that would generally contribute to breeding among the Negroes, or would not ſuch effect depend upon the temper and diſpoſition of the wife?

I believe the planters generally prefer a ſingle man to a married man, unleſs the wife happens to be remarkably careful and attentive to the plantation Negroes.

Of the ſix plantations mentioned in the paper which the Reverend Mr. Ramſay delivered in to the Privy Council, will you ſtate how long the proprietors have been abſent, and the care of them left to managers?

I believe about four of the proprietors never were in the Weſt Indies in my time, of courſe their affairs were left to managers and attornies—Mr. Molyneux was there for a ſhort time; about a twelvemonth, I believe—Mr. Crook, after a long reſidence in England, ſpent a few of the laſt years of his life in St. Chriſtopher's, where he died.

Have you ever ſeen the treaſurer's account of the number of Negroes in St. Chriſtopher's, in the year 1768, and what was the amount of that number?

I have—the amount was 24,781.

Have you ever ſeen the account of the number of Negroes in the different pariſhes of St. Chriſtopher's, in the year 1788, which was tranſmitted by the Iſland, and delivered in to the Privy Council; and what was the amount of that number?

I have—the amount was 20,435.

From your experience and obſervation, is it your opinion, that the

the Negroes have more or fewer comforts than the labouring poor of Europe?

My opinion is, the Negroes have certainly more comforts—they do not work ſo hard, and they have a maſter to take care of them and their children when they are ſick.

What effect would the abolition of the Slave Trade, in your judgment, have on the minds of the Negroes now actually in the Colonies?

I ſhould conceive the effect would be ſedition and diſobedience to their maſters—from an apprehenſion that their labour would be greater as the gang decreaſed, and there being no hopes of aſſiſtance from the uſual ſource of importation from Africa, as heretofore.

If the trade was to be aboliſhed, do you think it would be practicable to prevent the buying Negroes in foreign Iſlands, and introducing them into the Engliſh Iſlands?

I do not think the wit of man could frame ſuch an act as would prevent the importation, and that every man would naturally aſſiſt his neighbour in the common cauſe.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What was the largeſt and what the ſmalleſt allowance of food given to every field Negro?

I think from ſix to eight pints of flour, beans, peas, and Indian corn per week, to each Negro, and the number of herrings from five to eight.

Do you recollect any inſtances of criminal proceedings againſt White men for offences againſt Slaves, during the time of your reſidence in the Weſt Indies?

I do not recollect any; but one or two were threatened with proſecutions, and left the Iſland in conſequence.

Do you recollect the circumſtances of theſe particular caſes?

I do not.

What was the number of your whole gang?

Two hundred and fifteen.

What was the extent of your eſtate?

I cannot ſay, but I ſhould ſuppoſe about 250 acres.

Do

Do you recollect the proportion of your annual loſs ?
I do not.

Was your loſs chiefly among the infants or adults ?
I cannot ſay—we loſt a great many infants—there were a great many very old people on the eſtate, at the time I came into poſſeſſion of it—it is a healthy part of the Iſland where the eſtate is ſituated.

Is the allowance you have ſtated to be given to the Negroes, alſo extended to the children ?
Very young children I think have half the allowance—I recollect a circumſtance which I will ſtate.—I had a complaint from ſome of the mothers of families, that they had not time to prepare victuals for their children—I have always looked on the breeding women as the moſt valuable part of the gang, from their ſobriety, and their always keeping at home—my anſwer to the application was, that I would have a certain quantity of poviſions ready dreſſed for their children every day—they came for this allowance punctually for a week or two, or longer ; but in the end they dropt off one by one till none came, and I then diſcontinued the practice.

Are epidemical diſeaſes ever fatal to the Negroes in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher ?
Yes—when I was in the Iſland, Mr. Thomas loſt thirty-four of his beſt Negroes in one ſeaſon by a flux.

How many did his gang conſiſt of?
From 170 to 200 ; and I believe Mr. Thomas was remarkable for his care of his Negroes.

Do you believe that the inſtances of loſſes of Negroes by epidemical diſeaſes are uncommon in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher ?
No.

By what means could theſe loſſes of Negroes be ſupplied but by the trade from Africa to Saint Chriſtopher's ?
I know no other means.

Do you recollect whether an epidemical diſorder prevailed

throughout the Iſland in the year wherein Mr. Thomas loſt the thirty-four Negroes?

I cannot ſay.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel informed the Committee, that they had cloſed their caſe, reſerving only the liberty for the agent to produce any written or printed documents, which he may think proper to lay before the Committee, for their further information.

And then the Counſel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That the agent be permitted to produce ſuch written or printed documents.

And the Counſel were called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then they were again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Thomas, Mr. Tobin, and Mr. Douglas, be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 15th MARCH 1790.

Witneſſes Examined.

Mr. THOMAS,
Mr. TOBIN,
Mr. DOUGLAS.

N° 5.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE,

Veneris, 19° *die Martii* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Sabbati, 13° *die Martii* 1790.

MR. Burton, Counſel for the Petition of John Burton and William Hutchinſon, Eſquires, Agents for the Iſland of Antigua, was called in.

And the Counſel produced an Act of the Aſſembly of Antigua, paſſed in the year 1675, intituled, " An Act for encou- " raging the Royal Company in England for the ſupply- " ing this Iſland with Negroes;" and alſo, an Act of the ſaid Aſſembly, paſſed in the year 1692, intituled, " An " Act for quieting the Inhabitants of this Iſland in their " preſent Poſſeſſions, and preventing litigious Law-Suits."— And the ſaid firſt mentioned Act, and alſo an Abſtract of the laſt mentioned Act, were read, and are as follow; viz.

" LEEWARD ISLANDS.

" An Act for encouraging the Royal Company " in England, for the ſupplying this Iſland " with Negroes.

" Whereas it hath pleaſed the Royal African Com- " pany in England, their commiſſioners, agents, " and factors, to appoint the Iſland of Nevis to be " the mart or place of delivering of Negroes for " His Majeſty's Leeward Charibbee Iſlands, in " America, whereof this is one, as alſo for the " payment of the goods contracted for the ſame, " which happens to be very prejudicial to His " Majeſty's ſubjects, the inhabitants of this Iſland, " in regard this is the windermoſt of His Majeſ- " ty's Iſlands, ſo that the Negroes which are " brought to Nevis are ſold and diſpoſed of before " any notice can be given us; and moreover, for " the inhabitants here to go down to Nevis to buy " Negroes, and to carry afterwards their goods to " make payment, is a matter very diſadvantageous " to the inhabitants here, who are altogether diſ- " appointed of the common advantage and conve- " niencies of His Majeſty's gracious intentions to- " wards them, in His Royal Charter or grant to the " ſaid Royal Company, and is as what we preſume " altogether unknown to the ſaid Royal Company, " as alſo the conveniencies and advantages that will " ariſe to themſelves as well as we, by delivering " Negroes, and receiving their payment here, which " we doubt not but they will eaſily aſſent unto, " when they ſhall be truly informed therein.

" 2d. And for their better encouragement in that " particular, and the making ſure payment for " ſuch Negroes as ſhall be brought hither and put " to ſale for the future.

" Regiſter to be appointed, who ſhall record all contracts made for Negroes brought hither;

" 3d. Be it, and it is hereby enacted by the authority " aforeſaid, That whenſoever it ſhall ſeem meet " unto the Royal Company, their commiſſioners, " agents, or factors, or any under them, to bring to " this Iſland any Negroes for ſale, that an able " and fit perſon be, by the governor of this Iſland " for the time being, appointed to be regiſter of

" this Iſland, for the taking, regiſtering, and keep-
" ing all ſuch contract or contracts that ſhall at
" any time be made by and between any agent,
" factor, or ſervant to the ſaid Royal Company, and
" any inhabitant of this Iſland, that ſhall at any
" time buy or contract for any Negro or Negroes
" within this Iſland, either on board the ſhip
" wherein ſuch Negroes ſhall be brought, or on
" ſhore, where ſuch agents, factors, or ſervants
" ſhall appoint, within the ſaid Iſland.

" 4th. And the ſaid perſon ſo appointed to be ſworn
" upon the Holy Evangeliſts of God, true entry
" and record to make of all ſuch contracts to be
" made as aforeſaid, in a book fairly written, and
" ſhall atteſt the ſame under his hand.

" and ſhall
" be ſworn,
" &c. and
" atteſt all
" contracts.

" 5th. And in caſe any Planter, or other perſon or per-
" ſons within this Iſland, ſhall on his part fail of
" making juſt payment, according to ſuch contract
" entered and recorded by the ſaid regiſter, the
" ſaid agent, factor, or ſervant, or any of them, law-
" fully impowered, upon complaint made thereof
" to the governor of this Iſland for the time be-
" ing, ſhall, within twenty-four hours after ſuch
" complaint made, have a ſpecial court appointed
" to be held for trial of ſuch complaints, upon the
" ordinary charges of other courts, without paying
" extraordinary fees, as in ſpecial courts is uſual,
" where the entry and record made by the regiſter
" to be appointed as aforeſaid, ſhall be held and
" deemed good evidence, and ſufficient to convict
" the party offending, or making breach of any pay-
" ments, or ſuch contracts, and upon ſuch evidence
" judgment ſhall be granted againſt the defendant,
" and execution ſhall, in three days after the ſaid
" judgment, iſſue againſt ſuch perſon ſo condemn-
" ed, for the ſum and quantity of goods or money
" ſo contracted for and recorded as aforeſaid, with-
" out any coſt of ſuit or otherwiſe, to be paid by
" the ſaid agents, factors, ſervants, or any impow-
" ered lawfully by or under them; but that all
" ſuch coſts and charges ſhall be taken from the
" defendant, as alſo the fees hereafter appointed
" to be paid unto the ſaid regiſter for his record,
" in due performance of what is by this Act in-
" joined him; (that is to ſay) thirty pounds of to-

" Perſons not
" fulfilling
" their con-
" tracts.

" Special
" court ſhall
" be appoint-
" ed for trial
" of com-
" plaints;

" and regiſ-
" ter's entry
" ſhall be
" ſufficient
" to convict
" the party,
" and execu-
" tion iſſue
" in three
" days after
" judgment
" againſt de-
" fendant
" with coſts
" of ſuit.

" bacco

" Regiſter's fees to be paid per buyer.

" bacco for each contract that ſhall be ſo made and " recorded as aforeſaid, to be paid by the buyer or " contractor thereof, any law, cuſtom, or uſage to " the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

" Dated the 3d Day of May 1675.

" PHILIP WARNER.

" RICHARD BORASTON, Speaker."

" ANTIGUA.

" An Act for quieting the Inhabitants of " this Iſland in their preſent Poſſeſſions, " and preventing litigious Law-Suits.

" 9th. And whereas many perſons heretofore de- " ceaſed—ſtood poſſeſſed of a good quantity of lands " and tenements, and number of Negroes, ſome of " which perſons made their wills and teſtaments, " nominating their executors therein, and others " died inteſtate, leaving their Negroes, and other " goods and chattels, to be diſpoſed of by the admi- " niſtrator or adminiſtrators to be appointed, which " ſaid executors and adminiſtrators, by virtue of their " executorſhip and adminiſtration, inventoried and " appraiſed the ſaid Negroes, and diſpoſed of them " as other chattels, which oftentimes proved a " ruin to the intereſt or eſtate, and left the widow " and children in a bad condition.

" Negroes made inheritance.

" 10th. For the prevention thereof for the future be " it, and it is enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That " all Negro Slaves and other Slaves, after the date " of this Act, ſhall and are hereby declared to be " inheritance, and affixed to the freehold, and the " widow capable of being endowed thereof. Pro- " vided always, That any executor or adminiſtrator " may inventory the ſaid Negroes, but not take " them into his cuſtody, to the intent that if " there ſhall not be ſufficient goods and chattels to " pay the deceaſed's debts, that then the ſaid Ne- " groes are liable to be taken for payment of the ſaid " debts, and be as chattels to that purpoſe, and

" no

" no otherwiſe.—Dated in Antigua, 21ſt July,
" 4 William and Mary, 1692.

" CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON.

" JOHN LUCAS, Speaker."

The Counſel then called

THOMAS NORBURY KERBY, Eſquire.

Are you a native of the Iſland of Antigua?
I am.

When did you leave the Iſland?
In the year 1762.

When did you return again to the Iſland?
In February 1780.

How long did you reſide in the Iſland on your laſt return?
Till July 1788.

Had you a ſeat in any part of the legiſlature of that Iſland?
I was a member of the Houſe of Aſſembly till early in the year 1784.—I then received a mandamus from home, appointing me to a ſeat at the council board.

Were you a proprietor of any eſtates in the Iſland, and were you concerned for any other eſtates as Attorney, or in any other way?
I am poſſeſſed of two ſugar plantations—and have acted as attorney for different friends at different periods.

Had thoſe eſtates, of which you are a proprietor, been any time in your family, and did they deſcend to you?
I cannot exactly aſcertain for how many years they had been in my family; but they had been for a conſiderable length of time, and deſcended to me.

Is it your opinion that the eſtates in general in the iſland are fully or weakly handed?

I am of opinion that moſt of the eſtates in the Iſland are in want of Negroes.

Can you ſay in what proportion, or in what number, thoſe eſtates are in want of Negroes?

I cannot ſpeak with certainty as to that queſtion.

Are your own eſtates, and thoſe for which you are concerned, fully or weakly handed?

One of my own eſtates is ſufficiently handed, the other not ſo—and, with reſpect to thoſe I am concerned for, ſome are ſufficiently handed, and others in want of Slaves.

Do you think the natural increaſe in the iſland equal to the decreaſe?

I ſhould preſume, as far as my judgment goes, that there may be as many born as die, but by no means raiſed to years of maturity.

Is the increaſe on your own eſtates, and thoſe for which you are concerned, equal to the decreaſe?

On one of my own eſtates it is—on the other it is not—on one for which I am concerned it is alſo equal, on the others it is not.

On that eſtate which you ſay the increaſe is equal to the decreaſe, what number of thoſe are reared, and if not all, why not?

I cannot exactly aſcertain the numbers raiſed, but certainly not all that are born; as many die within nine days of a diſorder called the tetanus.

Can you aſſign any other cauſe in general, why on that eſtate, as well as other eſtates, the children are not reared, and arrive to a ſtate of maturity?

I believe many children die from the inattention of the mothers—as they are apt to conſider young children an incumbrance and a great bar to their pleaſures; and as it is the means of preventing their nocturnal meetings and dances.—From having been very unſucceſsful in raiſing children on one of my own eſtates, I built a lying-in hoſpital in hopes of having the women, during the time of their lying-in, more immediately under the eye of the manager, and by that means greater care would be paid to the little comforts required by perſons in that ſituation—but from the diſpoſitions of the Negroes, and their being greatly averſe to every kind of confinement,

ment, my endeavours had not proved, when I left the Iſland, very beneficial, and I am apt to believe, ſince my leaving the Iſland, that my loſſes have ſtill continued in the ſame proportion.

On that eſtate, in which you ſay the increaſe is not equal to the decreaſe, have you made any experiments with reſpect to ſituation of the Negro houſes, in order to obviate any difficulties which you might have ſuppoſed to have ariſen from that circumſtance?

Upon my arrival in the Weſt Indies, I underſtood that the Negro houſes on that particular eſtate had formerly ſtood expoſed to the north wind, and that medical perſons had adviſed their being rebuilt in a different ſituation, which was immediately complied with—and yet my loſſes ſtill continue, although I am confident there is no eſtate whatever has greater attention paid to the Negroes in every ſituation, but particularly to the breeding women and children.

Are the Negro women particularly partial to their own midwives, and may not loſſes be ſuſtained by their ignorance—and do you know any inſtance where they have ſhewn that partiality?

They are—it once happened upon my own eſtate, that a woman was in labour, and was reported to me as being in a dangerous ſituation—I immediately went to her friends, and informed them that I had ſent for a medical perſon to give her every aſſiſtance in his power—the anſwer I received was, that if the doctor came he ſhould not attend her, as ſhe preferred the ſervice of the midwife belonging to the eſtate—ſhe was delivered before the arrival of the doctor—I have no doubt but that loſſes are ſuſtained from the want of ſkill in ſome of the midwives who practiſe.

Do you believe that, on the eſtates in general, the Planters endeavour to rectify the want of ſkill in the midwives by the calling in of phyſicians at different times?

Whenever a difficult caſe occurs, I believe a medical perſon is always employed.

Is it uſual to give premiums to mothers or midwives, in order to encourage them to pay every attention to the infants in order to rear them, and bring them to maturity, and what is that premium?

It is the practice on my own eſtates, and thoſe for which I have been concerned, to pay the midwife for every child that is born—and I alſo, by way of encouragement to the mothers, have made them ſome preſent, generally about Chriſtmas.

Do you at all aſcribe the failure of increaſe and rearing of children to hard labour, rigorous treatment, or improper food of the mother, either while pregnant or afterwards?

Certainly not.

Are there any indulgencies allowed to pregnant women?

As ſoon as a woman makes it known that ſhe is with child, and that hard labour would be injurious to her, every attention is paid to her ſituation.

What time before her confinement is ſhe relieved from hard labour?

I believe it to be a general practice to remove a woman from every kind of hard labour by the time ſhe is four months gone with child.—It ſometimes happens they do not lye-in for ſix or ſeven months after ſuch removal.

What attention is ſhewn them during their confinement?

The women in that ſituation are always attended by the nurſe of the eſtate, and ſome of their own immediate female friends, and care is taken that they are ſupplied with every kind of nouriſhment neceſſary—and it is my own practice to allow ſuch baby linen as is wanting upon the occaſion.

What time after the women are delivered is it that they return to labour in the field?

It is my practice to make the women bring their children to me at the expiration of the fourth week.—I then order them to ſuch work as I think they are capable of bearing.—I believe a woman never goes to hard labour till the end of ſix weeks.

What attention is paid to the children themſelves, and eſpecially to thoſe of careleſs mothers?

The children of careleſs mothers are always put under the care of one of the nurſes, who pay every attention to them during the abſence of the mothers in the field—to the children of other mothers every attention, with reſpect to food and lodging, is paid to them, though they are not taken from ſuch mothers, and put under the care of nurſes.

Does the maſter proportion the labour of children to their ſtrength?

In every inſtance the work of an eſtate is proportioned to the ability of the Negro.

Have

Have the eſtates in general a proportionate number of females to breed from?

No.

Have you on your own eſtates?

No.

Can you at all times procure, out of the cargo of Slaves, ſuch breeding females as you may conceive your eſtates are in want of?

No—as the proportion of females brought from the Coaſt of Africa is very inadequate to the quantity required.

Not having a ſufficient number of females to breed from, would the difficulty of keeping up your preſent ſtock, weak as you ſay it is, be greatly increaſed by the prevention of a further ſupply from Africa?

It is my opinion, it would be impoſſible to keep up the preſent ſtock without a ſupply from Africa.

But, had you an equal number of women as men, do you conceive the ſtock of Slaves in the Iſland would be kept up by breeding, without annual importations from Africa?

When we recollect the diſorders that perſons in the Weſt Indies are ſubject to, and the dreadful ravages that are often occaſioned by epidemical diſorders, I am confident it would be impracticable—And to prove my aſſertion, I think it proper to mention, that in the year 1779, it was the general reputation of the Iſland, and from the loſſes on my own eſtate, I verily believe, one-fifth part of all the Negroes were carried off by a dyſentery—in the year 1782, a conſiderable number were carried off by an epidemic pleuriſy—in the year 1783, a great number were carried off by the meaſles—and, in the year 1786, heavy loſſes were ſuſtained by the ſmall-pox and chin-cough, although every attention was paid to inoculation.

Suppoſe the increaſe to be equal to the decreaſe, and that you ſhould be able to rear all that are born, at what age can ſuch increaſe with propriety be introduced to the hardeſt labours of the field?

Generally ſpeaking, I ſhould ſuppoſe from the age of 18 to 20—but ſome conſtitutions are more capable of labour at an earlier period.

Suppoſe you ſhould loſe any of your able Negroes before the

Creoles arrived at that age; where would you reſort to for ſupply?

If the African Trade was aboliſhed, a proportion of my land muſt remain uncultivated, or my young Negroes be brought forward at too early a period.

Do you mean to ſay then, that if the Trade was not aboliſhed, you would look to Africa for a ſupply?

Certainly.

Do you conſider that the early introduction of the young Negroes would be an additional cauſe of the diminution of the number of Negroes?

It is my opinion that every Negro brought forward to work beyond his ſtrength muſt be worn out at a very early period.

You have ſtated that, in the years 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1786, there was great mortality among the Negroes, have thoſe loſſes been yet repaired?

With reſpect to my own eſtates they have not—although I have been in the conſtant habit of purchaſing Negroes whenever I have been able to meet with them for ſale, either from Africa or elſewhere, as far as my abilities permitted me to go; but having experienced ſeveral bad years, few planters have been able to lay out ſufficient to repair their loſſes.

What were the crops in the Iſland in 1779, 1780, and 1781?

Generally very bad—with reſpect to my own eſtates, I did not make as much in the courſe of the three years as I ought to have made in one year.

Suppoſe there had been good crops in thoſe three years, and there had been no ſupplies in the courſe of that time from Africa, is it your opinion that thoſe good crops could have been taken off?

I am of opinion that, if a large crop had happened in the year 1780 and 1781, it would have been impoſſible for the Negroes then on the Iſland to have done the labour of the eſtates.

If the African Trade ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Iſland ſhould again experience ſuch calamitous years as 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1786, what would be the conſequence?

Great part of the land now under cultivation muſt be neglected.

Does the produce of the plantations, both in quantity and qua-

lity, in a great meaſure depend on the ſtrength of the eſtate, and the ability to take off the crop in proper time?

It has been generally found, that thoſe eſtates which are beſt handed, or have moſt Negroes, make in proportion the largeſt crops.

What effect do you imagine the abolition of the Slave Trade would have on the minds of the Negroes now on the Iſland?

Were ſuch an event abſolutely to take place, I believe all the Negroes would be extremely concerned, as they would be certain the labour would fall altogether upon themſelves—it is very generally known, that Negroes expreſs much ſatisfaction whenever they hear of the arrival of a ſhip with Slaves, and frequently apply to their maſters to purchaſe a few more helpmates.

What is the price of a Slave now, and what was it before the news of the intended abolition of the Slave Trade reached the Iſland?

I can only ſpeak of the prices, as far back as July 1788, having at that time left the Weſt Indies—at that time I paid forty-two pounds ſterling for the ſame kind of Negro, which I had, in the year 1787, purchaſed for thirty-ſix pounds ſterling.

Had the news of the intended abolition reached the Iſland before you left it?

I attribute the alteration in price entirely to the report of the abolition, which had reached the Weſt Indies.

What is the value of a Creole, in compariſon to a Slave newly imported?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion; but I ſhould certainly prefer a Creole, even at an advanced price.

Does the planter prefer breeding of Slaves to purchaſing them from Africa?

I ſhould preſume, every planter who ſtudies his own intereſt, would prefer the breeding of Slaves to the purchaſing them from Africa.

Is there any particular attention paid to Negroes newly imported from Africa?

I believe it is a conſtant practice amongſt planters, when they purchaſe a lot of Slaves from Africa, to pay every attention to them, and to give them neceſſary time for their recovery from the fatigue

fatigue of the voyage; and it is ſome time before they are put to labour.

How are the Negroes in general fed, clothed, and lodged?

Univerſally at the expence of their maſters—they are lodged in ſtone, wattled and daubed, and wooden houſes, built originally at their maſter's expence, and kept in repair by him—or by allowing the Negro ſuch time as is requiſite for making ſuch repair;—they are clothed (ſpeaking of the practice of my own eſtates, and thoſe under my direction) with one ſuit of woollen, and one ſuit of Oſnaburgs, annually—with reſpect to food, the allowance they receive conſiſts of oatmeal, Indian corn, meal, and flour, with a proportion of herrings or ſalt-fiſh, with dry ſalt, yams, eddoes, and potatoes—ſpeaking of grain, I always allow from eight to twelve meaſures per week for each Negro; of yams or eddoes, from twenty-ſix to thirty-ſix pounds per week; and of herrings, from four to eight, according to the ſize—or in lieu of the herrings from two to three pounds of ſalt-fiſh.

Beſides this, does the maſter give them any thing at Chriſtmas, or whenever the weather is unfavourable?

It is a general practice for every eſtate to give to each Negro a quantity of yams or flour, with a proportion of ſalt beef or pork at Chriſtmas, which does not at all interfere with the common weekly allowance—they have likewiſe three days holidays at Chriſtmas—I believe it is a general rule, on every well regulated eſtate, to give any Negro that applies for an additional allowance, ſuch aſſiſtance as he appears to ſtand in need of, without taking any notice of the weather.

When the weather is unfavourable, do the Maſters give them any thing to keep up their ſpirits, and to prevent their taking cold?

In bad weather, the whole gang are indulged with grog; and when they are working hard, they are alſo indulged in the ſame way.

Have the Negroes any additional allowance, in proportion to the number of their family?

It is my own practice to give allowance to every individual upon my eſtates, and thoſe under my care, in proportion to their ages.

Have the Negroes, beſides what the maſter allows them, grounds allotted to them, and have they the advantage of the produce of ſuch grounds?

On

On every eſtate there is a proportion of land allotted for the uſe of the Negroes, which they cultivate entirely for their own benefit, and are at liberty to diſpoſe of the produce in any manner they pleaſe.

Do they raiſe ſtock, and of what kind, and do they ſell that ſtock, and apply the produce of it to their own benefit?

All Negroes are at liberty to raiſe ſmall ſtock, goats, and hogs, which they diſpoſe of as they think proper—and I never knew an inſtance where the money ariſing from the diſpoſal of ſuch articles was conſidered but entirely as the Negroes own property.

Are the men of war and merchantmen principally ſupplied by the Negroes with ſtock and vegetables?

The men of war, as well as merchant ſhips, are conſtantly ſupplied on a Sunday with vegetables, the property of the Negroes—on other days, it is cuſtomary for perſons who live in the country to ſend vegetables to market, by the Negroes, on the proprietor's account—the ſmall ſtock, goats, and hogs, are for the moſt part the property of the Negroes, and with which the ſhipping is chiefly ſupplied.

Is St. John's the capital of the Iſland?

It is.

How are the inhabitants of that town principally ſupplied with ſmall ſtock and vegetables?

In the ſame manner as the ſhipping.

Does the maſter ever purchaſe any ſtock from the Slaves, and if he does, does he not pay juſt as much as any ſtranger would do?

It is common for every maſter to purchaſe ſtock from his own Slaves, and to pay full as much as any other perſon.

Do you know, or have you heard of any inſtance of a Negro Slave being worth money?

I remember one inſtance of a Slave, who gave £. 200 ſterling for his own freedom—I alſo know many Slaves who ſpend annually from £. 10 to £. 15 ſterling.

What are the times allowed to the Negroes to work their own grounds?

One afternoon in every week out of crop time, and ſometimes during the crop, but not conſtantly.

Do not the Negroes, every Sunday, hold an open market for the diſpoſal of the produce of their grounds and of their ſtock?
They do.

How are the Negroes provided for, and taken care of, by their maſters, in ſickneſs?
On every eſtate there is an hoſpital for the reception of the ſick, who are attended by a medical perſon and proper nurſes, and are ſupplied with every requiſite for perſons in their ſituation, and are never ſent out to work without the doctor's ſanction.

Is there a medical man employed annually to attend the Negroes at a certain rate, and is he not paid for any extraordinaries, ſuch as broken legs, &c.?
A medical man is conſtantly employed at a certain rate per head for each Negro, and attends the eſtate twice a week, and is liable to be ſent for whenever it is neceſſary—he is alſo paid for fractures, caſes of midwifery, venereal complaints, and other extraordinaries.

In taking a view of the comforts of a poor labourer, and a family in this country, and of a Negro and his family, which do you think enjoys the greateſt ſhare of them?
In my opinion, the Negro enjoys full as many comforts as the labourer in this country, and in ſome reſpects more; as he is certain of being taken care of in ſickneſs, and has not the anxiety of providing perhaps for a wife and young family, which might claim his protection.

What is the uſual mode of puniſhment of Negroes in the Iſland?
By whipping for petty thefts, ſuch as breaking open Negro houſes, ſtores, and ſtealing from other Negroes—for higher offences, they are tried by two juſtices, one being of the quorum, and ſix White jurors ballotted for out of twelve, and according to the nature of their offence, receive puniſhment.

What is the degree of puniſhment which the maſter inflicts for thoſe offences which he takes cognizance of?
In general a whipping from ten to 39 laſhes.

When a proprietor is about to employ an overſeer of his plantation,

tion, does he not examine into his character, with reſpect to humanity and temper?

I believe no proprietor ever thinks of engaging a man as an overſeer, without firſt inquiring into his character; and if it is found that he is addicted to cruelty, he is never employed.

Do the proprietors give a licence to the overſeer to puniſh their ſlaves, or do they with-hold ſuch licence entirely from him?

An overſeer is never permitted to inflict any puniſhment, except an occaſional laſh during the time of work, and that is generally given over the clothes—but in caſe of ill behaviour of the Slaves, he repreſents the offence to the manager.

Is not the manager of eſtates in general a perſon of ſome conſideration in the Iſland, of education, and who aſſociates with the principal inhabitants of the Iſland?

Every man endeavours to procure a manager of information and education, in whoſe hands he is to repoſe his property, and he is generally aſſociated with by gentlemen in the Iſland.

Have you ever known or heard of an inſtance of an overſeer being diſcharged for cruelty?

I have—it has happened to myſelf—both with reſpect to an overſeer and a manager, and the latter was never able to procure any employment after I diſcharged him, and he was obliged to leave the Iſland, and go down and ſettle at Trinidad.

From the obſervations which you have made of the courſe of huſbandry practiſed in the Iſland, which part of it is in your opinion the moſt laborious?

The work on an eſtate, in my opinion, is hardeſt during the time of holing and dunging the land, although during the crop time the Negroes are employed many more hours in the courſe of the day.

How long does that holing laſt?

About three months.

In what manner do the Negroes carry the dung?

The dung is carted to the ſide of the land for which it is intended, and from thence carried by the Negroes in ſmall baſkets, on their heads, to the holes prepared for receiving it—the baſkets are ſmall, and the Negroes carry them with the greateſt apparent caſe to themſelves, as that is the uſual method of their carrying every kind of weight.

Could

Could the dung be diſtributed in the holes in any other manner by oxen or by mules, without entirely deſtroying the banks which are raiſed about thoſe holes, for the purpoſe of covering the canes when planted?

It would be impoſſible to diſtribute the dung in any other way than the one already mentioned.

Does the heat of the climate appear congenial to the Negroes?

It does.—I never knew an inſtance where a Negro complained of heat; and have frequently ſeen them laying down in the heat of the day, expoſed to the ſun, when they might have been in their houſes.

Do you think it poſſible for Europeans to go through that courſe of huſbandry which is neceſſary for carrying on the eſtates?

I conſider it as morally impoſſible—for, I have twice made experiments—one was with a gardener—the other a carter—at the expiration of a very ſhort period, not exceeding a fortnight, they each relinquiſhed their employments, finding the climate too ſevere.

Have you ever taken notice of the effect of the heat on the ſoldiers, or the militia, on field days?

I know the perſons who attend military duty always complain of the heat, if they are kept out any length of time—and it is the general opinion of all the officers, with whom I have converſed, that it is too great a fatigue for their men to be out on duty, except in the evening and morning—And, I recollect, the regiment quartered in Antigua were obliged for a ſhort period to remove their own proviſions from the King's ſtores to the barracks, and at the expiration of a few weeks, it was found abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply them with a cart for that purpoſe, the labour being too ſevere for the men, although the diſtance was not a quarter of a mile upon level ground.

Is it your opinion, that the plough can be ſubſtituted for the hoe?

I know the plough has been uſed on ſome eſtates, but found not to anſwer.

Are the expences attending the maintenance and ſupport of Negroes very great?

With reſpect to my own eſtates I can venture to ſay, that every

Negro coſts me the ſum of £. 5 ſterling per annum, excluſive of the proviſions I raiſe on my own eſtate—I mean yams, of which I generally reap as many as feed my whole gang between four and five months—nor do I, in the above ſum, include any neceſſaries for my hoſpital, ſuch as wine and freſh meat.

Was there a poſſibility of ſubſtituting any other mode of cultivation than that now in practice, either with the plough or any other inſtrument, by which the labour of the Negroes would in the ſmalleſt degree be diminiſhed, or the expence curtailed, by the employment of fewer Negroes, would not the planter moſt readily adopt that mode?

Certainly.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 15° *die Martii* 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was examined by Members of the Committee.

Do you recollect any other inſtance, beſides the one you have already mentioned, of a Negro Slave being worth money? Mr. KERBY.

I do recollect one who was worth £. 180 ſterling.

Do you recollect whether this money deſcended to him, or was it his own acquiſition?

Part deſcended to him, and part he acquired by his own induſtry.

Can you ſtate what proportion of it was of his own acquiſition?

I cannot.— I conceive a conſiderable part of it was, becauſe he was a valuable tradeſman, and acquired conſtant employment from different perſons in his own time.

Was the Slave, whom you mentioned as having given £. 200 for his freedom, a field Slave?

No—he was a maſon.

Did you mean to allude to field Slaves, when you ſpoke of many Slaves ſpending from ten to fifteen pounds per annum?

I did—to field Slaves as well as houſe Slaves.

How do the houſe Slaves acquire this property?

From the money ariſing from the ſale of their ſtock, ſuch as goats, poultry, and hogs, roots, and fruit.

Do theſe articles ſell at a moderate price, comparing them with the prices of the ſame or ſimilar articles in this country?

They do.

State to the Committee the quantity of your cane, and other land, and the number of your gang?

One eſtate conſiſts of 120 acres of cane land, the gang of which amounts to 152 Negroes—the other eſtate conſiſts of 222 acres of cane land, and the gang of Slaves is 137.

Can you ſtate the proportion of infants, able, and ſuperannuated, in the two gangs reſpectively, as alſo that of males and females?

I cannot.

Can you ſtate the number of artificers, tradeſmen, or domeſtics in the two gangs?

With reſpect to the artificers and tradeſmen I cannot, having no accounts in England whereby I can form an exact calculation; but with reſpect to domeſtics, as far as my memory ſerves me, there are about twenty-two on the eſtate where I reſide myſelf, beſides thoſe employed in waiting on the manager and overſeer, which may amount to five more—on the other eſtate, about eight domeſtics are employed in attending upon the manager and overſeers.

When an eſtate is ſaid to conſiſt of any given number of acres, is the ſpot on which the Slaves houſes ſtand generally included in it?

Were I to ſpeak of the number of acres in an eſtate, I ſhould include every part—in this anſwer I confine myſelf to the iſland of Antigua.

What quantity of proviſion ground is uſually allotted to a given number of Slaves, or whenever a Slave has his own particular allotment, to each Slave reſpectively?

The proportion varies in almoſt every eſtate—on one of my own eſtates the proviſion ground is large, on the other very ſmall.

Are the ground proviſions of the Negroes the proviſion of his own peculiar ground, or of a quantity of ground allotted by the maſter for the maintenance of the Slaves in general?

The ground proviſion is the produce of a quantity of land, the property of the maſter, and allotted for the raiſing of proviſions for the maintenance of the whole gang.

Has not every Negro family a piece of ground for the raiſing of proviſions?

Univerſally throughout the Iſland, to the beſt of my knowledge.

Is it to be underſtood then, that when the Slaves are allowed grain, they ſtill have the produce of their own peculiar ground, though not that of the general proviſion ground?

At all times the produce of the ground belonging to the Slave is his own; and he makes uſe of it or diſpoſes of it as he thinks fit.

Can you ſtate the quantity of ground allotted to each Slave for his own peculiar occupancy on your eſtates?

On one eſtate, where there are the largeſt number of Negroes, I ſhould preſume the quantity of land for the uſe of the whole gang does not exceed from two to three acres—on the other eſtate, about four acres of land.

Is this land ſituated round the Negro huts, or detached from them?

Some of it adjoins the Negro huts, or within a ſtone's throw—the reſt lies at ſome little diſtance.

What quantity of ground is generally attached to each of the Negro huts?

As far as my obſervation has gone, I think from fourteen to eighteen feet ſquare between each hut. I can ſpeak particularly as to that being the quantity on my own eſtates, which the Negroes generally appropriate for the purpoſe of building pens to keep their goats and hogs in, and not for the raiſing of proviſions—ſome plant fruit trees.

Do

Do you mean that the diſtance between two huts is from fourteen to eighteen feet?

I do.

Is the proviſion ground which is divided amongſt the Slaves good land on your eſtates; and is it ſo in general?

It is ſeldom the beſt land, but ſuch as anſwers for the purpoſe of raiſing proviſions.

Were you ever in the Iſland of Saint Chriſtopher?

I never was.

Does the produce of the Negro's peculiar proviſion ground furniſh him with any conſiderable part of his food?

I believe a Negro ſells full as much of the proviſion raiſed in his own ground as he conſumes; but, as the Negroes are generally fond of new ground proviſion, they often diſpoſe of the grain they receive from their maſters, and eat a part of the proviſions they raiſe themſelves. I remember, in the year 1782, many of my own Slaves told me they frequently got a dollar a week for the proviſions they were enabled to ſell during the hurricane months to the ſhipping, which at that time were lying at Engliſh Harbour—I ſpeak of ground proviſions only, and vegetables.

Is the produce of theſe grounds, or is it not, often deſtroyed or materially injured by hurricanes and bad ſeaſons; and if it be, has the Slave a larger allowance of food given to him?

During my reſidence in the Weſt Indies, I often knew the proviſions in the Slaves ground, as well as that of his maſter, materially injured by bad weather, and gales of wind—in that caſe an extraordinary allowance is made to the Slave as a recompence for the loſs he has ſuſtained.

Is it from the ſale of the produce of the proviſion ground juſt mentioned, or from that of his allowed grain, added to the ſale of his ſtock, that the Negro commonly acquires his property?

From both, and from his own perſonal induſtry during the time allotted to him for reſt.—I have often known field Negroes acquire the ſum of half a crown per day for their own labour.—I ſpeak particularly of Sunday, that being conſidered as entirely his own day.

Is

Is it uſual to hire Negroes for the ordinary purpoſes of labour on the Sunday?

No field labour is ever permitted on a Sunday—mechanics, I believe, work almoſt every Sunday, if they can procure employment—and it is very cuſtomary, during the crop time, for Negroes to be engaged on a Sunday in thatching the Negro houſes that ſtand in need of covering.—No maſter whatever has a right to exact any labour, ever ſo trifling, from his Slave on a Sunday, without paying him—ſpeaking of field Negroes acquiring money for their labour on a Sunday, I mean by employing themſelves as porters.

On what do the Negroes maintain their ſtock?

During the crop time the hogs are generally fed with the canes which the Negroes carry away for that purpoſe—the goats are fed with potatoe vines and graſs, and the poultry with grain.

Is it with the canes that have been ground that you ſpeak of?

I ſpeak of both, but more particularly of the canes that have not been ground, although it is not allowed for a Negro to carry away a large proportion of canes not ground, yet it is done very conſtantly.

Do you know whether the quantity of general and peculiar proviſion ground allowed on your eſtates, and in the Iſland of Antigua in general, is greater or leſs than the uſual allowance in the old Iſlands?

From my never having been in any of the old Iſlands, except Barbadoes, and that only for three days, I cannot give any deciſive anſwer.

You have ſtated, that every Negro coſts you £.5 ſterling per annum, excluſive of ground proviſions; at what age do you conſider your Slaves as beginning to coſt you that ſum?

I conſider the expence beginning nearly from the birth of the infant, as I regularly give allowance and cloathing from that time; and when I ſpoke of £.5 ſterling per head for the maintenance of my Slaves, I took it upon an average, including old and young.

What are the chief articles of expence included in this eſtimate?

Food, clothing, charges for the attendance of medical men, and pariſh and public taxes.

At what period of the Negro's life did the public taxes commence, and were they conſiderable?

The taxes commence from the day of the birth of the child, and continue during the whole courſe of his life, and they are conſiderable.

Do the Free Negroes work as tradeſmen in the towns?

Some do, but in general they are more inclined to purſue ſedentary occupations.

Did you ever purchaſe African Slaves immediately on their importation?

I have.

What number did you ever purchaſe at one time?

In various lots, and at different times; the largeſt, as well as my recollection ſerves me, not exceeding ſixteen in number.

Can you ſtate the proportion of middle-aged males and females, and children, in any of theſe lots?

I cannot exactly aſcertain the different numbers, but have made it a practice of purchaſing as many females as poſſible, and have given the preference to young perſons.

Did you ever purchaſe children, and of what age?

The laſt two lots of Slaves which I purchaſed immediately from Africa, were all of them under the age, as well as I could judge, of fifteen.

Do you recollect whether any of them, and what number, were much younger?

Many of them were under that age, and only capable of being put to work ſuitable for children.

Is it uſual for lots of Slaves to be formed of all children or all adults; or has each lot commonly a mixture of both?

It is not very common to procure a lot of Slaves conſiſting of all young perſons—nor ſhould I have procured ſo many, had not a friend wiſhed for grown perſons; we therefore accommodated each other.

Are

Are the lots uſually formed according to the wiſh of the planter, or does the ſeller of the cargo of Slaves form them himſelf into lots, which the buyer is not allowed to break in upon or alter?

It is in the power of the purchaſer to reject ſuch Slaves out of any lot as he may fix upon, and the ſeller never obliges him to take more than he wiſhes for—but it often happens under theſe circumſtances the price is raiſed. In caſes where there appears to be a degree of near relationſhip between the Slaves, I believe they are never ſeparated.

Were there any of the parents or other near relations of the children whom you purchaſed, in the number of the Slaves which were purchaſed by your friend?

I am confident there were no near relations ſeparated from each other; but in my lot, there were two ſiſters, and alſo two brothers.

Is it generally underſtood, that the ſyſtem of breeding Slaves is cheaper than that of purchaſing African Negroes?

I preſume that a Creole Slave is ſo much more to be wiſhed for, as being attached to the ſoil, than an African Slave newly imported, that the expence can never be an object worthy of attention to any planter; although I believe, that by the time a Creole Slave comes to years of maturity, he coſts full as much, if not more, than a newly imported African.

You have ſaid you were in the Council in 1784, Can you ſtate what were your reaſons for paſſing the Act, intituled, "An Act "for ſettling and regulating the Trial of Criminal Slaves by "Jury?"

The motives for paſſing ſuch an Act, I believe, originated from all the magiſtrates thinking it too great an undertaking to ſit both as judge and jury on the life of any perſon.

Had any bad effects been found to reſult from the modes of trial formerly in uſe?

Not that I ever heard of.

Was it generally underſtood that Slaves were protected by the common law of England, againſt ill uſage from their maſter or other White perſon?

It certainly was—and it happened to myſelf, thaat Slave of

mine had been ill treated by a young man, without any kind of provocation whatever, and I conſidered it as my duty to apply to a magiſtrate for redreſs; and the man was bound over to appear at the Quarter Seſſions—but, through the intereſt of ſome of his friends, the matter was made up at the particular requeſt of the Negro, to whom he made ſuch a recompence as the Negro thought ſufficient—had not that been the caſe, I ſhould certainly have proſecuted the matter to the utmoſt.

Do you recollect the circumſtances of this tranſaction?

I do.—The Slave was a cooper, and was returning from the town of St. John's to my own eſtate—the young man very wantonly rode againſt him, and upon the Slave's remonſtrating, he beat him.

Was the Slave much hurt; and how did the circumſtances come to your knowledge?

By his immediately applying to me, and relating every particular.—One of his feet was bruiſed, and he had ſeveral marks of a whip over his ſhoulders.

Do you conceive the regulating act has tended materially to increaſe the price of Slaves?

From every information I have gained it certainly has.

You have ſaid, that the price of Slaves in general is raiſed, has the increaſe been on males and females in an equal proportion?

Having left the Weſt Indies ſince the year 1788, and from my friends not having purchaſed any Slaves for me ſince my departure, I cannot ſpeak accurately to that point.

Do you think the treatment of Negroes in general is better or worſe than it uſed to be formerly?

Speaking within my own knowledge, I do not know any alteration in the mode of treatment.

Have the Moravians and Methodiſts applied themſelves to the converſion of the Negro Slaves in the Iſland of Antigua?

Both the Moravian and the Methodiſt preachers have applied themſelves very ſtrenuouſly, and with great ſucceſs, in the converſion of the Negroes in that Iſland; and, as they have built proper

proper places to hold their meetings in, all the Slaves are encouraged by their maſters to attend.

What has been the general effect on the Slaves who are converted?

A more decent deportment in their behaviour and religious attendance; and moſt of them are become Chriſtians.

What was their ſituation in point of religion, before the Moravians and Methodiſts came into the Iſland?

It was a very general cuſtom for the Negroes to attend divine ſervice in all the churches throughout the Iſland, and they conſidered themſelves as influenced to purſue the doctrine they heard; but from their having had greater attention paid to them by their attendance at the Moravian and Methodiſt meetings, I am of opinion they are much more enlightened than they formerly were.

Were you ever in any of the French Iſlands?

I was once at Martinique for a ſhort time.

Were you long enough there to form any judgment of the treatment of Slaves compared with that in our own Iſlands?

I was not; as I was only in the town at Saint Pierre for one day.

Have the managers often Negro Slaves of their own property?

They have.

How are theſe employed?

Some in waiting upon the managers themſelves, and others are frequently hired out to work with the gang belonging to the eſtate on which they have the management.

Is the ordinary duration of the lives of Slaves as long as that of Whites or Free Negroes?

Full as long as thoſe of Free Negroes, but not altogether ſo long as that of Whites that do no labour.—I have known inſtances of Negroes living to a great age.

Whether the lives of the Slaves may not be ſhortened by their own debaucheries?

I make no doubt but that Slaves would live much longer than they do, if they were to purſue a leſs debauched courſe of life.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 16° *die Martii* 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was further examined by Members of the Committee.

Mr. KERBY. You have ſaid, that on one of your eſtates, where there is the largeſt number of Negroes, the quantity of land for the uſe of the whole gang does not exceed from two to three acres, and on the other eſtate, about four acres of land; explain that anſwer?

From the ſituation of the eſtate, which is cloſe to the ſea-ſide, on which the largeſt number of Negroes belong, the Negroes are leſs in want of land than on the other eſtate, owing to their being moſt plentifully ſupplied with freſh fiſh out of the ſea, and from the guts adjoining.

At what age is a young Creole Slave of ſound health and conſtitution generally put to the laborious part of the work of a plantation at Antigua?

At about the age of eighteen.

Is, or is not, the Iſland of Antigua ſubject to frequent droughts of long continuance, which are ſometimes ſucceeded by great gluts of rain?

It frequently happens.

Can you ſtate an inſtance of the longeſt ſucceſſive continuance of drought within your memory?

I arrived in the Iſland of Antigua in February 1780; and I may ſafely ſay I do not recollect any rain of conſequence falling until the month of October; and I underſtood, previous to my arrival,

arrival, the Iſland in general had been in want of rain for many months; and, from letters which I have juſt received from Antigua, I underſtand great part of the Iſland has been in want of rain for many months, and ſtill continued to be in that ſituation.

Are not epidemical diſeaſes of various kinds frequently the conſequence of ſuch a change from drought to moiſture?
Yes.

Are or are not theſe epidemical diſeaſes ſo fatal as often to occaſion great mortality among the inhabitants, as well Whites as Slaves, in ſpite of all medical aſſiſtance?
I underſtand, that diſorders of that kind have lately raged with great violence in the Iſland of Antigua, and many perſons have died—particularly on ſome eſtates it has been more fatal; on one in particular, where the number of Slaves amounted to 240, they loſt twelve in the courſe of a very few days; and, at different times, had from twenty to thirty lying dangerouſly ill.

Do you think it is poſſible, under ſuch circumſtances, for a planter, the moſt ſucceſsful in rearing of young Creole Slaves, to carry on his uſual cultivation of his eſtate without interruption, unleſs he has the aſſiſtance of a market for the purchaſe of new Negroes to ſupply the occaſional loſſes of Slaves to which he is expoſed by theſe epidemical diſeaſes?
Certainly not.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Doctor SAMUEL ATHILL called in, and examined.

Are you a native of the Iſland of Antigua?
I am.

When did you firſt leave the Iſland?
In 1764.

When did you return to it?
In May 1779.

After you returned to it, in 1779, had you a ſeat in the Council?
I was in the Aſſembly for five years, and received His Majeſty's mandamus to be of the Council in 1786.

Did

Did you practiſe in the Iſland of Antigua as a medical perſon?
I did.

What number of eſtates, and what number of Negroes had you under your care in that capacity?
I do not recollect the number of the eſtates, but I had from 8 to 9,000 Negroes under my care.

In what manner were you engaged to attend thoſe Negroes; and what was the nature of your agreement with the proprietors of thoſe Negroes?
I received ſo much per head per annum, and was bound to attend when called upon, excluſive of viſiting the eſtates once or twice a week to inquire after the healths of the Negroes.

When you ſay bound to attend, do you mean, that you thought it your duty to viſit the eſtates whenever called upon, beſides the times you have ſtated?
Yes.—I have been at times obliged to viſit particular eſtates twice a day.

Do you mean, without any additional pay?
Certainly.

Were there any particular diſorders, or particular caſes, where you received any extraordinary pay?
Yes—caſes of midwifery—we are ſeldom called upon but in laborious caſes.

Are accidents, ſuch as broken legs, included in your agreement?
Yes.

Are you a proprietor of eſtates in the Iſland?
I have two plantations.

Was it the reputation of the country that, before the year 1779, the eſtates in general in the Iſland were properly ſtocked with Negroes?
No.

Were the eſtates, to your knowledge, during your ſtay in the Iſland, properly ſtocked?

By

By far the greater part were not—ſome few eſtates had, perhaps, more than they required.

From your experience, as a medical perſon, and as a planter, do you conceive that the births are equal to the deaths?

The births may be equal to the deaths—but the number of Negroes raiſed do not equal the decreaſe.

Do you know of any particular diſorder which occaſions the deaths of children ſoon after their birth?

Negro children are liable to what is called the jaw-fall, which is, in fact, tetanus, or convulſive cramp.

Have you ever endeavoured to prevent or check the progreſs of that diſorder?

Upon my own eſtates very few caſes of it have occurred, and upon the eſtates which I attended I was never called to a caſe of that ſort, death takes place ſo ſuddenly in general.

Do you aſcribe the failure of the rearing of children to the colds and damps to which the mothers expoſe them in their nocturnal rambles?

It is one great cauſe.

Is it in the power of a maſter, by any regulation, or by any orders which he may iſſue, to prevent the Negro women taking ſuch a courſe?

I think it is not.—The maſter ſhews his diſpoſition to prevent it, by exempting Negro women with young children from throwing graſs at night, or doing any other work which the reſt of the gang are occaſionally forced to do.

Do any other cauſes occur to you, which you think prevent children arriving to a ſtate of maturity?

The cauſes are numerous—among them I will ſtate the difference of ſituation as to the healthineſs, or otherwiſe, of the eſtate—as to the ſituation of it being near St. John's Town or Engliſh Harbour, as Negroes near theſe places are more apt to neglect their children—on one of my plantations, which is ſituated far from town, and at ſome diſtance from Engliſh Harbour, moſt of the young children grow up; ſo that my increaſe has exceeded my decreaſe.—On the other eſtate near Engliſh Harbour, I have fewer children born, and raiſe a very ſmall proportion, from the

exceſſes that both men and women are conſtantly expoſed to at that port.

On the eſtates which you have attended, have the maſters and proprietors always ſhewn an anxious attention to the breeding and rearing of the children?

To the rearing of them certainly.

Do you know of any encouragement which the maſter gives to thoſe women who attend to their children?

A good Negro, after ſhe is once ſettled, and has had ſeveral children, is always careful of them, and ſhe meets with encouragement from her maſter.

Do you know whether any gratuities are given to midwives?

Many planters give the midwives different rewards upon the birth of children.—I give a dollar to the midwife after ſhe has delivered the woman.

What attention do you, and have you perceived to be given to pregnant women on your own eſtate, and on thoſe which you attended?

Pregnant women appeared to me in general more likely to be injured from indolence, than from hard work, during their pregnancy—as ſoon as they find themſelves with child, and in many inſtances long before they are in reality ſo, they withdraw themſelves from work, and I have found a difficulty of even being able to perſuade them to attend in the field to look on while the others were working, which I have always inſiſted upon, to be certain that they were not carrying heavy burthens to market, or doing other injurious work for themſelves.

What is the kind of attention which the maſter, from every obſervation you have been able to make, pays to the Negroes after they are brought to bed, and during their confinement?

A Negro woman, as ſoon as ſhe is brought to bed on moſt eſtates, chuſes the perſon ſhe moſt approves of, with a young child at her breaſt, to attend her during the firſt nine days.—She is ſupplied by her maſter with ſugar, oatmeal, or the like, daily; and, in many inſtances, candles, and other indulgencies.—She never comes to work till a month after her lying-in, and then does not turn out of a morning with the gang, or ſtay as long in the field in the evening.—She does not go out till after the ſun is completely up, and retires before the ſun is down—The child is in the

field with her, and ſhe attends it whenever it cries; ſo that in fact, the work of a woman with a young child is very trifling indeed.

Have you always found, in the courſe of your medical attendance, that the maſters were ready to purſue every direction with reſpect to food, and every comfort neceſſary for a ſick perſon?

I frequently have ordered wine, animal food, and other indulgences, which I have no reaſon to think was ever withheld.

Do you remember any extraordinary mortality among the Negroes in the year 1779?

In the year 1778, 1779, and 1780, the dyſentery was epidemic in Antigua, and carried off, during thoſe periods, nearly one-fifth of the Slaves on the Iſland.

Do you know what number of thoſe Negroes which you attended, died, and can you ſtate what were your own loſſes?

I do not know, but I fear a proportion equal to what was loſt on any other part of the Iſland.—On my plantation on the eaſt part of the iſland, which was a healthy ſituation, I loſt very few—on my other plantation I loſt more.

Was every medical exertion uſed during the time of the raging of that epidemic diſorder, in order to ſtop its progreſs?

Certainly—at that time I was connected in buſineſs with Doctor Adair, a man of great experience and ability, and whoſe exertions were very great.

Did you ever know of any complaints ever being made by any of the Negroes of the eſtates which you attended, of a deficiency of food, of being ill treated, or of having too hard labour impoſed upon them?

I have certainly known times when the food was very deficient indeed; but that was an unfortunate period, when, from ſucceſſive years of dry weather, the Iſland was in a very diſtreſſed ſituation—if the proprietor gave leſs food, the work muſt have been leſs conſiderable, and his wants kept pace with thoſe of the Slaves.—For the five laſt years of my reſidence in the iſland, it has been in a more flouriſhing ſituation, and I have ſeen no ſigns of a want of food.

In the year you are ſpeaking of, in which there was that deficiency of food owing to dry weather, were there any prohibitions

to

to the importation of grain and other proviſions from any parts from whence ſupplies uſually came?

No—but it was during the wars.

Did the Whites at that time ſuffer, or undergo any hardſhip, in conſequence of the want of proviſions for themſelves?

Yes; very great.

Have you in general found the Negroes, in the courſe of your medical attendance, in health, in ſpirits, and ſeeming content, and to be in comfortable houſes?

I have; and when I have found houſes that did not appear tight, I have repreſented it to the proprietor or manager, and they have had them repaired.

Were you ever called upon to attend any perſon out of the numbers of thoſe you have ſtated you were employed to attend, in conſequence of any puniſhment being inflicted on them?

Never that I recollect.

Had ever a caſe of this ſort happened, is it likely that it muſt have come to your knowledge?

I think it muſt—the fact is, puniſhment for great faults is more frequently inflicted by confining the offender, which he minds more than corporal puniſhment.

Have you ever obſerved any indulgences ſhewn to new Negroes?

Generally they are very much indulged.

Is it your opinion, that there is a proportionate number of female Negroes to breed from?

I ſhould think not, from the deficiency of Slaves in the iſland to do the work of it.

Would the abolition of the Slave Trade increaſe that difficulty of keeping up the preſent ſtock of Slaves?

Certainly—there are ſome few eſtates on the iſland, that, without ſome mortality very unforeſeen, may never require an African Slave, but theſe are few in proportion.

How have thoſe eſtates been ſo ſtocked; has it been by breeding, or by importation from Africa?

By the original mode of purchaſing—thoſe eſtates that are well ſupplied

ſupplied with Slaves, I ſuppoſe the original proprietor placed moſt women upon them.

Do you think that the loſſes ſuſtained in 1779 have been yet repaired?

They have not, to the beſt of my knowledge—the bad crops, which ſucceeded for ſome years, put it out of the power of moſt planters to purchaſe, and it has not been till within theſe two or three years, that many have attempted to ſupply their loſſes.

What would have been the conſequence had the African Trade been aboliſhed?

Many muſt have given up the idea of cultivating their eſtates, as taſk-work would have been ſo exorbitantly high as to render it impoſſible for them to think of having recourſe to that means.

When you ſpeak of taſk-work, are you to he underſtood to mean, that thoſe Negroes which compoſe the taſk gang, would, by being diſtributed among the eſtates which ſuſtained the loſſes in 1779, have enabled them to carry on the cultivation of their eſtates?

No—I do not—I conclude, from taſk-work being at £. 7. 10 *s.* per acre, when it uſed to be, before 1779, but at £. 4. 10 *s.* that our Iſland is ſtill very much under handed.

From every obſervation you have been able to make as a medical man, and as a planter, do you think it poſſible that the ſtock of Slaves, ſmall as you ſay it is at preſent in the Iſland, can be kept up by breeding, and without annual ſupplies from Africa?

I think not—there are ſome ſituations ſo unhealthy, and having other circumſtances againſt them, as to make it doubtful with me, whether by any ſteps that could be taken, the increaſe would equal the decreaſe.

Would the planter prefer breeding to purchaſing?

Certainly he would—a Creole gang of Negroes is in much greater eſtimation than one compoſed chiefly of Africans.

Do you think the cultivation of eſtates can be carried on in any other manner than now practiſed?

I think it cannot—the number of Slaves required about the works, during crop, could not be ſupplied by any other perſons.

Could Europeans perform any of the ſervices which are neceſſary in the courſe of huſbandry now practiſed in the Iſland?

I think they could not—indeed ploughmen, and boys that have been uſed to follow the plough, have been ſent out to eſtates, where the plough has been made trial of, and they were found unequal to the labour in that climate.

Have you obſerved whether the Negroes are fond of expoſing themſelves to the heat of the ſun?

They certainly are—I do not recollect I ever heard a Negro complain of heat, though conſtantly of cold.

Do you think the plough can be uſed in the Iſland of Antigua?

I do not—in the ſituations moſt favourable for it, where it has been tried, it has been as conſtantly given up.

Would not the planter moſt readily adopt any mode, by which the expence attending the maintenance of the Negroes could be leſſened, or their labour diminiſhed?

He certainly would adopt any mode to leſſen his expences that he could fairly do, and if he could diminiſh the moſt laborious part of their work by any ſubſtitute, he could employ the Negroes ſo profitably, in lighter work, that he would gladly do it.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Enumerate the various ſervices of the gang during crop time, and as nearly as you can, the proportion of hands allotted to each ſervice?

The firſt work in a morning (at which all the Negroes that can be are muſtered) is cutting the cane—when a ſufficient quantity of cane is cut to put the mill in the wind, three able men attend in the mill, and five or ſeven younger perſons attend to carry the canes to thoſe men.—When two coppers of cane juice are ground, there are two more ſtrong men called in as firemen, and two in the boiling houſe—as more juice is collected, more men are called, and there are generally ſeven men in the boiling houſe, and four as firemen, on a moderate ſized plantation, with nine coppers in the boiling houſe—there are others about the diſtillery, amounting in the whole, when all the work is going on with ſpirit, to between twenty and thirty Negroes; ſo that there are few left to cut the canes, drive the cart, and do the other work, except on very well handed eſtates.

What

What number of hogſheads of ſugar annually, do you ſuppoſe the eſtate, with nine coppers in the boiling houſe, of which you are now ſpeaking, may produce?

Two hundred hogſheads.

Is the number of Negroes employed in the boiling houſe, proportionate to the ſize of the eſtate, to the quantity of produce, or to the number of the gang?

No.—Planters, over-rating the value of their property, may have erected buildings calculated for an eſtate of 200 hogſheads, when perhaps their produce does not prove to be 60 hogſheads; but ſtill the coppers being there, they are uſed and attended.—And, it happens that on theſe properties, where they are likewiſe weakly handed, the canes are cut one day by the whole ſtrength of the gang, and ground and manufactured the next day.

Is it, or is it not neceſſary, that the canes ſhould be cut as ſoon as they are ripe for it, and not remain in that ſtate in the fields?

Certainly—there is a period at which they will be deemed moſt productive, but from different circumſtances, they are left beyond that period, to the great loſs of the planter.

Are the canes, or are they not, injured by being ſuffered to remain ſome time after they are cut before they are ground?

In the courſe of a few days after they are cut, they turn ſour and will not make ſugar, but are ground for the purpoſes of the diſtillery.

Does it often happen that the ſame perſons who are employed in cutting the canes, are employed alſo afterwards to a late hour in attending the boiling houſe?

Yes; but they do not turn out with the gang the next morning to hard labour, in general.

Is, or is not, the cutting of the canes, one of the moſt laborious ſervices of the plantation?

It is laborious; but I do not think one of the moſt laborious, and is performed with ſuch alacrity and good ſpirits that it ſeems trifling.

Is it, or is it not, ſuch labour as is beyond the ſtrength of women, or of any but adult males?

No—the women cut the canes as well, and with as much ap-

parent

parent eaſe, as the men.—The young Negroes and women with young children, attend to tie the canes up into bundles as the other Negroes cut them.

With what inſtruments, and in what manner, are the canes cut?

With the bill—a good cane may be from five to eight feet long—a Negro ſtrikes at the root, and cuts the cane down, then takes off the top, and if too long to be handily put into the cart he cuts it in two.

By whom is the operation of diſtilling uſually performed, and when does it commence?

There is generally, upon moſt eſtates, an experienced Negro, who has four under him to follow the directions of the manager.—The operation commences ten, fifteen, or twenty days after the firſt canes are ground.

How long does the operation continue?

Throughout the crop.

Is it performed commonly under the ſame roof with the boiling houſe?

They are different rooms; ſometimes adjoining, ſometimes not.

You have ſaid you was a member of the Aſſembly in 1784; Can you ſtate the motives for paſſing the Act intituled, "An "Act for ſettling and regulating the Trial of criminal Slaves by "Jury?"

Prior to that Act, two magiſtrates (one of which being of the quorum) ſat in judgment upon Slaves for all crimes.—It was reckoned by the magiſtrates as a hardſhip to act as judge and jury, and it was thought that more effectual juſtice would be done the criminal by his having a jury—the Act was therefore paſſed, in ſome meaſure to relieve the hardſhip the magiſtrates complained of, and in behalf of the Slave to be tried.

To what cauſes do you aſcribe the tetanus?

As it occurs in young children, I aſcribe it to premature expoſure to cold; but my opinion is, that ſo many do not die of the tetanus as is thought, even by proprietors—no child dies in the nine days but it is immediately ſaid it had the jaw-fall.—Now, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that many of theſe children die from the ſame cauſes which carry off the infants of Europeans.

Can

Can you ſtate the quantity of your land, and the number of your gang; diſtinguiſhing infants, adults, ſuperannuated, and males and females?

I have 400 acres of land on the Windward part of the Iſland, and 220 Negroes—in Falmouth diviſion, near Engliſh Harbour, I have 220 acres of land, and from 110 to 115 Negroes.—I cannot ſtate the different ages or qualifications of either gang, nor the proportion of ſexes.—At Windward I have about eighty field Negroes, but I cannot ſay, whether there are moſt men or moſt women.

What part of theſe eſtates reſpectively is in cane, and what in proviſion ground, or in other allotments?

About 200 acres in cane land at Windward, about 30 acres in proviſion ground, the reſt paſture—at Falmouth about 100 acres in cane land, about twenty acres in proviſion ground, and the reſt paſture—beſides, in the proviſion ground, ſtrictly ſpeaking, yams and eddoes are annually raiſed in the cane land.

Is the proviſion ground worked in groſs by the whole gang, or is it ſubdivided amongſt the Slaves in proportion to every one's family or otherwiſe?

Some of the proviſion ground is cultivated with Guinea corn by the whole gang, and the produce ſtored on the eſtate, and diſtributed on allowance days—the cultivation of the reſt is divided in a certain proportion to each Negro.

What on your own eſtate was the proportion allowed per head?

Having ſo much land, my grounds in general were larger than common, and ſome induſtrious Negroes had ſeveral patches in different parts—I do not immediately recollect the quantity at the firſt diſtribution, but I think it was ſeventy feet ſquare per head—I repeat however, that they cultivated more if they pleaſed.

What was the ordinary allowance in addition to the produce of their peculiar proviſion grounds given to the Slaves per head?

From eight to twelve meaſures of grain per head per week, each meaſure containing about a pint—of yams (when that was the allowance) from twenty-ſix to thirty pounds per week to each Negro—Negroes who are obſerved to look ill are fed twice or thrice a day—at their dinner they have a very full meal.

Is this allowance ever given them at times when their own grounds are in crop?

Always.

What proportion do you imagine the produce of their own grounds bears to the allowance of food received from their maſters?

The produce of their grounds is ſo various from weather, and from the attention the individual pays to it, that I cannot ſpeak with preciſion to that queſtion.

Does this produce form a material part of their ſuſtenance?

From the produce of their grounds, their goats, hogs, and poultry, an induſtrious family not only live well but dreſs well.

To what purpoſes is the produce allotted of the paſture ground on your eſtate, of which you have lately ſpoken?

To the feeding of cattle, mules, and ſheep.

What number of Negroes is ordinarily required to attend this part of the eſtate?

It depends on the numbers of the cattle and mules—a large herd of cattle, generally has two men and two young boys to attend them; the mules, one man; and the ſheep, two boys.

Was the number employed on your paſture ground commonly greater or leſs than what you have now ſpoken of?

Leſs by one man at Windward—on the other eſtate, I kept no ſheep, and one man and two boys were ſufficient to attend the cattle and mules.

Does it require an able field Negro to do the man's part of this ſervice?

It does, and one whoſe ability and attention you have confidence in.

You have ſtated, that on ſome eſtates the proviſion ground is frequently changed; with what view are theſe changes made?

The potatoe cultivated by the Negroes, is thought with us to exhauſt the land more than any other root, and where the grounds are frequently changed, it is on plantations conſiſting almoſt entirely of cane land, and it is found advantageous both for the proprietor and the Negro to make theſe exchanges once in two or three years—the Negroes are always pleaſed with the exchange, as their returns are certainly greater in the new land.

If at any time the Negroes peculiar proviſion ground fails in its produce, is the allowance of food increaſed, and is ſuch failure frequent?

Such failure is frequent, and the allowance is increaſed in conſequence of that failure.

Do you recollect the maximum to which the allowance has been increaſed under theſe circumſtances?

I never gave, as a general allowance, more than twelve pints, but have had many applications in the week for further aſſiſtance, which I generally complied with.

What do you take to be the expence of the maintenance for Slaves per head annually?

I ſhould ſuppoſe ſomewhere from five to eight pounds currency —in the war it was full the latter ſum.

What do you take to have been the ordinary annual decreaſe of Slaves in the Iſland of Antigua?

On my own property at Falmouth, I have placed twenty Negroes within the laſt nine years, and the number does not now exceed what it was then.—At Windward my increaſe is greater than my decreaſe.

What was the greateſt number of Slaves you ever purchaſed at one time?

I never purchaſed but eight African Slaves, and thoſe were in one lot.

Do you recollect the ages of the different Slaves whereof that lot conſiſted?

I ſuppoſe they might have been all of the ſame age, about fifteen years old—ſeven males and one female.

From what part of the coaſt did they come?

From the Windward or Gold Coaſt.

Is it generally believed that it is more profitable for the planter to go on the ſyſtem of breeding, than on that of purchaſing African Negroes?

I do not know that I ever heard it doubted.

During the ſcarcity of which you have before ſpoken, were there any, and what attempts made to procure ſupplies and proviſions?

There were conſtant attempts made to procure ſupplies, and large ſupplies were ordered to be ſent out from Great Britain.

Were

Were attempts made to procure proviſions from any of the neighbouring Iſlands?

Yes; and quantities were obtained from Saint Euſtatius, not good in their kind, and exorbitantly dear.

Of what ſpecies were theſe articles?

Beans, flour, and Indian corn.

Were any ground proviſions attempted to be had from the neighbouring Iſlands?

The difficulty was very great, owing to the war, as veſſels could not go from Iſland to Iſland, without being taken by privateers.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 17° *die Martii* 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before;

Dr. ATHILL. And the Witneſs deſired to explain his former evidence; when he ſtated, that the annual expence of the maintenance of Slaves per head, was from five to eight pounds currency. Upon further recollection, he wiſhes to ſtate it from five to eight pounds ſterling; and full the latter ſum during the time of the late war.

And then he was further examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you make this correction in conſequence of referring to any documents or papers?

No—but upon reflecting more ſeriouſly on a calculation made by the late Alderman Oliver, and which he had frequently communicated to me.

What were the principal articles of the Slaves' maintenance on which this increaſe took place during the war?

On

On every article of food, and the freight and inſurance from Europe.

Enumerate the various ſpecies of ground proviſions and produce.

The yam with us I conſider the moſt material—we raiſe beſides, eddoes, potatoes, plantanes, Guinea corn, and American corn.

What are the ſituations and ſoil adapted to each of theſe ſpecies of produce?

The yam is moſt productive in a light ſoil, of which the eaſt, north eaſt, and north weſt ſides of the country chiefly is compoſed. The eddoe thrives beſt in a ſtronger or clay ſoil. Corn grows in either; but the plantanes thrive beſt in rich and moiſt bottoms, or near rivulets.

Has or has not every plantation whatever, be the nature of its ſoil what it may, ſome or other of theſe articles in cultivation?

Yes—to the beſt of my knowledge.

Are the cauſes which prove injurious to any one of theſe articles of ground proviſions equally injurious to all?

It ſometimes happens, that in the ſame plantation the piece of yams may be nearly deſtroyed in one or two nights by worms, and the piece of potatoes nearly adjoining eſcape, and *vice verſa;* but the worm is deſtructive to all thoſe ſpecies of proviſions, the plantanes only excepted, which, from the nature of our Iſland, however, is not advantageouſly cultivated as a material article of food.

If the ground proviſions unexpectedly fail, whither can the planter reſort for proviſions for his Negroes in this emergency?

Planters in general have a quantity of beans from England, which, from their being kiln dried, keep a long time—they are therefore preſerved for the emergency—but in times of peace, I never knew Indian corn deficient altogether at market.

How long will theſe beans keep without being materially injured?

If properly put up, for many months.

What cauſes are peculiarly injurious to the Indian corn?

The weevil; and it very ſoon gets muſty.

Was the ſhutting up of the American ports attended with conſiderable diſadvantages to the Weſt India Iſlands?

Very great, and the expence of grain from America now, is upon an average perhaps nearly double what it was before the war—before the war, a merchant would contract to ſupply a planter with grain at five ſhillings a buſhel—he now requires eight ſhillings and three-pence or nine ſhillings.

Do you apprehend the Slaves have felt the inconvenience of this meaſure in the diminution of the food allowed them?

I do not—I believe the Slaves in Antigua never were better fed than for the laſt five years.

Has the lack of ſupply from the American market been furniſhed from this country, or have more ground proviſions been cultivated?

The yam and eddoe have been more extenſively cultivated—larger quantities of beans have been ordered out from England, but there has always been American grain at market, at, as I before ſtated, a higher price than formerly.

Is the ground proviſion leſs liable to be injured by bad ſeaſons than the ſugar cane?

No.

Is it ſo far injured by the ſame cauſes, and generally in ſo equal a degree, that from the diminiſhed produce in ſugar, one may gueſs at the degree in which proviſions alſo have failed?

The weather required to bring canes to maturity, and that to bring any one ſpecies of proviſions mentioned, is ſo different, that I think no inference can be drawn upon the ſubject.

What kinds of weather then are peculiarly beneficial or detrimental to both?

Regular ſeaſons of rain are requiſite for bringing the cane to maturity—leſs rain will do for the yam, but that requires critical rains in October, when it is appling—the eddoe requires much rain.—I think the American corn that we grow, from its great uncertainty, coſts more than what we purchaſe.

What ſorts of weather are moſt beneficial or detrimental to the paſture?

Our

Our paſtures are ſoon burnt from dry weather, and conſtant rains are beſt for them.

Is Guinea graſs, or any other ſpecies of artificial graſs, grown in the iſland of Antigua?

Guinea graſs is cultivated for the uſe of the ſtables and mules.

Does the obſervation which you have made reſpecting the weather, deſirable for paſture ground, extend to this laſt ſpecies of produce?

The Guinea graſs being cultivated in intervals between cane pieces, and in particular ſpots, and more attended to than the general paſture, grows with leſs rain, but continued dry weather in many inſtances kills it entirely.

Have there been any material improvements in the œconomy and management of a ſugar plantation of late years?

I do not know that there have.

In caſe a law were to paſs in this country, prohibiting the importation of Negroes into the Weſt India Iſlands, can you form any judgment of the increaſed rate at which it might be poſſible to introduce them from any of the neighbouring iſlands?

I cannot; but I ſuppoſe it would be very conſiderable.

What is the ordinary duration of the lives of Slaves, compared with that of the lives of White Men, in the Weſt Indies and in Europe?

Slaves live full as long in the Weſt Indies as White people—on moſt eſtates old age is ſpent in a comfortable and eaſy way.

How are the old Slaves employed?

When once they deem themſelves ſuperannuated they are not employed for their maſter—before that period their work is light—they act as aſſiſtant nurſes to take care of the ſick, and the young children, and in ſome inſtances waſh or cook for the overſeers.

How many either of the firſt or ſecond deſcription of aged Slaves had you on your two plantations?

I had fifteen or ſixteen of the firſt deſcription at Windward, being an old ſettled eſtate, and the gang chiefly Creoles—on the other eſtate I had not above two, the Negroes there, being near Engliſh Harbour, lead a more debauched and irregular life than

the others, and therefore neither are ſo healthy or live ſo long—of the ſecond claſs I cannot ſay how many I had.

What is the office of watchman, and by whom is it performed?

They protect the yams, canes, and proviſions from being ſtolen—it is performed by able field Negroes.

Is the ocffie always performed by able field Negroes?

An old Negro ſometimes lives in the Negro grounds, and in the plantane walks, as watchman; and in thoſe caſes they make their huts more permanent and comfortable than the common watch-houſes are.

Has the late price of Slaves riſen on males and females in an equal proportion?

I believe it has.

What was formerly, and is now, the ſituation of Slaves in Antigua as to religion?

Formerly, I believe, the Slaves thought little of religion, and were few of them Chriſtians—they now in great numbers attend the different churches and meeting-houſes, and I believe are moſt of them baptiſed.

What cauſes have chiefly operated in the production of this change?

The ſettlement of the Moravians and Methodiſts amongſt us—the former have two very good chapels, are very attentive to their congregation, and lead an exemplary life—the latter I have not been ſo much in the way of ſeeing.

Are inſtances of Negroes attaining old age common or rare in Antigua?

Very common.

Are thoſe Negroes who are rendered incapable of labour by old age or diſeaſe ever abandoned for that reaſon by their owners?

I never knew an inſtance of it.

In the courſe of your obſervation and practice on thoſe eſtates whoſe Slaves you had the medical care of, had you ever an occaſion

ſion to apply any relief to a Slave who had been immoderately puniſhed?

Never.

Is it probable that if a Slave had at any time received an immoderate correction, you ſhould not have attained the knowledge of it from ſome of the Slaves belonging to the plantation, even if the manager or proprietor had concealed it from you?

I think I muſt have known it—they are fond of relating their grievances.

You have ſaid, that on ſome eſtates the canes are cut one day and ground the next, is that by choice or neceſſity; and if the latter, whence does that neceſſity ariſe?

From neceſſity; and is occaſioned in ſome inſtances by the diſtance of the cane pieces from the mill, but in by far the greater number from the planter not having ſufficient Negroes to ſupply the ſugar works and the field at the ſame time.

Is or is not this method attended by conſiderable diſadvantages to the planter?

By very conſiderable diſadvantages.

As far as your knowledge and obſervation extend, are the plantations in Antigua, with which you are beſt acquainted, in general ſupplied with a ſufficient number of Negroes already, in proportion to the quantity of land they have to cultivate?

They are not.

In your opinion, can this deficiency be ſupplied by the utmoſt care and attention in the rearing of Creole Negroes, and without the aſſiſtance of a freſh ſupply of new Negroes from Africa?

I do not think it poſſible by any means to ſupply the loſs, but by occaſional importations.

Is or is it not practicable, in your opinion, to cultivate the lands in Antigua by the labour of Europeans or other White people, even if a ſufficient number of them could be had?

I think it is impracticable—their conſtitutions have never been found equal to hard labour in that climate—the plough has been tried on eſtates under my care, and I never knew the ploughman, who was a White man, hold out long at the labour, without being taken ill.

Did you ever know a Black ploughman in Antigua?
I never did.

To what peculiarity in the Weſt India climate do you aſcribe the impoſſibility of a White man performing the labour of a plantation?
The exceſſive heat.

Have you ever made any obſervation as to the average height of the thermometer in Antigua?
I never made a courſe of obſervations, but I believe it is generally near eighty of Fahrenheit.

Have not moſt plantations a White overſeer on them?
Several.

What is the kind of labour that they do on the plantation?
They turn out with the Negroes in a morning, call a liſt, and ſee that they are all engaged in their reſpective works; and one of them attends the great gang in the field part of the forenoon, when, from the exceſſive heat of the ſun, they retire; and if this work was carrying on far from his reſidence, he has a mule to ride home on—in the afternoon he calls the liſt again, and attends to overlook the work.

Do you think that the conſtitution of any White overſeer you ever ſaw, could ſuſtain the labour of digging cane holes, and the other work of a plantation which is generally aſſigned to the Negroes?
I never ſaw the perſon I thought capable of undergoing it.—I am certain they could not ſtand the office of fireman, or boiler.

How do White domeſtic ſervants in general bear the heat of the Weſt India climate?
White domeſtic ſervants have ſo many Negroes about them to do their work, that they ſoon become gentlemen themſelves, and I believe are generally deemed, after trial, uſeleſs.

Are their conſtitutions found to ſuffer from the work they undergo?
I never knew but two inſtances of gentlemen in Antigua having White men ſervants—in both they became ſots, and were ſent back to England in a few months—I therefore cannot ſay that

that I ever knew their conſtitutions injured by the work they did.

Are there White blackſmiths, or any other White manufacturers of iron in Antigua?

There are.

How do they undergo the climate?

For one White blackſmith in a ſhop there are three Blacks, who do the laborious work under the direction of the White man —White blackſmiths are by no means healthy, and I know no inſtance of their living very long.

Is or is not the operation of cutting down the cane for the mill ſo eaſy, as that frequently more than one cane comes down by a ſingle ſtroke of the bill?

Yes.

Is or is not the crop time a ſeaſon wherein the Slaves are in general more cheerful and healthy than at any other, although they may be more buſily or conſtantly employed in that ſeaſon?

Beyond all compariſon ſo.—A long crop leaves our Negroes in a ſtate of ſtrength and health, very different from their ſtate after a ſhort one.

Is or is it not the generally prevailing cuſtom in Antigua, in crop time, to cool down the coppers every night ſoon after ſun-ſet, and to ceaſe the operation of ſugar-making for the remainder of the night, and until after ſun-riſing the next morning?

We cool down every night, but not immediately after ſun-ſet—we ſeldom begin boiling before ſun-riſe—the hour of cooling down varies, and may be upon an average at about nine or ten o'clock.

Does not this give the Slaves an opportunity of enjoying a proper proportion of reſt every night, if they chuſe to retire to it?

It does.

Of whom in general do the inhabitants of towns in Antigua, who have no plantations of their own, purchaſe the graſs, and other green provender, with which they feed their horſes?

Of the Slaves reſident on the plantations in the neighbourhood

of

of the town, who carry it in at noon and in the evening, and ſell it.

What will it coſt ſuch an inhabitant to feed a horſe per day in that manner, excluſive of oats?

At leaſt two ſhillings and three pence.—I believe more.

What does that amount to in ſterling money?

About one ſhilling and ſix-pence.

Is the quantity ſo ſold by the Slaves conſiderable?

Very conſiderable.

How are ſuch inhabitants ordinarily ſupplied with poultry, pork, vegetables, and fruits?

By the managers of plantations, and ſome proprietors who make it an object; but chiefly, I believe, by the Slaves—ſome poultry is likewiſe imported from America.

How are His Majeſty's land forces, and ſhips of war, chiefly ſupplied with the above articles of freſh proviſions?

In the ſame manner as the inhabitants of the town.

Have or have not the Slaves the entire dominion and property in whatever they acquire by their own perſonal induſtry and ſavings, and without the controul of their maſters?

They have.

Did you ever know or hear of an inſtance of a proprietor of a Slave in any ſhape interfering with the property of a Slave ſo acquired?

I never did.

From the obſervation you have made of the labour, treatment, and general ſtate and condition of the Slaves in Antigua, compared with that of the common labouring people in England, is it your opinion that the former or the latter enjoy the greater comfort in their reſpective relative ſtations?

I have no heſitation in declaring I think the ſituation of the Negro and his family happier, and much more free from cares, miſeries, and mortifications, than that of the peaſant in many parts of this country.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

ALEXANDER WILLOCK, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Of what country are you a native?
Of Ireland.

Have you ever been in the Iſland of Antigua?
Yes.

How long did you reſide there?
Thirty-ſix years.

When did you return to England.
In 1781.

While you reſided in Antigua, were you proprietor of any eſtates, or had you the management of eſtates of thoſe who were abſent from the Iſland as attorney, or otherwiſe?
I was a proprietor of eſtates, and attorney for others.

Is it your opinion that a few, or many eſtates in the Iſland, had their complement of Slaves?
Moſt of the eſtates in the Iſland were deficient in Slaves.

Were they ſo deficient previous to the year 1779?
They were always deficient, but more ſo after that fatal year.

Were your eſtates fully handed previous to the year 1779?
Yes.

How did you firſt ſtock your eſtates; was it by purchaſe of Slaves out of the cargo arriving from Africa, or was it by the increaſe on ſuch eſtates?
I moſtly purchaſed, and had an increaſe till the year 1779, by births.

In the year 1779, do you remember any extraordinary diſorder prevailing in the Iſland, by which a number, and what number of Slaves were carried off?
I had on two eſtates of my own upwards of 500 Negroes, out of which I loſt fifty by fluxes.

Can you ſtate what was the general loſs?
It was computed at 4,500, or upwards.

In what time do you ſuppoſe that thoſe loſſes were ſuſtained?
The great mortality which happened on my eſtates began in Auguſt, and continued till November. I have the liſt of Negroes which I brought with me from Antigua, and the names of thoſe who died.

Have the loſſes in general, in your opinion, been in any, and what degree ſupplied?
I happened to have ſo many Negroes of my own, that I wanted no ſupply.

Queſtion repeated.
There have been ſeveral Negroes imported ſince; but there is ſtill a great deficiency.

Had not thoſe cargoes arrived, what would have been the conſequence?
The conſequence would have been, that a great quantity of ſugar which has been ſince made, would not have been made.

Suppoſe the Iſland ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be again attacked with the ſame diſorder, which committed ſuch ravages in the year 1779, and the poſſibility of procuring Slaves from Africa was prevented, what would be the conſequence?
Several perſons muſt abandon their eſtates.

Have you had any late accounts from the Iſland of Antigua?
Yes.

Of what nature are they with reſpect to the health of the Slaves when ſuch accounts came away?
In December and January, remarkably ſickly, and ſeveral perſons loſt a great many of their Slaves.

Do you mean laſt December and January?
Yes.

Have you the account of the loſſes of Slaves of any particular eſtate ſuſtained at the above time?
Yes.

Have

Have you any account of that ſort about you?
I have an extract of a letter from Mr. Lovell, a Gentleman of character, to his wife.

From whom did you receive that extract?
From Mr. Kender Maſon.

Who is Mr. Kender Maſon?
Mr. Lovell's ſon-in-law.

Is his mother-in-law now living with him?
Yes.

Do you believe that this extract is taken from a letter written by Mr. Lovell, now reſiding in the Iſland of Antigua, to his wife?
I have not the leaſt doubt of it.

Then the ſaid extract was delivered in, and read, as follows:

" Extract of a Letter from Mr. Lovell, dated An-
" tigua, 14th January 1790.

" It is with concern I now adviſe, that through the
" month of December, it was dreadful ſickly a-
" mongſt the Negroes through the whole Iſland;
" but proved more fatal upon ſome eſtates than
" upon others; their firſt complaints were ſevere
" coughs and pains in their ſtomach, which ſoon
" terminated in inveterate pleuriſies, that in many
" inſtances carried off the Negroes before medicine
" could have effect; though where we could ven-
" ture, we bled immediately, and bliſtered upon
" their firſt complaining: at Mr. Brookes's, Pope's
" Head eſtate, we loſt twelve in the courſe of a
" few days. It was really expected at one time, a
" full third of the gang would have been ſwept
" off, having ſeldom fewer than from thirty to
" forty down together at the Wood eſtate; we
" alſo loſt four, and of my own two; one was taken
" ſpeechleſs in three or four hours after he com-
" plained, and died in forty-eight hours, in ſtrong
" convulſions,

" convulſions, without uttering a ſyllable the whole " time.

" N. B. On Mr. Brookes's, Pope's Head eſtate, " there were 240 Negroes."

During the ſickneſs which prevailed in the year 1779, was there every kind of attention ſhewn to the Negroes who were ſick, both with reſpect to medical aſſiſtance, and every other kind of attention which is ſhewn on ſuch occaſions?

Yes—I called in the aſſiſtance of two ſurgeons (beſides the ſurgeon belonging to the eſtate), and I told them they could not put me to too much expence in the ſervice of the Negroes.—I paid every attention to them in my power, and ſpared no expence.

Is it your opinion, that eſtates in general have a ſufficient number of females to breed from?

No—I do not think they have in general.—I purchaſed a great many women.

Suppoſe the African Slave Trade to be aboliſhed, and that deficiency of women could be ſupplied from Africa, would it conſiderably tend to prevent the natural increaſe?

Certainly.

Do you think, from your long experience, and long reſidence in the iſland, that it is poſſible by any attention, by any encouragement, or by any regulation the maſter can give or lay down, that the preſent ſtock of Slaves could be kept up by breeding alone?

I think not.

Do you conceive, that it is more for the intereſt of the planter to keep up his ſtock by breeding rather than by purchaſe?

Certainly by breeding—We reckon one Creole Negro bred upon the eſtate to be worth three Salt Water Negroes (that is to ſay) imported Africans.

Are the Negroes in general fed, clothed, and lodged, at the expence of their maſters?

Yes.

How are they fed?

We generally feed them upon corn, beans, herrings, and rice—at particular times we give them pork, flour, biſcuit, or beef.

Beſides the allowance of the maſter, do you allow them grounds to raiſe proviſions upon?

Yes—and I generally give my Negroes an afternoon in every week to work for themſelves.

Are there other times in the week in which they have opportunities of employing themſelves in their grounds?

They are allowed an hour and an half for dinner time, and frequently take an opportunity during that time to work in their grounds—that afternoon, which I give them once a week, is with an intention for them to work in their grounds purpoſely.

Do they diſpoſe of the produce of their grounds, and for whoſe advantage or benefit do they ſo diſpoſe of it?

Entirely for their own.

Do they raiſe ſtock of any, and what kind?

We permit them to keep as many fowls and hogs as they chuſe.

Do they diſpoſe of ſuch ſtock—and is that alſo for their own benefit?

Yes.

Do you know of any inſtance or inſtances where Negro Slaves have accumulated any, and what ſums of money?

I have known ſeveral inſtances—a Negro woman of my own purchaſed two Slaves of me.

Do you know of any inſtance where a Negro Slave has been tendered his freedom by his maſter, and ſuch tender rejected?

Yes—I have had a Slave of my own called Derry, who refuſed his freedom.

Did he ſtate to you any reaſons for ſuch refuſal?

He did—he ſaid White people would beat him, and he ſhould have no maſter to apply to.

Do you know any inſtance of a Negro Slave living to a conſiderable old age?

Many.

What part of the cultivation of an eſtate do you conceive to be the moſt laborious to a Negro?

Throwing out dung in baſkets.

Deſcribe the baſket, the weight, and the manner in which it is carried.

To the beſt of my recollection the baſket with the dung weighs about twenty-five pounds.

Is that the greateſt weight that the maſter requires a Negro to carry?

No, by no means—a firkin of butter will weigh ſeventy pounds.

When they are carrying this dung, do they do it with eaſe to themſelves?

They always work very cheerfully on thoſe occaſions, for I generally give them grog?

What kind of houſes do their maſters generally build for them?

The houſes are in general from twenty-five to thirty feet long, with two rooms in them.

Does the maſter provide them with cabins or places to ſleep upon?

Yes.

Does he provide them with covering or cloathing?

Yes.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 18° die Martii 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in his Examination.

Mr. WILLOCK. Do you conſider the produce of an eſtate to depend in any degree on the number of hands employed upon it?

Yes—I purchaſed an eſtate that had 120 Negroes on it, when I bought it—I have now upon that eſtate 350 Negroes.—At the time I purchaſed the eſtate it made about ſeventy hogſheads of ſugar, upon an average, per annum, and now makes 150 hogſheads upon an average.

Is

Is it to be underſtood then, that the difference of the above produce is to be conſiderably attributed to the increaſe of the number of Negroes on that eſtate?

Moſt aſſuredly.

Do you think that child-bearing is in any manner obſtructed by exceſſive labour or ill treatment?

By no means—I indulge my women, when they declare their pregnancy, from all manner of hard labour.

Are women that are confined provided with every neceſſary for their ſituation, during their lying-in?

Every indulgence is given to them, and they have any Negroes they chooſe to wait upon them, during that time; and I give the midwife a dollar, or eight ſhillings and three-pence currency, for every child that lives nine days.

Does the maſter endeavour all in his power to preſerve children that are ſo born?

Moſt aſſuredly.

What effect do you think that the abolition of the Slave Trade would have on the minds of the Negroes?

I dread that more than any thing upon earth.—Should our preſent Negroes, now in Slavery, once have an idea, that there were to be no more Negroes imported from Africa, I think there would be an inſurrection amongſt them, and that they would cut the throats of all the White people.—I reckon, upon a calculation, in the Iſland of Antigua, that there are fifteen Negroes to one White man.

Have you ever diſcovered any alteration in the behaviour of the Negroes upon the arrival of a ſhip from Africa?

Negroes in the Iſland, of the country from which the ſhip's cargo comes, are very highly pleaſed.

Do you think that the plough can be uſed in the Iſland?

When I was in England in 1770, I was acquainted with Mr. Baldwyn, who recommended me to carry out ſome ploughs, and I took two; but they did not ſucceed.

Do you think, from your long experience in the Iſland, and the knowledge of the climate, that it is poſſible to carry on the cultivation of the land by Europeans, or other White people?

It is impoſſible—from the heat of the climate no White people can ſtand the field work.

Have you ever employed any White perſon during your reſidence in the Iſland, in any courſe of huſbandry or in gardening?

No—I have known other perſons have done ſo; but they have been obliged to give it up in general—the common people will always get ſo drunk, that there is not the leaſt dependance upon them.

When you ſpeak of other perſons who have employed White people, was it in the garden, or was it in the cultivation of the eſtate?

In the garden particularly; I never knew a White perſon dig a cane hole in my life.

You have ſpoken of the Negroes carrying dung in baſkets being the uſual mode of manuring the land—can that manure be carried to the cane holes in carts, or on horſes, or other cattle?

No—it would deſtroy our cane holes, were carts to run over them to drop the dung.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Can you inform the Committee, what was the quantity of land in your ſeveral eſtates, and what the number of your gang in them reſpectively?

I have two ſugar plantations in the Iſland of Antigua in my own poſſeſſion—one in the Body Diviſion—the quantity of land is 450 acres; on which eſtate I have 350 Slaves—I have another eſtate in Pope's Head Diviſion, conſiſting of 130 acres and 100 Slaves.

When did theſe eſtates come into your poſſeſſion; and what was then the ſtate of them, and the number of Negroes on them reſpectively?

In 1768, I bought the Body Diviſion eſtate, which then had 120 Negroes on it—In 1777 I purchaſed the Pope's Head Diviſion eſtate, which had then 130 Slaves on it.—I loſt in 1779, twenty-five Slaves from the laſt eſtate, who died of the flux.

At what period or periods did you complete the number of your Slaves on thoſe two eſtates reſpectively?

In

In the year 1768, I purchaſed the firſt eſtate, and have from that time to 1781, when I left Antigua, been conſtantly ſupplied with Negroes—I have purchaſed no new Negroes for the latter eſtate, having ſufficient Negroes to work it—the land being light and eaſy to work.

Can you ſtate the number of males and females on your two eſtates reſpectively?

I cannot for a certainty; but when I purchaſed new Negroes I generally purchafed a large quantity of young women.

Do you think the number of your females was equal to that of your males?

No—the portion of males is more—as we are obliged to have men for boilers, tradeſmen, carters, and watchmen.

Can you ſtate the number of your infants, adults, and aged or ſuperannuated?

I cannot immediately recollect; but I generally reckon, upon an old ſettled plantation, that we are very fortunate if we have two-thirds workers on the whole eſtate (including the graſs gang) from ſix or ſeven years to fifty-five years of age.

Of this eſtimated one-third (which conſiſts of infants under ſix years old, and aged perſons above fifty-five) what proportion is commonly of this latter deſcription?

I ſuppoſe about one-fifth.

Can you ſtate the average number of your births on your two eſtates reſpectively?

I cannot recollect at preſent.—I certainly can make myſelf maſter of the births till 1781, by looking over my papers; but ſince I came to England in 1781, I never had a regular liſt of births and deaths on my eſtates ſent home to me.—I keep a regular ſet of books in Antigua, and I have a copy of the day books ſent me home, which I form a ſet of books from in this country—theſe books contain mercantile tranſactions, and not thoſe of the plantations.

What number of Negroes did you ever purchaſe at one time?

I have purchaſed a lot of fifty Negroes out of one cargo, which is the moſt I ever bought at one time.

Did you ever purchaſe young Negroes, and how young?

I always confine myſelf to the purchaſe of young Negroes, as much as lies in my power, from ten to twenty-five years of age, but were there any old parents among the lot, I always purchaſed them.

Did it often happen that old parents were with them?

It frequently happened that they claimed relationſhip, and I never made a diviſion of them in my life—I acted as factor for all the Negroes that I purchaſed, and I never ſuffered any diviſion in a family to be made by any other purchaſer, that came within my knowledge.

In what manner then did you form the lots, to prevent the ſeparation of parents and children?

When a purchaſer had laid out a lot of twenty Negroes, or of any given number, we generally diſcovered if there were any other relations in the cargo which were not in that lot, and I always inſiſted on the purchaſers giving up them or buying the whole.

Did you generally buy Negroes from any particular part of the coaſt?

My greateſt purchaſes were from the Gold Coaſt; but I bought Windward Coaſt and Bonny Negroes.

What part of your eſtates was in canes, and what in proviſions or other allotments, when you firſt came into poſſeſſion of them, and when you left the Iſland?

To the firſt eſtate purchaſed in 1768, I have made no alteration in the plan—the ſame quantity is in cane land, paſture, and Negro grounds as when I firſt came into poſſeſſion of it—but my increaſe of quantity of ſugar is conſiderably more, as I added 230 Slaves ſince I purchaſed the eſtate—there are on this eſtate 250 acres of cane land, and 200 acres of paſture, proviſion, and Negro ground—the ſecond eſtate is exactly in the ſame ſituation as when I purchaſed it—conſiſts of 130 acres of land, ninety of which are in cane, and forty in proviſion, paſture, and Negro ground.

Can you ſtate what quantity of land on the two eſtates reſpectively is in proviſion ground for the Negroes, either in groſs, or divided in ſeparate ſhares?

I think upon the firſt plantation, there are from ten to fifteen acres of Negro ground—and I frequently give a cane piece of land, containing about ten acres, for the Negroes to plant what proviſions they chuſe in, which is laid out by the manager in proportion,

according to the family of the Negro; and the ſame is done with reſpect to the Negro ground, which is alſo laid out in ſeparate allotments; and I give the Negroes one afternoon in every week to work their own grounds.—On the ſmall plantation there are about ten acres of Negro ground laid out as above.

Have you made any conſiderable addition to your works and buildings, in conſequence of your great increaſe of produce?

In 1772 we had a violent hurricane, and I had the misfortune of having almoſt all my works blown down—in conſequence of which I was obliged to build a complete new ſet of works, having loſt the whole of my works except the windmill.

Were theſe conſiderably larger than your former works?

Yes.

You have ſtated, that the proportion of your produce has increaſed with your increaſing ſtock of Negroes; will you ſtate the means whereby this increaſe of your gang has had this effect?

By adding 220 Slaves to the gang of the eſtate, and thirty mules, I was enabled to manure the eſtate very high, and every attention was paid to the improvement of it.—I have now brought it to ſuch a ſtate as to produce from ſeventy to one hundred and fifty hogſheads of ſugar per annum, on an average of ſeven years.

Are the cane holes made in ſtrait parallel lines?

Yes.

What is the width between theſe lines?

We leave a ſpace ſometimes of two feet between the lines, and ſometimes double that diſtance.

What was the ordinary allowance of proviſions you made to your Negroes?

The working Negroes generally had from twelve to fourteen pints of corn per week, with about five herrings, and the others from eight to ten pints of corn, with about four herrings per week—I generally fed about one-third of my whole gang out of what we call the pot—I reckon, upon a calculation, that the people ſo fed have about twenty-one pints of corn or beans per week, with ſome herrings, beef, or pork, mixed in the pot—and ſometimes we give rice for breakfaſt and dinner; the proportion of that is ſuppoſed to be deducted out of the twenty-one pints.

Had thoſe who were fed from the pot any proviſion ground?

The

The ſtouteſt of them had.—My reaſon for feeding ſo many out of the pot was a direction given to the overſeers, that when the Negroes went to their breakfaſt in the field, if every Negro did not bring ſomething to eat, I immediately took away his allowance, and fed him from the pot—though the quantity of proviſions they got by being fed from the pot was much more, yet it was a diſgrace to them, and they diſliked it exceedingly, as they conceived themſelves treated like new Negroes.

Was the exceſs over the uſual allowance which the Negroes got from being fed from the pot, equal to the produce of the ordinary allotment of proviſion ground?

I dare ſay it was conſiderably more. Negroes who are near to the towns have an opportunity of picking graſs, and carry it to market to ſell;—for each bundle they get from two pence to ſix pence ſterling.

Was the general allowance of food to the Slaves in Antigua equal to that which you gave on your own eſtates?

No—but on the eſtates immediately under my direction I kept it up as much as poſſible.

Did the ſhutting up the intercourſe between the Iſlands and North America produce any effect on the Negroes ſuſtenance?

None with me—I never gave an ounce the leſs, though I have often paid three times the price for the article.

Specify the various ſpecies of ground proviſions?

Yams, eddoes, Guinea and Indian corn, potatoes, and caſſada.

If theſe at any time unexpectedly fail, whence does the planter ſupply his Negroes with a ſufficient quantity of food?

The quantity of proviſions that I give to my Negroes, with indulgences, are very ſufficient to ſupport them without any addition from their Negro ground.

Do all the ſpecies of ground proviſions often fail?

Very often in dry weather, which we are very ſubject to.

What is the moſt hardy ſpecies of ground proviſions?

Caſſada, and India and Guinea corn.

Was it in your time the general practice to allow the Negroes one afernoon to themſelves?

No.

What

What do you conceive to be the average expence of the maintenance of your Negroes per head, including all charges?

That will require ſome calculation that I am not maſter of at this moment, but I will readily give it in at ſome future period.

What was the legal protection generally underſtood to be enjoyed by a Slave from ill-uſage on the part of his maſter, or any other perſon?

Heretofore I do not recollect that there was any particular protection given to the Slave, but ſince my return to this country, I am told there is an Act in the Iſland, that White perſons ill uſing a Slave are brought to ſeſſions, if the proprietor chuſes to proſecute them.

Do you recollect any inſtances of Slaves ſuffering for want of ſuch a law?

I do not.

Do you recollect any inſtances of Slaves being beat by White perſons, not their maſters, without legal redreſs?

Yes—but the Negro Slaves are now much better treated by their maſters, than when I was firſt in the Iſland in the year 1745; and their own good behaviour deſerves it, as they are grown much more civilized, and frequently on a Sunday go to church and Methodiſt meetings.

What has been the attention paid to the religious inſtruction of the Slaves by the regular clergy, before and ſince the efforts of the Moravians and Methodiſts?

I went two or three times myſelf to a Methodiſt meeting; and their inſtructions were to the Slaves, to be attentive and obedient to their maſters, and gave them a good deal of advice—as to the regular clergy, I never knew any particular attention that they paid to the Slaves.

What is the ſituation of Free Negroes in the Iſland of Antigua?

In my own opinion, a humane maſter cannot do a worſe thing by the Negro than to give him his freedom.

Can you ſtate the number of Negroes whom you employed in the capacity of nurſes, and in other ſervices out of the field?

Thirty-three on the Body Diviſion eſtate; and I kept no domeſtic Negroes on the other eſtate.

Did you loſe many infants by the diſorder called the tetanus, or locked-jaw?

I was very fortunate in rearing moſt of my Negro children, from the great encouragement which I gave to the midwives, and from the great attention paid to the lying-in woman; for ſhe was indulged with rice and ſugar, and every other neceſſary that could be thought of for a woman in that ſtate; and Negroes were appointed, of her own election, to attend her and her child.

You have ſaid you reſided thirty-ſix years in Antigua; was it a continued reſidence, or interrupted for any long time?

In 1770, I came to England, and was abſent from Antigua about eighteen months.

Do the ſurgeons of African ſhips practiſe any artifice to conceal the diſeaſes of the new Negroes, or to give them a falſe appearance of health, preparatory to the ſale of them?

Not to my knowledge.

What is the ſort of work in a plantation to which young Negroes of ſix or ſeven years old are put?

They are generally put under the care of a careful old woman, who goes out with them, and they pick little bundles of graſs, merely to keep them out of idleneſs.

State the different employments of the thirty-three Slaves you had about your houſe?

Five footmen, two cooks, eight waſherwomen, three ſempſtreſſes, five ſmall ſtock-keepers, two grooms, ſix women with child, and two ſuperannuated females.

Had you a houſe in town as well as in the country?

No.

Have you a houſe of trade now in Antigua?

Yes.

Do the books which you ſay you have regularly tranſmitted to you from thence, relate ſolely to your mercantile tranſactions, or do they include the journals of the management and ſtate of your plantations alſo?

They relate only to my own private affairs—and not to my mercantile buſineſs now carrying on in Antigua, that being a partner-

ſhip account.—I have no liſt of Negroes ſent me regularly, nor of the work done on the plantations.

You account for the increaſe of the produce of your eſtates from the additional quantity of manure you are able to give them, in conſequence of the number of Negroes and mules you have added ſince the purchaſe of them; did or did not this increaſe of Negroes and mules alſo enable you to plant a greater quantity of canes annually than your predeceſſor did?

Yes.

Do you mean to ſay that Negro proviſions are not become more ſcarce and dear in the Iſland ſince the ſtopping of the former intercourſe between Antigua and the States of North America, than they were before?

To ſpeak of that in a mercantile line, I ſay the price has advanced 150 per cent. on an average.

Is or is there not a conſiderable traffic carried on by the Slaves on plantations, which are in the neighbourhood of the ſeveral towns in Antigua, and the inhabitants of ſuch towns who have no plantations of their own?

Yes—all the Slaves in the neighbourhood of the towns and Engliſh Harbour, have a good deal of trade by ſelling their ſmall ſtock, yams, garden ſtuff, and hogs.

Do not the Slaves ſupply the King's land troops and ſhips of war with thoſe articles?

Yes.

Is not the property thus acquired by the Slaves conſidered as inviolably their own, and never meddled with by their maſters?

By all means; and I will give the ſtrongeſt reaſon for it—Negroes of my own have purchaſed Slaves of me.

You have ſtated that the Slaves in Antigua have been very much attended to by the Moravian and Methodiſt preachers; do you know, or did you ever hear, that the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts ever took any pains to convert the Slaves in that Iſland?

Yes—I have.

Did they ever ſend any miſſionaries there to your knowledge or belief?

I have often heard ſo.

Do you apprehend that you kept more or fewer domeſtics than gentlemen in general in your ſituation in the Iſland?

I kept a great many more, having a large family of children about me—and, I ſuppoſe I kept more domeſtics than any other family in Antigua.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel informed the Committee, that he had cloſed his caſe, reſerving only the liberty for the Agent to produce any written or printed documents, which he may think proper to lay before the Committee, for their further information.

And then the Counſel was directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That the Agent be permitted to produce ſuch written or printed documents.

And the Counſel was called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then he was again directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Kerby, Doctor Samuel Athill, and Mr. Willock, be reported to the houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 19th MARCH 1790.

Witneſſes Examined,

Mr. KERBY,
Dr. SAMUEL ATHILL,
Mr. WILLOCK.

N° 6.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Martis, 30° die Martii 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

MR. Piggott and Mr. Trower, Counſel for the Petition of the Planters of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and other proprietors of the ſaid colonies; and alſo for the Petition of the Merchants, Mortgagees, Annuitants, and other Creditors of the Sugar Colonies, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, on behalf of themſelves and others; and alſo for the Petition of Stephen Fuller, Eſquire, Agent for the Iſland of Jamaica, were called in, and proceeded to examine

ROBERT HIBBERT, Eſquire (*).

Are you a native of Europe?
Yes, of this country.

Have you ever reſided in Jamaica, and for how long time?
About eighteen years, and left it in September laſt.

Have you been, during that time, or any part of it, a merchant?
Yes.

Have you been acquainted with the culture and management of plantations in the Iſland of Jamaica?
I am.

Are you a proprietor of plantations in Jamaica?
I am.

Have you had the charge of other plantations, not your own?
I have.

Can the Iſland of Jamaica be cultivated by Europeans?
I am certain it cannot.

Give the Committee your reaſons for being of that opinion.
The heat of the climate is ſuch that no European conſtitution could bear conſtant expoſure in it, ſtill leſs if that expoſure was accompanied by labour—this is a point now ſo well underſtood, that the foot regiments of the king's troops quartered there are provided by government with a certain number of Negroes, under the denomination of Black Pioneers, who carry wood and water, and perform other laborious offices about the barracks—ſince which time I have underſtood from the officers that the mortality amongſt the ſoldiers has conſiderably decreaſed.

(*) The examination of this witneſs was taken on the 12th of February laſt, it having been then ſtated by the ſaid Counſel to the Committee, that he was a material witneſs, and was under the neceſſity of going out of the kingdom in a very ſhort time; but the Committee reſolved, that his evidence ſhould not be reported to the Houſe till the reſt of the evidence in ſupport of the ſaid petitions had been taken, and ſhould be ready to be reported to the Houſe.

Could

Could a ſugar eſtate afford ſuch food and accommodation as the neceſſary number of European labourers would require?
At the preſent prices of ſugar, certainly not.

Are there any free Negroes in Jamaica?
A great number.

Do they cultivate the ſoil; or what is their diſpoſition or practice as to labour.
They moſtly live in the towns, and employ themſelves as tradeſmen, and a great proportion of them do nothing at all.

Is there not occaſionally a great neceſſity upon plantations for extra labour, beyond that which can be performed by the Negroes belonging to the plantation?
There is.

Did you ever, upon any of thoſe occaſions, know free Negroes offer themſelves to hire to cultivate the land?
No, never; I have known them offer themſelves as tradeſmen.

Is the plough now in uſe in the Iſland of Jamaica?
It is.

Can it be generally uſed, or is it now uſed wherever it can be ſo to any advantage?
I conceive it is.

Is there not much the greateſt part of the land which either from the nature of the ſoil, or of the ſurface, and other circumſtances of the land, in which the plough cannot be uſed?
Yes.

When the plough is uſed, are White ploughmen neceſſary; or is it found that Negroes can work it?
On eſtates where the plough has been long uſed, I have known it often worked by Negroes.

Are all ſuch parts of the land in Jamaica as may be cultivated with advantage already in cultivation?
Far from it.

Are not many eſtates on which large and extenſive works have

been built, and for the land belonging to which full value has been paid, only partly ſettled?

There are many eſtates in that predicament.

If the proprietors are deprived of the means of continuing and encreaſing the cultivation of them, what muſt be the probable conſequences?

That they muſt be either thrown up altogether, or continued at a certain loſs.

Are there not alſo conſiderable tracts of land not yet at all brought into cultivation?

There are.

May not ſugar (and where the land does not happen to be adapted to ſugar) coffee, cotton, and the other productions of the Weſt Indies, be cultivated at a great advantage on that land?

A proportion of the land not now in cultivation I conceive to be unfit for any of thoſe articles; but a very large proportion of it would anſwer extremely well, particularly for coffee.

What has been the conſequence in Jamaica of leſſening the duties on Britiſh plantation coffee?

It has encouraged a number of ſettlers whoſe capitals were not equal to the ſettlement of a ſugar plantation, to purchaſe ſome wood land and a few Slaves, and to open and cultivate it themſelves.

Have they been ſucceſsful in ſuch ſettlements?

They have hitherto been very ſucceſsful.

Will any beneficial conſequence reſult to the Iſland from the encouragement of ſuch ſettlements; and what will that benefit, in your opinion, be?

I conceive that we ſhall, by theſe means, gain what we have long been endeavouring to obtain; I mean, an uſeful body of citizens of the middle claſs, who, at the ſame time that they will add to the ſecurity and happineſs of the Iſland, will increaſe the commerce and revenue of the mother country.

Can ſuch new ſettlements be effected or extended without the purchaſe of new Negroes?

They certainly cannot without Negroes; and if new ones are not purchaſed, I conceive the other ſettlements muſt ſuffer in proportion, if they are depopulated for this purpoſe.

What

What would be the conſequence to ſuch new ſettlements, if any check were given to their improvement, by preventing the purchaſe of Negroes?

They being as yet moſtly in their infancy I conceive they muſt either be thrown up altogether, or cultivated to a certain loſs.

Can the preſent cultivation of the Iſland of Jamaica be kept up without an annual importation of Negroes?

I believe not.

Do the number of Negroes increaſe or diminiſh generally in the Iſland?

On ſugar eſtates they generally decreaſe.

Can you ſtate to the Committee the cauſes of that decreaſe?

The cauſes are numerous—in the firſt place, the proportion of males on moſt ſugar-works exceeds that of the females; the lock-jaw, to which infants are ſubject within a few days after their birth, is another cauſe; and the indiſcriminate intercourſe with the other ſex, which the women are too apt to accuſtom themſelves to when young, is a further cauſe.

Are the adult Negroes ſubject to any particular diſeaſe, which tends to leſſen their number?

They are ſubject to a diſorder called the yaws, and to every other diſorder in common with Europeans.

Are epidemical or contagious diſeaſes frequent in the Iſland of Jamaica, ariſing from hurricanes or droughts?

Fluxes are very often occaſioned by improper food; and ſometimes after hurricanes it is impoſſible to procure proper food.

Do you recollect any inſtances of mortality occaſioned among the Negroes by ſuch cauſes?

I recollect many; amongſt others I loſt on a ſmall eſtate in the pariſh of Clarendon, on which there were about 120 Negroes, about one-ſixth of the whole number, in the courſe of two or three weeks, by a flux, ariſing from the above cauſes, though the beſt aſſiſtance which could be had on the Iſland was procured for them.

Do you know whether this diſeaſe was confined to your own eſtate, or was it general in the Iſland?

I do not recollect what was the caſe at that particular period,

but that diſorder was general after every hurricane which I have been acquainted with.

Whether ſuch diſorders, together with a putrid fever, are not common after every rain ſucceeding a long drought?

If they are, I conceive it to ariſe from the ſame cauſe, viz. improper food.

Do they not generally produce the ſame effect, and are attended with a conſiderable mortality among the Negroes?

In ſome degree they are.

State to the Committee what is the diſproportion between the ſexes?

It has been proved, by the Report ſent from the Aſſembly of Jamaica, the latter end of 1788, that out of the Negroes imported for a conſiderable number of years back, the proportion of males and females was as five to three.

What is the proportion between males and females in general upon ſugar eſtates, within your particular knowledge?

They differ very much, but in general the males exceed the females one-fourth at leaſt.

Is not that diſproportion one cauſe of the decreaſe of Negroes in the Iſland?

It certainly is.

Can you ſtate the general proportion of deaths and births?

I certainly cannot—but I have had, for many years paſt, eſtates of my own, and others under my care, and I do not recollect a ſingle inſtance where the births have equalled the deaths; though, at the ſame time, I can vouch that all poſſible attention has been paid, and no exceſſive labour required.

Is every attention given to pregnant women upon the plantations with which you have been acquainted?

I conceive it is, generally ſpeaking; but there may be inſtances to the contrary, but none within my knowledge.

Is the diſorder of the locked-jaw among children in general fata?

It is generally fatal.

Is

Is not a Slave born in the Iſland, generally ſpeaking, of more value than an imported African?

Yes.

Is it not therefore for the benefit of planters in general to encourage the rearing of ſuch Slaves?

Certainly.

Are not the Slaves frequently ſo reduced upon eſtates, by the diſeaſes and other cauſes mentioned, as to make it abſolutely neceſſary to purchaſe, or to hire freſh Slaves for the cultivation of ſuch eſtates?

Yes.

Could ſuch eſtates be kept up without freſh importations?

I conceive not.

Could ſugar eſtates, ſo reduced, be converted to any other uſe?

Not to be equally productive.

To what other uſes could they be turned?

In ſome inſtances they might do as paſture land, and for cotton; but in both thoſe caſes the works and other appendages of a ſugar plantation would be of little or no uſe.

Could coffee, indigo, or pimento be raiſed upon land which has been long in the cultivation of ſugar?

I conceive not.

What therefore, in your opinion, would be the conſequence to the proprietor, and the creditor of ſuch an eſtate ſo reduced?

It muſt certainly be thrown up as a ſugar eſtate, and in no other way could it be cultivated to any thing like the ſame advantage.

Can you ſtate what number of domeſtic Negroes there are in the Iſland?

I never heard it computed.

Can you ſay what is the general number of domeſtic Negroes in the houſes with which you are acquainted?

In the towns the principal families have from ten to thirty, but in the country they have in general barely what are neceſſary.

Do

Do you imagine, that if all the domeſtic Negroes were turned into the field, freſh importations would become unneceſſary?
By no means.

Is it not a puniſhment for domeſtic Negroes to be turned out of the houſe into the field?
They generally conſider it as ſuch.

Are there not many domeſtics, whoſe minds and ſpirits would be materially affected by ſuch a change of ſituation?
So much ſo, that from that cauſe alone, even if their numbers were greater, they would be of very little uſe.

Are you a member of the Aſſembly of Jamaica?
I am.

Is there a duty impoſed by the legiſlature of Jamaica on every Negro imported?
There is.

Of how much?
It is thirty ſhillings currency per head; twenty ſhillings of which is paid by the purchaſer, and ten ſhillings by the importer.

How is that appropriated?
It forms part of a fund raiſed by the Iſland of Jamaica for the ſubſiſtence of the King's troops, and is totally independent of their Engliſh pay.

If Great Britain ſhould prohibit the importation of Africans into Jamaica, do you think that Iſland ſubſiſtence would be continued?
I believe they want the ability rather than the inclination to continue it.

What do you think, upon the whole, would be the conſequence to the Iſland of Jamaica, of prohibiting the importation of African Negroes into that Iſland?
I conceive that the plantations, which are only partly ſettled, muſt either depopulate the ſmall ſettlements, or be thrown up as unproductive—I conceive alſo, that even thoſe plantations which are full handed with reſpect to Negroes (being in general badly aſſorted with reſpect to ſexes) would naturally, in time, decreaſe in their produce, and that a total ſtop would be put to all further improvement.

Have the White inhabitants any other domeſtics than Negroes?
Very ſeldom.

Upon plantations in general are there more domeſtic Negroes kept than are neceſſary?
I believe not.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

You have ſtated that the plantations which are full-handed are badly aſſorted with reſpect to ſexes; why are they ſo badly aſſorted?
Men are ſuppoſed capable of more labour; and the importation I have already ſtated to have been, for many years back, in the proportion of five males to three females.

Is that proportion of importation owing to the deficiency of procuring females in Africa, or of diſpoſing of them in the Weſt Indies?
I know nothing of the nature of the trade on the coaſt of Africa; and I have already mentioned that the ſugar planters wiſh in general for a large proportion of males.

Have you any particular knowledge, or ever made any calculation, of the number of Negroes annually exported and imported from and into the Iſland of Jamaica?
I believe both are very accurately ſtated in the Report ſent from the Aſſembly of Jamaica, but I cannot immediately call them to recollection; and it is to be obſerved that they differ yearly.

Have you any particular knowledge, or made any calculation, of the average number of Negro births and deaths throughout the Iſland of Jamaica?
I do not recollect ever to have ſeen a general calculation of that ſort.

Are White men ever employed as ploughmen?
When the plough is firſt introduced on an eſtate a White man is generally employed.

Have you ever made or heard of any calculation of the pro-

portion which the Creole or native Negroes bear to the imported Africans now on the Iſland?

I never ſaw an accurate calculation of the kind.

Is there any uſually eſtimated proportion; and if there is, what is that proportion?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion accurately.

What is eſteemed the uſual annual decreaſe per cent. in the Slaves of a ſugar plantation?

On ſuch plantations as I myſelf have had the care of, the decreaſe has generally been about five per cent. and the increaſe two and a half per cent.

Is the decreaſe ſuppoſed to be greater or leſs on plantations of cotton or coffee?

Theſe plantations in Jamaica are as yet in their infancy; and no accurate judgment can be formed.

Do you know whether the proportion of the ſexes are more equal on thoſe plantations?

I rather imagine it is, becauſe the work is lighter.

You have ſtated, that attention is generally paid to pregnant women, but that inſtances to the contrary may have occurred, but none within your knowledge; is it your opinion that ſuch inſtances, in fact, do frequently happen?

On the contrary, I believe them to be very rare.

According to the beſt of your experience, what proportion of Negro children do you imagine to die before they attain the period of four or five years of age?

I cannot anſwer the queſtion, having made no ſuch calculation.

Have not the White ploughmen and tradeſmen very high wages?

They have.

Have you ever known the heat of the ſun oppreſſive to the Negroes?

Not if in full health.

Does

Does a Negro in full health ever complain of the heat of the ſun?

No; I never recollect an inſtance of it.

Do not the domeſtic Negroes make the cloathing for the field Negroes?

They make it for the new Negroes; but, in general, a Negro who has been long ſettled, wiſhes to make his cloaths after his own fancy.

Are not many diſeaſes brought on the Negroes by their nocturnal ramblings and dancings?

I believe there are.

Is not the food of the Negroes, in general, good in quality, and ſufficient in quantity?

It is.

Are they not protected in their perſons, and provided for, with regard to food and raiment, by the known laws of the Iſland?

They are.

Is not the legiſlature of the Iſland diſpoſed to give the Negroes every comfort and protection that is neceſſary?

I think they have indiſputably ſhewn this by the laſt conſolidated Slave law.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 19° *die Martii* 1790.

COunſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

JOHN WEDDERBURN, Eſquire.

Are you a native of Jamaica?

No.

Of what place are you a native?
Of Great Britain.

Have you ever lived in Jamaica?
I have lived between twenty-ſix and twenty-ſeven years there.

When did you leave Jamaica?
The beginning of May laſt.

What was your buſineſs there?
A planter.

Have you any property there?
I have.

Had you the care of any plantations there?
Yes, of ſeveral.

What number of Negroes were then upon the whole of the plantations which were under your care?
Full 5,000.

Are the Negroes upon the plantations in Jamaica treated with humanity?
I am of opinion they are.

Are they in general in a happy ſituation?
Yes, they are in general in a happy ſituation.

How are they taken care of when ſick?
They are attended by a doctor, who preſcribes every medicine that he thinks is proper for them; they have proper nurſes to attend them; they have frequently proviſions of the beſt ſort ſent from the proprietor or overſeer's table; they have alſo frequently wine and every other neceſſary given to them that the doctor thinks are proper. I have alſo known, where their complaints were dangerous, the medicines given to them by the White people, and the White people frequently loſe their night's reſt by it.

When Negroes, by reaſon of age or infirmities, are incapable of labour, how are they treated?
They generally live in a comfortable Negro houſe, have every allowance and attendance paid to them, as if they ſtill continued to be of the greateſt value to the proprietor.

Do

Do they continue to be fed and cloathed?
They do.

Did you ever know an inſtance in which a Negro in that ſituation was diſcarded by his maſter?
I never did.

When diſputes happen among the Negroes, have you ever heard any opinion expreſſed by them as to the juſtice which was done them by their maſters?
There is a remarkable ſaying which the African Negroes have, whenever diſputes ariſe between them, the weaker party being ſenſible that the ſtronger party, or of the moſt conſequence on a plantation, can take no advantage of them; and the ſaying upon thoſe occaſions is, "This no for we country, this for Buccra "country; Buccra country every body have right?"

What is meant by theſe expreſſions?
The meaning of them is, that in their own country the ſtronger party, who are the party of the moſt conſequence, often do as they think proper to the weaker party, whether it is attended by juſtice or not.

Have not the Negroes land to cultivate for themſelves, and of which they have the ſole benefit?
They have.

Do they not raiſe much more proviſions than they uſe?
They do.

Do they not ſell conſiderable quantities of proviſions, poultry, and hogs?
They not only ſell conſiderable quantities of proviſions, poultry, and hogs, but alſo of different kinds of fruits.

Do they not diſpoſe at their pleaſure, and as their own property, of the proceeds of what they ſo ſell?
They do.

Are any of the Negroes poſſeſſed of any property, and to what extent?
There are many Negroes might be rich; numbers of them lay out their money in fine cloaths, and in purchaſes of ſalt proviſions from England; others purchaſe cows and heifers. I have known

upon different properties from ten to forty head of ſuch ſtock taken care of promiſcuouſly with their maſters.

Do their maſters appropriate any part of ſuch property to themſelves?

They do not; they ſell them when they think proper—I have purchaſed from different Negroes young ſteers, and have paid them from ten to thirteen pounds per head for them.

Have you known any inſtances of Negroes being in poſſeſſion of any conſiderable ſum of money?

I have known different Negroes wiſh to purchaſe their freedom, themſelves and a few of their friends poſſeſſed of money ſufficient to do it.—One particular inſtance I recollect upon an eſtate where there were 300 Slaves: the proprietor, before the hurricane of 1780, was in eaſy circumſtances, but with that calamity, and the other ſtorms that followed, with perhaps ſome little imprudent management of his own, his circumſtances became embarraſſed; a writ was iſſued againſt him, the marſhal came to his property in hopes of ſecuring his perſon; in this he was diſappointed, and left the property—in the evening a few of the principal Negroes came to their maſter, told him what they had heard, and brought him between £ 2 and 300; this he refuſed, but thanked them for their attention.

Is ſuch part of the land in Jamaica as may be cultivated to advantage, already in cultivation?

Not by many thouſand acres.

Can the land which is now cultivated in canes be cultivated to advantage in coffee and cottons?

In my opinion not; but allowing that it was ſo, the loſs to the planters would be very conſiderable, they having many of them purchaſed lands, for which they have paid conſiderable ſums of money, erected expenſive buildings, purchaſed ſtock, and have had a variety of different ſtores from England, for no other purpoſe but to enable them to cultivate the Sugar cane.

Is the land planted in canes in general adapted to the cultivation of thoſe other articles?

In my opinion it is not.

What effect then to the proprietor would be produced by the

neceſſity of making that change in the articles of his cultivation?

I think the effect that it would have, would be much the ſame as taking a part of his property from him without paying for it.

Can the Iſland of Jamaica be cultivated by Europeans?

I am of opinion it cannot, the nature of the climate is ſuch that an European conſtitution would not be able to ſupport the neceſſary labour; and ſhould it ever be attempted, I think the mortality would be ſo great as to put a ſtop to it.

Is the heat of the ſun prejudicial to the health of the Negroes in Jamaica; and does it appear materially to affect them whilſt they are employed in labour?

I am of opinion it does not.

Have you frequently ſeen them in the act of labour?

Very frequently, and ſtood with them hours at a time.

Did they complain, or did they appear to you to feel any inconveinence from the heat?

They appeared to me to feel no inconvenience.

Can the Iſland of Jamaica be cultivated by the plough?

It cannot; the plough is uſed in many parts of that Iſland, but it is to be obſerved, that after the land is ploughed, the Negroes are obliged to dig the cane-holes with their hoes, and alſo to plant the canes, and in many inſtances they are obliged to trench the land, to lay it dry from the water—great part of the Iſland, from the make of the land (being ſteep and hilly) does not admit of the plough being uſed upon it; there are alſo many thouſand acres where the ſtones and rocks are ſo intermixed with the ſoil, that it is impracticable to turn up the land with the plough; many eſtates are cultivated in ſuch a manner that the canes are not ſtocked up, but it is a rule to keep them upon the ſtock as long as poſſible; to ſuch properties the plough could be of no ſervice, they can be only cultivated by the hoe.

Then is it your opinion that the plough, when it is uſed in Jamaica, enables the planter who has adopted it to carry on the general buſineſs of his eſtate with a leſs number of Negroes, or will the ſame number be ſtill requiſite?

The ſame number of Negroes are requiſite; but the plough is of infinite advantage to them, by breaking up the ſoil, and taking

a part

a part of the hardeſt labour off from them. But ſuppoſe a leſs number of Negroes might be requiſite at the ſeaſon of the year when the plough is uſed, the uſual number would be neceſſary to conduct the buſineſs of the property in crop time.

Has the legiſlature of Jamaica granted encouragement to the inventors of machines for ſaving the manual labour of Negroes?

I have heard they have.

Have not the planters readily adopted all uſeful machines of that ſort?

Wherever they are convinced it is attended with advantage to them.

Is there any reaſon for the opinion that the planters in Jamaica refuſe to adopt any uſeful machinery, calculated to eaſe or leſſen the manual labour of their Negroes?

There is none. I have known different ſchemes propoſed that have not anſwered, and for which reaſon they have avoided them.

Are not all ſuch inventions for ſaving manual labour, that have ſtood the teſt of experience, uſed by the planters in Jamaica?

They are.

What number of Negroes is commonly about an overſeer's houſe; and could ſuch Negroes be put to field labour with advantage?

In common there are from ſix to ten; and thoſe people, in general, have not conſtitutions able to ſupport the labour in the field.

Are then the moſt weak and delicate generally appropriated to thoſe domeſtic uſes?

They are.

Can the preſent cultivation of Jamaica be kept up without an annual importation of Negroes?

I am of opinion it cannot; nor does it proceed from the idea of the Negroes being treated ill—the women do not breed there as the labouring women of Great Britain, which greatly proceeds from the promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes; this often occaſions venereal complaints, which frequently deſtroy the conſtitution;

ſtitution; many Negroes are carried off by the yaws, fluxes, ulcers, and pleuriſies; the infants, beſides being liable to all the diſorders that infants are in Great Britain, are ſubject to the locked-jaw, of which I am of opinion one-fourth of the children born in the Iſland die.

What in general may be the loſs or decreaſe on a given number, ſuppoſe twenty African Negroes, within the firſt three years after their importation into Jamaica, ſuppoſing them to be landed in tolerable health?

I cannot ſay with certainty, not being prepared for this queſtion; but ſuppoſe five.

What in general may be the loſs or decreaſe on the ſame number, in the ſame time, if infected with the yaws or any other diſtemper at the time of their importation?

Double the number at leaſt.

Would the Negroes now in Jamaica be well pleaſed, if they were given to underſtand that there was to be no further opportunity of procuring recruits from Africa?

I am of opinion that they would be diſſatisfied, having often heard them wiſh for ſuch aſſiſtance to the property.

If the importation of Negroes into Jamaica is aboliſhed, is it likely that the Negroes now in Jamaica will be better treated than they are at preſent?

I think they will be worſe treated, and for this reaſon, the nature of a ſugar eſtate is attended with ſuch conſiderable expence, that moſt of the planters are obliged to the Britiſh merchant for an advance of money, in conſideration of which the planters are obliged to engage certain conſignments and payments to the merchant annually; by depriving them of Negroes they would be unable to either make the conſignments or payments that the merchant has a right to expect from them; this being the caſe, the merchant would find himſelf diſappointed; the connection of the Sugar Iſland would become unprofitable to him—there is no doubt but he may take ſuch ſteps to recover his money as would compel the planter to puſh his Slaves beyond their ſtrength, and making him ſuch payments as he had a right to expect, in hopes of keeping up his crops, and preventing both himſelf and his family from ruin.

How many hours out of the twenty-four do the Negroes labour, the time of the crop excepted?

About eleven hours.

Though the time of labour with ſome of the Negroes is longer during the crop, are they not in general more happy and in better condition at that time than at any other period of the year?

They are, from the advantage of the canes which they eat, and the liquor they drink.

What effect would the abolition of the African Slave Trade have upon the power of the planters to pay their debts, and fulfil their engagements to the merchants and others in Great Britain?

I think there are many of them would not be able to pay them.

Could any new ſettlement be practicable without the ſupply of African Negroes?

Some ſmall trifling ones might, but none of any conſiderable importance.

Are there any free Negroes in Jamaica?

There are many.

In what manner do they employ themſelves?

Some of them are tradeſmen, but the generality of them are a parcel of idle people.

Do not the eſtates in Jamaica frequently require the aſſiſtance of other Negroes than thoſe that belong to the proprietor?

They do.

Have you ever known upon any of thoſe occaſions, any of the free Negroes offer themſelves for hire?

I have known them employed as tradeſmen, but in no other way.

Are there not many eſtates on which expenſive works have been erected, and conſiderable ſums of money laid out, which are yet only partly ſettled?

There are many.

Can further progreſs be made in the ſettlement of thoſe eſtates, without a ſupply of Negroes from Africa?

Not

Not unleſs thoſe who have jobbing gangs were to ſell them for that purpoſe; and was that to be the caſe, the loſs of the aſſiſtance that they at preſent give to different properties, would be exceedingly diſtreſſing, and of courſe no other properties with propriety could be ſettled without a ſupply of new Negroes from Africa.

Are not Negroes who are born in the Iſlands of much greater value than thoſe imported from Africa?
They are.

Is it not then the intereſt of the planter to encourage raiſing them?
It certainly is.

Do they not in fact do ſo?
They do.

Are not many diſeaſes brought upon the Negroes by travelling in the night, by feaſting, and dancing?
There are many.

Is not the food of the Negroes in general wholeſome, and have they not a ſufficient quantity of it?
Excepting after ſuch a calamity as the hurricane of 1780, they have plenty of food, and wholeſome.

If an act of parliament for aboliſhing the African Negro Trade ſhould in effect only transfer that trade from Great Britain to other nations, would the Africans be at all benefited, or the cauſe of humanity advanced by that meaſure?
Not as far as I am capable of judging; and ſo far from it, that I am ſatisfied that the Negroes now in Jamaica would ſuffer exceedingly by aboliſhing the trade, as their labour would naturally be encreaſed.

Would ſuch a meaſure have a tendency to depopulate Jamaica, to diminiſh its cultivation, and preclude its further improvement?
I think it would.

Would it be attended with ſatisfaction to the minds of the planters, and other White inhabitants of Jamaica?
I think not.

Would

Would it, in your opinion, produce alarming diſcontents?
I am confident it would.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

State, in as many inſtances of eſtates as you can recollect, the quantity of land, and the number of Negroes on them reſpectively.

I cannot recollect the exact quantity of land, or number of Negroes; but as nearly as I can I will mention them:—At Meſopotamia there are about 2,600 acres, and about 310 Negroes; at Grange about 1,500 acres, and 175 Negroes; at Gleneſſay about 1,800 acres, and 230 Negroes; at Caledonia near 3,000 acres, and about 180 Negroes; at Bluecaſtle about 1,800 acres, and 245 Negroes; at Blackheath about 1,100 acres, and 110 Negroes; at Mounteagle about 1,000 acres, and about 165 Negroes; at Spring Garden 2,600 acres, and 250 Negroes; at Green River about 1,000 acres, and 240 Negroes; at Richmond Vale about 700 acres, and 220 Negroes; at Providence about 1,000 acres, and 106 Negroes; at Foreſt 2,000 acres, and 180 Negroes.

State, as near as you can recollect, the average quantity of produce from theſe eſtates reſpectively.

It is impoſſible I can recollect exactly; the laſt year's crop, as near as I can recollect, was as follows:

	Hogſheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.
Meſopotamia	315	230
Grange	165	70
Gleneſſay	110	80
Caledonia	75	45
Bluecaſtle	240	140
Blackheath	180	80
Mounteagle	160	80
Spring Garden	165	90
Green River	240	115
Richmond Vale	155	80
Providence	110	75

As to Foreſt I do not recollect the quantity of ſugar or rum, the property being now improving in cotton and coffee, and the ſugar work in a manner given up.

Do you imagine the produce of this year was greater or leſs than the average produce?

The produce of theſe eſtates in this year, they are capable of making annually, provided there are no ſtorms or hurricanes, and that they have likewiſe the ſame ſupport of Negroes as they have at preſent—and, by further ſtrength of Negroes, are capable of making a conſiderable quantity more.

Of what deſcription are in general ſuch of theſe eſtates as you have ſtated, from a great tract of land, to return a ſmall apparent produce of ſugar.

Meſopotamia is a level eſtate, and a great part of the land is only adapted to paſtures—many of thoſe paſtures are over-grown with log-wood, and require an additional number of Negroes to improve them. The Grange is a hilly eſtate, and one of thoſe to which the plough can render no ſervice, and rather poor in nature.

What, in the ſeveral eſtates ſpecified, is the ſmalleſt quantity of produce in ſugar, from the greateſt quantity of land in cultivation for canes?

I believe Gleneſlay.

What is the quantity of land in cultivation for canes at Gleneſlay?

The land in canes has been ſo exceedingly injured by the hurricane of 1780, and the ſtorms which followed it, that it does not yield well; there are about 220 acres in cultivation for canes.

In the ſeveral eſtates ſpecified is the cane land generally all together, and the reſt paſture or wood land, as it may happen; or are the canes interſperſed in patches throughout the eſtates?

On ſeveral of the properties the canes lie contiguous, upon others the paſtures are diſperſed with the canes; the lands in wood and ruinated lie generally by themſelves.

May the value of theſe ſeveral eſtates be eſtimated from the quantity of ſugar produced on each of them, or does it depend on other conſiderations alſo?

I do not know any of the eſtates that are deſcribed that could be valued in this manner, excepting Green River and Providence eſtates, the others (ſome of them in particular) have very valuable land, and are fit for ſugar—and when improved become exceedingly valuable.

What would be the mode of improving them?

By a further purchaſe of Slaves than what is at preſent upon the properties, and without which it is impoſſible to improve them.

Would it be more laborious to work theſe lands for ſugar than the lands now actually in cultivation for it?

To bring ſuch land into cultivation will be attended with conſiderable labour and expence; but I am of opinion will pay very amply for it.

By what would that expence be cauſed, and wherein would that labour conſiſt?

Great part of the land is at preſent either in wood, moraſs, or ruinated.

Can you ſtate the number of Negroes which might be neceſſary to bring the whole of theſe eſtates, in the groſs, into a complete ſtate of cultivation?

I cannot pretend to ſtate that—but in regard to my own property, I am ſatisfied there is valuable land upon it fit to cultivate the ſugar-cane upon, that would require an addition of 200 Slaves; and without it, it is impoſſible to extend the preſent cultivation of the property.

Provided the eſtates ſpecified were to be continued in pretty nearly the ſame ſtate, as to the quantity of land in ſugar, paſture, wood-land, &c. would the exiſting ſtock of Negroes, if kept up, be tolerably ſufficient?

I think not—many of thoſe properties now require an addition of labour which they formerly did not, when the land was new.

What do you take to be the general proportion of males and females amongſt the Slaves in Jamaica?

I cannot take upon myſelf to ſtate that with any degree of accuracy; but it is ſuppoſed there are five men for every three women.

According to the beſt of your experience, what is the annual conſumption of Slaves in the iſland of Jamaica?

I really cannot ſay.

Can you recollect, with any tolerable preciſion, the ordinary

number of births and deaths on your own eſtates, or ſuch of the eſtates as were under your care?

I cannot recollect with any accuracy.

What has been and is now the ſituation of the Slaves in Jamaica, as to religious inſtruction?

There are a very few properties on which there are Moravian parſons; but in general there is no attention paid to any religious inſtruction.

Has the Society for propagating the Goſpel employed any perſons in converting the Slaves?

Not to my knowledge.

What do you take to be the ordinary expence of maintenance of Slaves at various ages?

I have no calculation to go by.

What is the common allowance of food made to Negroes?

As much as they can eat, excepting after ſuch a calamity as in the year 1780, when the allowance was not ſo liberal.

Can you ſpecify preciſely what is its amount?

If it is plantanes, when they are large, three of them are ſuppoſed to be as much as they can eat at a meal; and when they are ſmall, they get an additional number of them.

Do they in general ſubſiſt on an allowance made to them by their maſters, or on the produce of their own peculiar proviſion-grounds?

On the produce of their own peculiar proviſion-grounds; thoſe Slaves that are naturally lazy, and neglect themſelves, are fed plentifully by their maſters.

What is ordinarily the quantity of land per head allotted to the Slaves for proviſion-ground?

A few eſtates excepted, they have more land allowed them than they can cultivate.

What is commonly, in a gang of Negroes, the number of infants, able field Slaves, and aged or ſuperannuated?

I really do not recollect.

What was the legal protection from ill uſage on the part of his

his own maſter, or of any other White perſon, generally underſtood to be enjoyed by the Slave, during your reſidence in the Weſt Indies?

For this I beg leave to refer to the late acts of the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly at Jamaica.

To what acts do you allude?

To the late conſolidated act.

What was the effect, on the Iſland of Jamaica, of ſtopping the intercourſe with America?

In my opinion the loſs of many thouſand lives, for want of a ſupply of proviſions, particularly after the hurricane of 1780.

With what particular articles of proviſions were the Slaves uſed to be ſupplied from America?

Rice, corn, and flour.

Is the Indian corn, or caſſada, cultivated in the Iſland of Jamaica?

They are both cultivated in the Iſland of Jamaica.

With what ſucceſs?

Very good.

Have you often purchaſed Slaves ſoon after their arrival from Africa?

I have.

Were they bought in lots?

The principal part of thoſe that I have purchaſed have been deliberately choſen out of the whole cargo.

What is the time commonly allowed to the Negroes for the cultivation of their own grounds?

They generally employ one day in every fortnight, as alſo their Sundays, in the cultivation of their own grounds; and they have frequently days allotted to them, where it appears neceſſary to their employers, excluſive of the above.

If a law were to paſs in this kingdom, to prohibit the importation of Negroes into Jamaica, do you think Negroes would ſtill be clandeſtinely introduced?

As far as poſſible, I have not a doubt but they would, and that the

the generality of the whole planters in the Iſland would encourage it.

What do you apprehend to have been the effect of the late regulating act?

I think it has been attended with conſiderable advantages.

Who is commonly the immediate purchaſer of the Slaves that are bought for the uſe of the plantation; is the manager employed in this ſervice, or any agent for him?

In general the proprietor; and, ſhould he not reſide in the Iſland, his attorney.

Are not many eſtates in the Iſland of Jamaica ſo ſteep, that the uſe of the plough would be deſtructive, by the violent rains, peculiar to that country, waſhing away the ſoil?

They are.

Is not the conſtitution of an African particularly well adapted to bear heat?

Perfectly ſo, in my opinion.

Did you ever know a Negro in health complain of heat?

I never did.

Are not pleuriſies frequently got by the Negroes being out at nights?

They are.

Are the healthieſt and ſtouteſt labourers of the field more ſubject to that complaint than others?

They are; and I have known ſeveral very fine valuable Slaves taken off by it.

Is it not the wiſh of the proprietor of the eſtate to reſtrain thoſe nocturnal rambles, it being one cauſe of the decreaſe of his Negroes?

He generally does, as far as poſſible, prevent it.

Do you recollect what was the produce of thoſe eſtates you have before mentioned, in the years ſucceeding the hurricane of 1780?

They were exceedingly reduced by it, but I cannot ſay exactly in what proportion.

Was the produce much leſs than in the year 1789?
Very conſiderably ſo.

Whether the crop is great or ſmall, is not the expence of cultivation the ſame?
It is; and frequently increaſed, particularly by ſuch a calamity as happened in the year 1780.

Do you mean then to ſay, that it often happens that when the crop is the ſmalleſt the expence is the greateſt?
Not but in particular caſes, ſuch as ſtorms, and a long continuance of dry weather, when the ſtalks of the canes are injured by it.

In thoſe calamitous times are not the crops of corn and proviſions deſtroyed?
If the crops of corn and proviſions are on the ground, they no doubt are deſtroyed; but thoſe proviſions that are taken at the earlier part of the ſeaſon, before the hurricane months come on, are ſafe.

Did the hurricane of 1780 deſtroy the ground proviſions and plantanes?
The plantanes were deſtroyed, and, in many reſpects, the ground proviſions.

Was the proprietor under a neceſſity of purchaſing proviſions from England, or from America?
They purchaſed from both.

Was that additional expence brought upon him by the ſtorm?
Yes.

Do you know of any inſtance of a free Negro deſiring to return back to Africa from Jamaica?
Never, but one—he went to ſee his friends, and returned to Jamaica again.

What part of the Coaſt of Africa did that African belong to?
As far as I recollect, he was a Gold Coaſt Slave.

If thoſe eſtates which you have repreſented to be in an incomplete ſtate of cultivation, for want of a ſufficient number of Slaves to extend their improvement, could be actually cultivated

to

to their extent, would the increaſe of produce to ariſe from thence be, in your opinion, an addition of any conſequence to the revenue, commerce, and manufacture of the mother country?

I am of opinion a very conſiderable one.

Is it uſual for Negroes to obtain their freedom till after a conſiderable reſidence in the Weſt Indies?

Not in general.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 20° die Martii 1790.

COunſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

GEORGE HIBBERT, Eſquire.

Are you a merchant in London?

I am.

Has your houſe any dealings with the Iſland of Jamaica?

We have conſiderable dealings with the Iſland of Jamaica, as factors to the proprietors therein.

Is your houſe in advance to any of the proprietors?

We are very conſiderably in advance.

State what the importations from the Iſland of Jamaica to your houſe amount to in time of peace?

We import from 5 to 6,000 hogſheads of ſugar, beſides other goods, the groſs value of which may be eſtimated from £. 200,000 to £. 250,000.

Do you conceive yourſelf intereſted in the queſtion reſpecting

the abolition of the Slave Trade; and in what manner will your intereſt be affected?

From the concurring and uniform evidence of planters and other perſons who have reſided in the Iſlands, and alſo from various experience collected in the courſe of buſineſs, I believe that an abolition of the Slave Trade will greatly injure the population and produce of the Iſland of Jamaica, and conſequently myſelf, as a merchant trading thereto, and as a creditor thereof.

Do you know, or can you form any judgment of the amount of debts due from the Weſt India planters and proprietors of lands, to the merchants and ſubjects of Great Britain?

I ſpeak with great diffidence as to the whole amount of the debt due from the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain; any calculation I could form muſt neceſſarily proceed from partial and inadequate grounds: upon ſuch grounds I could never eſtimate it at leſs than twenty millions. A noble lord (Lord Sheffield) who wrote ſeveral years ago on the ſubject of the Weſt India Trade, conjectures the debt of the Colonies at one-third of the value thereof; which value has ſince been eſtimated at ſeventy millions.

Can you ſtate the ſeveral deſcriptions of claſſes of creditors of Weſt India property?

I ſpeak from experience, that it includes the following claſſes, of each to a conſiderable amount; but more particularly of the two firſt claſſes.—The firſt claſs, Merchants who have advanced money for the purpoſe of obtaining conſignments, or to ſupport old correſpondents, or to protect old engagements.—Second claſs, Mortgagees who have advanced money for the ſake of intereſt.—Third claſs, Annuitants by purchaſe, by will, or by marriage ſettlement.—Fourth claſs, Legatees, many under bequeſt of old dates.—Fifth claſs, Conſignors of goods to the Weſt Indies upon their own account, captains and mates of ſhips, ſupercargoes, &c.—Sixth claſs, Shippers of goods to ſupply the different ſtores to order.—Seventh claſs, Creditors upon ſimple bond, note, &c.—And, laſtly, The repreſentatives of ſuch of all the above claſſes who are dead, or have their concerns aſſigned over to others.

What kind or deſcription of creditor is your houſe, whether of all, or of which of the claſſes enumerated?

Our engagements are principally included under the firſt claſs, that is to ſay, merchants.

Is

Is any part of the capital of your houſe employed in the Weſt Indies?

A conſiderable part in loans to our ſeveral creditors therein.

Is any part of it employed in ſettling new eſtates?

It is.

Is any part of it employed in extending and improving old ſettled eſtates?

It is.

Is it alſo employed in adopting new machinery for working of eſtates, or in any new modes of manufacture?

I believe that a part of the loan made by our houſe to the planter has been ſo applied.

It is alſo employed for the neceſſary purpoſe of enabling the planter to repair the damages ſuſtained by hurricanes, and for the neceſſary ſupport of the Negroes in droughts and famines?

A very conſiderable part of the preſent debt due to us from the Iſland of Jamaica has been occaſioned by advances made in thoſe circumſtances; we have ſome debts ſtanding in our books, which in our own time, and that of our predeceſſors in buſineſs, have exiſted from forty to fifty years; and I believe that had we not occaſionally protected ſuch debtors, by advances for the purchaſes of Negroes, and giving them other neceſſary relief, the properties that are now our ſecurity would have been long ago deſtroyed.

When, through ſhort crops or fallen markets, the planters expences have exceeded their incomes, or from any other cauſes they have become diſtreſſed, are they not in general relieved by loans from the Britiſh merchants?

I believe they are.

Have not, from the cauſes already enumerated, purchaſes of Negroes been abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the plantation?

In moſt of our engagements we have underſtood it to be ſo, and have advanced money for that purpoſe.

Are Negroes often purchaſed for the uſe of old ſettled eſtates, for the purpoſe of relieving the labours of the Negroes thereon?

I am connected with ſeveral planters, who have aſſured me that they wiſh to purchaſe Negroes without any view to the extenſion

of their plantations, but merely that the labour of their preſent ſtock might be lightened.

Is there any other deſcription of perſons in the Iſlands (beſides planters and land-holders) to whom the merchants of Great Britain advance money by way of loan or otherwiſe?

In Jamaica there is a conſiderable number of ſtore-keepers, and importers of the manufactures of Great Britain, who are either not land-holders, or ſo in a very inconſiderable degree.

Upon what ſecurity are the advances to this deſcription of men made?

Such advances reſt upon the ſecurity of the produce of the Iſland; agriculture in the Weſt Indies, and particularly in Jamaica, forming the baſis of their returns, and conſequently of their ſolvency.

State what are the different kinds of ſecurity in the Iſland.

Our ſecurity, as merchants having advanced money to planters, reſts entirely upon the produce of thoſe planters' eſtates, cultivated as they are by Negroes; when real ſecurity is given us, it is either an eſtate with Negroes thereon, or Negroes alone; land without Negroes thereon, or without the immediate proſpect of purchaſing them for the purpoſe of cultivating that land, would be conſidered by a merchant here as no ſecurity at all.

Deſcribe the properties in the Weſt Indies which afford ſecurity for the loans in Great Britain, and under what claſſes they may be ranked?

Such as I am acquainted with may, with a very few lucky exceptions, be comprized under one of the three following claſſes. —Firſt claſs, Eſtates that have been long ſettled, but through the gradual depopulation incidental to Weſt India eſtates, or through accidental calamities, need occaſional ſupplies of Negroes.—Second claſs, Eſtates which are in a progreſſive ſtate of cultivation prudently increaſing their ſtock of Negroes by ſmall annual purchaſes, until that plan on which they at firſt were ſettled is completed. —And, Third claſs, Eſtates newly ſettled, or by any other accident almoſt without Negroes belonging to them, but which have every proſpect of proving productive to their proprietors, and an ample ſecurity to their creditors, if furniſhed with Negroes at reaſonable rates.

Have the plantations of each of the claſſes laſt enumerated

portions of uncleared land belonging to them, which are conſidered as advantageous to the eſtate at large, and an additional ſecurity to the creditors of ſuch eſtate?

Several of the eſtates in Jamaica which are mortgaged to our houſe are poſſeſſed of ſuch appendages, which form a part of our ſecurity, and to which we give ſome weight, while at any time the poſſeſſor has it in his power to put ſuch lands under cultivation by Negroes, and thereby render his whole property more complete and productive.

Do you know any inſtance where, from the purchaſe of new Negroes, any ſuch eſtates laſt above deſcribed have been made more completely productive within your own knowledge?

I recollect inſtances wherein the extenſion of the cultivation of eſtates mortgaged to our houſe has proved advantageous.

Are there not eſtates belonging to minors frequently leaſed to other planters during their minority, which eſtates at the time of being leaſed have had few Negroes upon them, and which have been improved by ſuch leaſing, and brought into a ſtate of cultivation at the time the minor came of age?

I believe ſuch inſtances are frequent; one remarkable inſtance has lately occurred in the courſe of my own connections with Jamaica.

State that inſtance.

It is exactly within the queſtion that has been put to me; the gentleman who rented the eſtate from the minor has, upon the minor's taking poſſeſſion of his own property, carried off a conſiderable gang of Negroes, and ſettled an entire new eſtate (never before a ſugar plantation) which, with that gang, and a ſmall addition thereto, promiſes to turn out a very profitable plantation; but the proprietor before mentioned has lately expreſſed, in his letters to us, great anxiety about the means of cultivating his own eſtate, and if deprived of the means of purchaſing Negroes, will find his preſent fine fields of canes of little value to him, and his eſtate itſelf worth almoſt nothing.

Without the means therefore of purchaſing Negroes, do you believe the eſtates of infants, or others in ſimilar circumſtances, could be at all improved or kept up?

I do not believe it poſſible.

Would you, if you had expected, or had believed that an abolition

lition of the Slave Trade would take place, have made ſuch extenſive advances and engagements as you have ſtated your houſe to have made and entered into?

Moſt certainly not.

When you made ſuch advances, and entered into ſuch engagements, upon what confidence or ſecurity did you?

I confeſs that the abolition of the Slave Trade was a meaſure not in my contemplation, as not believing it probable; but I was not ignorant that in the trade I am engaged in, thoſe plantations in the Weſt Indies which afford me ſecurity for my advances, that trade to Africa which ſupports the cultivation of thoſe plantations, and even the very loans I have made, have all been repeatedly encouraged, protected, and ſanctioned by repeated acts of the Britiſh Legiſlature, of which I have made a memorandum, and can ſubjoin the references thereto under three different heads.

Firſt.—Acts affording encouragement and protection to the Sugar Colonies.

15	Cha.	II.	Chap. 7.
22 and 23	Cha.	II.	Chap. 26.
7 and 8	Will.	III.	Chap. 22.
6	Anne,		Chap. 30.
6	Anne,		Chap. 37.
8	Anne,		Chap. 13.
4	Geo.	II.	Chap. 15.
5	Geo.	II.	Chap. 24.
6	Geo.	II.	Chap. 13.
12	Geo.	II.	Chap. 30.
19	Geo.	II.	Chap. 30.
21	Geo.	II.	Chap. 30.
5	Geo.	III.	Chap. 45.
6	Geo.	III.	Chap. 52.
27	Geo.	III.	Chap. 27.

Theſe acts are more or leſs relative to the preſent ſubject, but the leading feature in them all is encouragement to the Sugar Colonies, as planted and inhabited by Britiſh ſubjects, and very advantageous to Great Britain.

The

The ſecond general head of acts reſpecting the African Slave Trade, and ſtating it as neceſſary for the Weſt India Colonies.

Royal Charters of Cha. II. in 1664 and 1672.

9 and 10 Will. III. Chap. 26.
10 Anne, Chap. 27.

The Queen's Speech to Parliament in June 1712.

23 Geo. II. Chap. 31.
25 Geo. II. Chap. 40.
4 Geo. III. Chap. 20.
5 Geo. III. Chap. 44.
23 Geo. III. Chap. 65.

And alſo may be quoted on this head, though quoted before,

27 Geo. III. Chap. 27.

I beg on this head alſo to mention the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons from 1707 to 1713, during all which time the African Slave Trade was under their conſideration, and it was recommended to them, by a meſſage from the Queen, to conſider of the nature of that trade, during all which time no public cenſure was paſſed upon the trade. On the contrary, it was repeatedly voted advantageous to Great Britain, and neceſſary for the cultivation of the Sugar Colonies; and though the bills at various times brought in, and which ſometimes paſſed the Houſe of Commons, fell through on account of diſputes between the chartered company and the private traders, it does not appear that it was ever in contemplation to reſtrict, much leſs to aboliſh the trade.

The third head of acts, encouraging loans to the proprietors in the Weſt Indies, from Britiſh ſubjects and foreigners.

5 Geo. II. Chap. 7.
13 Geo. III. Chap. 14.
14 Geo. III. Chap. 79.

Do you know, or can you form any judgment or eſtimate, of the value of the Weſt India trade, generally, as carried on between the Weſt Indies, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States of America, with the Britiſh Colonies in America, Foreign Weſt Indies, and Africa?

A very comprehenſive view of the whole trade from the Weſt Indies in the year 1787 having been furniſhed by the Inſpector

General of imports and exports to the Committee of Privy Council, I beg leave firſt to ſtate the calculations therein.—The Inſpector General has ſtated the imports from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain in the year 1787, at - - - £.4,945,387 19 10

And from the Weſt Indies in the ſame year was exported to Ireland, value £.127,585 4 5

The United States of America - - - -	196,460 8 —	
Britiſh Colonies in America	100,506 17 10	
Foreign Weſt Indies -	18,245 12 6	
Africa - - -	868 15 —	
		443,666 17 9
Grand Total -		5,389,054 17 7

The Inſpector General ſtates theſe to be mercantile values, formed by reference to the prices current, publiſhed at Lloyd's Coffee Houſe.

This trade was carried on in 1,815 veſſels, of 242,721 tons, and with 21,114 ſeamen.

That the exports from Great Britain to the Weſt Indies in the ſame year, in Britiſh manufactures, &c. amounted to 1,638,703 13 10

From Ireland, beſides what is ſhipped in veſſels cleared out from Great Britain - - 20,160 — —

And I believe that the average of Negro Slaves imported into, and remaining for the uſe of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands, may be eſtimated annually at 15,657 Slaves, which, valued at £.35 per head, amount to £.547,995. The Inſpector General has alſo ſtated the quantities and cuſtom houſe values of imports from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain only in 1788, from which I have, with all the care and exactneſs I could, formed an eſtimate of the groſs mercantile amount of the ſaid imports, taking the opinions of experienced brokers on the average prices of that year; and the ſaid eſtimate, upon a very moderate calculation, with the duties of cuſtoms and exciſe, amount to £.6,800,000; of which amount I find that

the revenue for cuſtoms and exciſe received about	£.1,800,000
The ſhip-owners, for freight homewards, about -	560,000
The underwriters, for inſurance, about - -	150,000
The Britiſh merchants and brokers, for their commiſſions, about - - - - -	232,000
The wharfingers, &c. at the water-ſide, and including the primage or freight, about - - -	95,000
The whole of which amounts to -	£.2,837,000

The.

The remainder, being ſomething leſs than four millions, forms the mercantile net proceeds paſſed to the credit of the planters by the Britiſh merchant; but from which muſt be further deducted what is paid to the manufacturers of this country for goods exported to the plantations, with the expences of freight, inſurance, commiſſion, and port charges thereon; and alſo the ſum paid to the African merchants annually for Slaves; and when we add thereto the intereſt of the debt due from the Britiſh colonies to Great Britain, and the ſums which ſome of the more opulent planters ſpend in the mother country, there cannot be a doubt but the whole £. 6,800,000 reſted in and was applied to the uſe and benefit of Great Britain. In confirmation of the above I can aſſert that, in tracing the groſs produce received from the Weſt Indies, through our houſe for many years back, in my own time and in that of my predeceſſors (which amounts to no inconſiderable ſum) there is a very ſmall portion of it indeed that I cannot follow home to one or other of the expenditures above ſtated.

Conſidering the Weſt India trade in all its branches, as carried on in Britiſh ſhipping, can you form any judgment of its importance and value with reſpect to ſhipping and freight?

The whole tonnage employed in the Weſt India trade in the year 1787 has been ſtated at 242,721 tons; and though it is true that in that eſtimate ſome veſſels are included which muſt be ſuppoſed to have made more than one voyage a year, and their tonnage is counted for each voyage, yet it is alſo certain, that in many caſes the ſaid eſtimated tonnage is ſomewhat under the real: taking therefore that quantity, and eſtimating the ſhips employed in the Weſt India trade, with all their expences to ſea, at only ten pounds per ton, the amount is £. 2,427,210.

The amount paid by the Britiſh Weſt India trade to the ſhipowners, for freight alone, may be eſtimated as follows:

Freight homewards to Great Britain, as above ſtated -	£. 560,000
Freight outwards on Britiſh manufactures, &c. exported, about - - - - - - - - - -	120,000
Freight on Iriſh manufactures exported, and proviſions in ſhips clearing out from Great Britain - - -	22,000
Freight on exports from the Weſt Indies to Ireland -	14,000
Freight on exports from ditto to Britiſh America, and the United States - - - - - - - -	25,000
Freight on imports from America to the Weſt Indies, including ſhips clearing out from Great Britain -	200,000
The whole amounting to - - - - -	£. 941,000

To

To which add the proportion for freight paid, in the price of Negroes to the African ſhips, and this article alone will be found to amount to more than one million ſterling.

Will the diminution of the quantity of Weſt India produce affect the quantity or the price of freight?

Moſt certainly it will affect the quantity; and if the ſhips at preſent employed in that trade do not find employment elſewhere, it muſt of neceſſity affect the price.

Will the ſame cauſes affect the quantity of tonnage of ſhipping, and reduce the number of ſeamen?

Certainly, under the ſuppoſition as above.

Will the increaſe of price in the produce of the Sugar Colonies be neceſſary to counterbalance the diminution of that produce?

Certainly, in order to render the eſtates as productive as they are at preſent.

What effect will it have upon the price of Slaves neceſſary for the annual ſupply of the Iſland?

A diminution in the quantity of Weſt India produce, if cauſed by any difficulty of procuring Negroes, will neceſſarily render the price of Negroes much higher, when they are to be come at.

Will ſuch increaſe of price in the produce affect the conſumption, and diminiſh the exports thereof, from Great Britain?

It certainly will.

Do you know whether there is an annual increaſe or decreaſe of Slaves in the Iſland of Jamaica?

Having never been in any of the Weſt India Iſlands, I can ſpeak only from facts well authenticated, or generally admitted. It hath been ſtated by the committee of council in Jamaica, that the number of Slaves in that Iſland in 1768 was about 167,000—Governor Keith has ſtated the number in 1774 at about 193,000—Governor Clarke has ſtated the number in 1787 at 256,000—The Aſſembly of Jamaica have ſtated the number in the ſame year at 240,000 at the leaſt; but at the ſame time inform us, that the number appeared upon the tax-rolls only to be 210,894. The number in 1768 I believe to have been ſtated from the tax-rolls. Governor Keith mentions that his number in 1774 was taken from the tax-rolls of the reſpective pariſhes; but that there were at leaſt 10,000 more, as there were many jobbers, and others

who did not give in their number: I conceive the only fair calculation can therefore be made from the tax-rolls, according to which I beg leave to give in to the Committee the following ſtatement; viz.

In 1768 the number was about —	—	167,000
Left in the Iſland, to 1774, incluſive —	—	41,038
Left in the Iſland, from 1774 to 1787, incluſive	—	87,624
		295,662
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1787		210,894
The deficiency in 19 years is	—	84,768

or 4,461 annually; which is 2.34 in decimal numbers per cent. per annum on the medium number.

1768	—	167,000
1774	—	193,000
1787	—	210,894
3) 570,894		(190,298 is the medium number.

The calculation of loſs in the firſt ſix years will ſtand thus:

In 1768 the number was — —	—	167,000
Left in the Iſland, to 1774, incluſive —	—	41,038
		208,038
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1774		193,000
The deficiency in ſix years was	—	15,038

or 2,506 per annum; which is a deficiency of 1.4 per cent. per annum on the medium number.

1768	—	167,000
1774	—	193,000
2) 360,000		(180,000 is the medium number.

The calculation of loſs in the laſt 13 years will ſtand thus:

In 1774, the number was	— — —	193,000
Left in the Iſland to 1787	— —	87,624
		280,624
Deduct the number on the tax-rolls in 1787		210,894
The deficiency in 13 years was	—	69,730

or 5,364 annually; being 2.65 per cent. per annum upon the medium number.

1774	—	193,000
1787	—	210,894

2) 403,894 (201,947 is the medium number.

The latter period of 13 years was marked by the calamities of war, and repeated hurricanes, from which unfortunately no human efforts can wholly guard the Weſt India Iſlands, but from which in the former ſhort period of ſix years Jamaica was exempt; the whole 19 years form no unfair average of the circumſtances to which the Weſt India Iſlands are ſubject; and it appears that the population of Jamaica has diminiſhed for thoſe 19 years in the proportion of more than $2\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. upon the medium number annually.

That the population of the ſaid Iſland has diminiſhed in an increaſing ratio, and not increaſed in a growing ratio, as has been ſtated.

That, admitting 15,000 Slaves to have periſhed in the above periods through hurricanes, the diminiſhed population in Jamaica alone will remain nearly 70,000 in 19 years.

That a loſs of $2\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. upon 450,000 Slaves, which the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands are ſaid to contain, is 10,500, and may be computed as an immediate annual diminution of the number thereof, ſhould an abolition of the Slave Trade take place.

What in your opinion will be the immediate effect of an abolition of the Slave Trade, with reſpect to the merchant, the planter, and the creditor of Weſt India property?

I am certain that an abolition of the Slave Trade would be followed by an immediate decay of the credit of ſuch Britiſh merchants as have conſiderable engagements with the Weſt Indies; and that they would be obliged, however unwilling, to

withdraw that indulgence which they have hitherto granted to their debtors in the Sugar Colonies, and in many caſes to foreclose mortgages and enforce judgments to their own preſent relief, but to the ruin of many conſiderable plantations, whoſe value upon a ſale would be affected by the double circumſtance of the quantity of ſimilar property brought to market, and the notoriety of the new calamity occaſioning their ſale. The trading body in Great Britain, finding their profits diminiſh with the diminution of the produce of the Iſlands, muſt of neceſſity alſo leſſen thoſe expences by which they contribute to the revenue of their country, and muſt look forwards to an entire loſs of that commerce which they have hitherto found a maintenance to themſelves, and have looked forward to as an inheritance to their children. I believe that many opulent planters in the Weſt Indies, whoſe eſtates are now large and full-handed, might for a while feel little injury from an abolition of the Slave Trade, and even receive a temporary benefit from it, while the preſent ſyſtem of colony regulation is perſevered in; as by the ruin of the ſmaller planters, whoſe Negroes they would have an opportunity of purchaſing, the number of their rivals at the Britiſh market would be diminiſhed; but that they, as well as the kingdom at large, muſt in a few years feel the ruinous event of an abolition of the Slave Trade, in the total decay of our Sugar Colonies, and in the dependance of Great Britain upon foreigners for her immenſe conſumption in every article of their produce.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 22° *die Martii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before; and the Witneſs was examined by Members of the Committee.

What ſum of money is it uſually deemed ſafe to advance on a Weſt India mortgage, in proportion to the nominal value of the eſtate? Mr. HIBBERT.

There are ſo many circumſtances which render an eſtate an eligible

eligible ſecurity, or otherways, that I cannot ſtate an average in anſwer to the queſtion—I may ſtate, however, that the annual produce is more conſidered than the nominal value.

State what are the ordinary mercantile advantages attending the conſignment to a merchant of London of 100 hogſheads of ſugar?

A commiſſion of two and an half per cent. on the groſs ſale.

Does the ſame perſon to whom the conſignment is made commonly ſend out the ſupplies for the eſtate; and is there any commiſſion on theſe alſo?

He commonly does, and charges a commiſſion likewiſe of two and an half per cent. on the amount of thoſe ſupplies.

Does he commonly make the inſurance of theſe ſupplies; and is there any commiſſion on theſe alſo?

He commonly does, and charges one half per cent. commiſſion on making the inſurance.

Does he always manage the inſurance of the produce homeward; and what commiſſion has he for this?

It is uſual for the conſignee of Weſt India produce to make the inſurance thereon by order from the planter from whom he receives it, and on ſuch inſurance he likewiſe charges one half per cent. commiſſion.

Is the rum commonly conſigned to the ſame merchant?

A very large proportion of the rum made in the Iſland of Jamaica is ſold upon the plantations, or at the next ſhipping port; what is ſhipped home by the planter is generally conſigned to the ſame merchant to whom he conſigns his ſugar.

Do the Weſt India merchants ever ſtand as underwriters for the produce home, or for the ſupplies ſent out?

The inſurance made for the planter, either outwards or homewards, is always made upon a policy, deliverable to him upon demand. If the merchant ſtands any part of the riſk, he ſtands it in a diſtinct capacity, as a reſponſible underwriter.

Do the merchants often ſtand a part of this riſk?

I cannot ſpeak of the tranſactions of merchants in general in that reſpect.

Does

Does your own houſe ſtand a part of this riſk?

We have occaſionally ſtood a part of the riſk on our own policies, as well as upon thoſe of other merchants; but this is done by each merchant as an individual, and not in the firm of a houſe.

Though the firm of a houſe does not ſubſcribe, yet is it not often underſtood amongſt the partners, that the tranſaction ſhall be brought to the partnerſhip account?

I cannot ſtate that to be a general practice.

Are many Weſt India merchants concerned in Weſt India ſhips?

The Weſt India merchant is often the huſband of ſhips, as it is termed, and holds his ſhare of them. The ſhare held by the merchants in general is ſuppoſed at this time to be much leſs than it was ſome years ago.

Can you ſtate what is the ordinary value of theſe ſupplies furniſhed by the merchant from this country, in proportion to the produce or value of an eſtate?

I cannot give a general anſwer to that queſtion. The eſtates do not require ſupplies in proportion to the quantity of their produce.

Do the planters often draw bills on the Weſt India merchants, to whom their produce is conſigned, in order to pay for the Slaves they may have occaſion to purchaſe for the uſe of the eſtate?

Yes.

What is commonly the uſance of theſe bills?

The planter has often a credit granted him in the Iſland for the Negroes he purchaſes; when he draws upon his merchant, at the expiration of that credit, he draws at the common uſance of the iſland; or, if he takes a longer time, intereſt for ſuch longer time is included within the bill.

When Slaves are purchaſed by a planter in the Weſt Indies, what is commonly the term to run before they are paid for?

I cannot anſwer the queſtion from any correct information; no part of that buſineſs comes under the merchant's eye.

What is commonly the length of the term included between the

day on which the bill is drawn in the Weſt Indies, and the day on which it is payable in Great Britain?

Bills from Jamaica have been uſually drawn at ninety days ſight; and it may be computed that they are, on an average, two months on their paſſage; the merchant here knows no diſtinction between bills drawn by the planter for the purchaſe of Slaves, and other bills.

Can you inform the Committee in what manner the Slaves are generally paid for by the planter?

Not further than I have already ſtated.

Will you explain the nature and length of the credit in the Iſland of which you ſpoke in a preceding anſwer?

It is a tranſaction entirely between the planter and the factor who ſells the Slaves. I underſtand the credit has varied, and cannot give any correct information on that head.

Can you ſtate the greateſt and leaſt length of that credit?

I cannot.

Does the merchant commonly reimburſe himſelf, from the ſale of the ſugars conſigned to him, for the ſums advanced to the planter on account of bills drawn for ſtores ſent out, commiſſions, &c.?

In all caſual tranſactions he certainly does; but where there is a permanent connection (and in ſuch there is commonly an advance) ſuch exactneſs in keeping the account balanced cannot be expected.

Has there been for ſome years paſt a conſiderable difficulty in ſelling Weſt India eſtates to advantage?

Such difficulty certainly exiſted during the late war; and I apprehend that the agitation of the preſent queſtion relating to the Slave Trade has in ſome meaſure cauſed that difficulty now to exiſt.

Did Weſt India eſtates bear a good price in the market ſince the peace, and before the queſtion concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade was propoſed in the Houſe of Commons?

I have known but few tranſactions of actual ſales of eſtates within my own experience, but the facility of borrowing money upon them has certainly encreaſed ſince the peace; and, if not entirely prevented by the agitation of the preſent queſtion, I believe it to be,

be, becauſe thoſe who are intimately acquainted with the value of the Weſt India commerce to this country cannot bring themſelves to believe that an abolition of the Slave Trade, on which that commerce depends, will take place.

Do you know inſtances of particular eſtates in the Weſt Indies, which have kept up their ſtocks of Negroes without importations from Africa?

I can recollect but one inſtance in all the eſtates with which our houſe is connected; it is an eſtate belonging to Lord Dudley, and, as I underſtand, is under peculiarly fortunate circumſtances as to its ſituation, the eaſe of the labour, the number of Negroes, and an equality of males and females. This eſtate had 637 Slaves upon it in the year 1776; in the year 1788 it had encreaſed, during all that period, 31 only in number; during that period it proved luckily exempt from any of thoſe calamities that affected the neighbouring eſtates; yet there were two years in which there was a decreaſe: of one year we have no account, and in one year there was neither encreaſe nor decreaſe. In 1788 the numbers ſtood thus, 222 men—220 women—59 boys—41 girls—126 children—total 668. The late Lady Dudley informed us that the eſtate did not pay her more than three per cent. upon the capital advanced upon it.

In the periods of years which you have ſtated in your laſt anſwer were there, to the beſt of your knowledge or information, no new Negroes bought for Lord Dudley's eſtate?

I am not certain, but I believe not.

In 1787 did the Iſland of Jamaica make its uſual average crop of ſugar?

It certainly did not; the importation into London alone was 10,000 hogſheads leſs than in 1785, and 13,000 hogſheads leſs than in 1788.

Did not the inſpector general make the calculation which you have before mentioned upon that year's crop?

Yes.

Do you know whether the Leeward Iſlands, commonly ſo called, made an average or ſhort crop of ſugar in the year 1788?

I have always underſtood they made much leſs than an average crop.

Was

Was not that the year upon which you made your calculation for the Weſt Indies in general?

Yes.

Is there, or is there not, as you have been informed and believe, any and what premium paid in the iſland of Jamaica to the drawers of bills of exchange upon Great Britain?

Of late years there has been conſtantly a premium on bills at uſance, which premium has varied from five to ten per cent.

Can you form any calculation of the amount of that premium, communibus annis?

I cannot, not being prepared for the queſtion.

Is there a great debt due to foreigners from the Weſt India Iſlands?

I underſtand there is.

Was that debt contracted on the faith and by the ſanction of parliament?

I believe ſo, there being an act of parliament expreſsly to encourage ſuch loans.

Is there not a very conſiderable quantity of herrings ſent from Scotland to the Weſt Indies, for the food of Negroes?

Yes.

Is there not a conſiderable quantity of herrings ſent from Ireland for the ſame purpoſe?

Yes.

Is the number of ſeamen employed in thoſe fiſheries included in the eſtimate you have given of the number of ſeamen employed in the Weſt India trade?

No.

Are there not conſiderable quantities of fiſh ſent from Newfoundland to the Weſt Indies?

Yes.

Is the number of ſeamen employed in that fiſhery included in the ſaid eſtimate?

Not unleſs the ſame ſeamen carry the fiſh to the Weſt Indies, which may occaſionally happen.

If the abolition of the Slave Trade was to take place, and the quantity of produce raiſed in the Weſt Indies be leſſened, would the additional price of the ſugar afford the planter a compenſation for that reduction of produce?

I have ſtated that the opulent planter, whoſe eſtate is large and fully handed, might receive a temporary benefit from an increaſe of price in his produce, ſhould the abolition of the Slave Trade diminiſh the number of his rivals at the Britiſh market; but in ſuch a ſuppoſition I preſume upon his being able to keep up the population on his eſtates, and the quantity of his produce, during ſuch temporary benefit; the diminution of produce to be expected from an abolition of the Slave Trade muſt, I apprehend, encreaſe in compound progreſſion; and I am of opinion that a price could not be raiſed on the conſumer here, in any degree adequate to ſuch a diminution.

If the price was much higher, could an equal conſumption be expected?

I believe not—the conſumption was generally believed to be much affected by the high prices in the late war.

Is not the eſtate of Lord Dudley ſeparated from others in a particular manner?

I have heard it deſcribed as ſuch.

Does not that peculiarity of ſituation prevent the Negroes from rambling at nights, and thereby contracting venereal complaints, pleuriſies, and other diſorders which tend to leſſen the numbers on an eſtate?

I have often heard it repreſented as ſuch by perſons who had reſided on the eſtate.

Does it not likewiſe prevent their catching the infection of dyſenteries, meaſles, ſmall-pox, and other contagious diſorders?

I believe ſo; and, in confirmation, the attorney or manager informs us, that in a late contagious diſorder, by which many of the neighbouring eſtates ſuffered, that eſtate loſt none, and had but few ill of the diſorder.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Martis, 23° die Martii 1790.

COunſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their examination, and called

The Right Honourable Lord SHULDHAM, Admiral of the Blue.

What has your lordſhip obſerved of the behaviour of maſters towards their Negro Slaves, in thoſe Iſlands where you have commanded?

It has been mild, gentle, and indulgent in all reſpects; equal to what maſters generally ſhew to their ſervants in this kingdom.

Did the Slaves in general appear to your lordſhip to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

They were decently cloathed, properly for the climate, and ſeemed to be perfectly ſatisfied with their victuals and lodging.

Did it appear to your lordſhip that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

I never heard or obſerved them to make any complaints, but ſeemed to be ſatisfied in all reſpects.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

In general perfectly ſatisfied, and in my opinion with great reaſon; for I can remember, when I was a midſhipman, that I envied their condition, and often wiſhed to be in the ſame ſituation.

Do you conceive the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

In my opinion not, as it muſt be attended with immenſe expence, as well as the loſs of a greater number of lives, from the fatal effects of that climate upon the conſtitution of Europeans.

Does your lordſhip conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India trade as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

One of the principal ſources, I do.

Are not the French ſhips employed in this trade remarkable fine veſſels, and well manned?

No, I do not think they are remarkable fine veſſels; they are veſſels of about 300 or 400 tons, and manned pretty much in the ſame manner as our ſhips are manned, but it is 27 or 28 years ago ſince I was in that part of the world.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

The Honourable SAMUEL BARRINGTON, Admiral of the Blue, called in and examined.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in thoſe Iſlands where you have commanded?

Always the greateſt humanity.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

They appeared to be ſo.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

No, by no means.

Did the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

They ſeemed to be perfectly ſo; and ſo much ſo, that when I have been very miſerable myſelf, I have ſeen them ſo happy that I wiſhed myſelf a Negro.—This is the evidence I gave before the Committee of Privy Council; but, as I have underſtood that it occaſioned ſome of the Members of the Houſe to be jocular, I think it neceſſary now, as they certainly did not underſtand me, to explain myſelf a little further on this occaſion:—When I commanded in chief in the Weſt Indies, I was four months before I had an opportunity of revenging the inſults of France againſt my country—it was during this period that I wiſhed to change ſituations with the Negro; but when I had my full revenge, I never wiſhed myſelf a Negro afterwards.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

No.

Do

Do you conſider the ſhips employed in the French Weſt India trade as one of the principal ſources of the naval power of France?

Certainly.

Are not the French Weſt India ſhips remarkable fine veſſels, and well manned?

They are. They have many more hands than our ſhips have; I ſhould ſuppoſe near double the number.

Are they as fine ſhips as thoſe employed in the Britiſh Weſt India trade?

They certainly are as large, or larger.

Have not the French increaſed their Weſt India trade of late years?

I ſhould conceive they have.

Have they not increaſed the number of their Weſt India ſhips?

I ſhould think ſo.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India trade a conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

No doubt.

Whether in your judgment it is not important to keep up and encourage the Slave Trade?

By all means.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the Weſt India trade, and conſequently to leſſen the numbers of ſhips and ſeamen?

No doubt.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

When you were in the Weſt Indies, had you not frequent opportunities of being on ſhore?

I was three months without taking my anchor up at Barbadoes, during the laſt war, and was on ſhore every day.

Had

Had you not continual opportunities of obſerving the ſituation of the Negeoes, and the conduct of their maſters?
I had.

Did you ever obſerve or know of any acts of cruelty committed by owners of Negroes upon the Slaves, by their maſters?
No; and the only puniſhment I ever ſaw during thoſe three months, was upon a Negro woman by her huſband: I aſked him how he could be ſuch a cruel raſcal as to whip the woman in that manner; his anſwer was, "Maſter, ſhe is my wife, and has "been whoring all night."

Had you an opportunity of ſeeing the habitations of the Slaves in Barbadoes; and were they comfortably lodged in your opinion?
More ſo, and much cleaner, than the labouring people of Ireland.

Can you form any comparative judgment between the condition of Slaves in general, in the Weſt Indies, and the labouring poor of Ireland, and many parts of Great Britain; and what is the reſult of that judgment?
The Slaves appeared to be much happier.

Do you think that it would be impoſſible to keep up the ſtock of Negroes by population only, without importation from Africa, if proper regulations and improvements were adopted with that view?
I cannot anſwer that queſtion, I am no judge; but I have heard that ſome very few plantations may keep up their ſtock of Negroes.

Have you not alſo heard, from perſons of whoſe veracity and local knowledge you have entertained a good opinion, that means might be adopted which would prevent a neceſſity of future importations?
No, I cannot ſay that I ever have had any converſation upon the ſubject. I have heard Commiſſioner Martin ſay, that on his eſtate they have been able to keep up the ſtock of Negroes without importation.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT, Eſquire, Vice Admiral of the Red, called in and examined.

Have you ever been in the Weſt Indies?
Yes.

Have you ever commanded upon that ſtation?
Yes.

Have you ever had an opportunity of obſerving the behaviour of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in thoſe Iſlands where you have commanded; and what have you obſerved?
I have been very frequently in many of the plantations, both at St. Chriſtopher's and Jamaica, but principally at Jamaica, and I have never obſerved the ſmalleſt cruelty uſed towards the Slaves; I have often ſeen them puniſhed, but not to any degree of inhumanity or cruelty, or wantonly.

Is the puniſhment more ſevere, or ſo ſevere, as that inflicted on the Britiſh ſoldier or ſailor?
By no means, that ever I ſaw.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?
They are cloathed according to the heat of the climate; they are fed with the utmoſt care, having ground allotted them for that purpoſe, which is the firſt principle adopted on a young plantation, beſides other proviſions, when they can be purchaſed from America, and conſtantly from England, ſuch as herrings and other fiſh.

Are their lodgings ſuitable to the climate; and are they in general, in point of accommodation, inferior to the habitations of the labouring poor in England or Ireland?
I do not think they are at all inferior to thoſe in Ireland, but much better.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?
Certainly not.

Is the general work of the Negroes equal to the labour of the ſeamen in loading or unloading of ſhips in Weſt India harbours?

As

As I have never been in a merchantman I cannot ſay what that labour is; but it is by no means equal to the labour of ſeamen in a man of war in heaving down or clearing.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

Very far from being in a deſponding ſtate; ſo far from it, I believe they enjoy as joyous moments as any of us; I have been very happy amongſt them.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

There are, as near as I can calculate, in the Iſland of Jamaica 16,000 Whites, and upwards of 200,000 Blacks; therefore it is not poſſible for this country to ſupply 200,000 in the room of thoſe Blacks; but, with reſpect to the queſtion, I ſay no, it is impoſſible. In the year 1730 I was a midſhipman in a forty-gun ſhip, which carried two regiments over to Jamaica; the colonel died in a fortnight after he got to Jamaica; the greateſt part of the officers, and three-fourths of the regiment, died in little more than a twelvemonth.

Do you conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India trade one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

No; but it is of very great conſequence to them.

Are not French Weſt India ſhips fine veſſels, and well manned?

I do not know; I have not been in any of their ports, therefore cannot anſwer that queſtion.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India Trade a nurſery of ſeamen?

I ſhould think it is.

Whether, in your opinion, it is not important to keep up and encourage that trade?

Moſt unqueſtionably.

Will not the abolition of the Slave Trade tend to reduce the Weſt India Trade, and leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen?

Aſſuredly yes.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Upon what grounds do you form that opinion?

If there are ſhips employed in any trade, and thoſe ſeamen do not all die, by the climate being inimical to the health of the crew, certainly thoſe that return will be uſeful to the country; the ſeamen from the ſhips from the coaſt of Guinea in the laſt war were of great uſe towards manning our fleet.

At what period of the war did His Majeſty's ſhips receive this ſupply from the Guinea-men?

I do not know at what period of the war; I was not at the Windward Iſlands, where the ſhips received great recruits from the coaſt of Africa.

What is the inſtrument commonly uſed in the correction of the Slaves in the Weſt Indies?

A cow ſkin.

Is it a more or leſs ſevere inſtrument than that uſed in the correction of ſoldiers or ſailors?

I have anſwered, I have ſeen ſoldiers and ſailors more ſeverely whipt than the Slaves.

Do you think it would be poſſible to keep up the ſtock of Negroes by propagation without importations, if proper regulations and improvements were to be adopted with that view?

I really do not know; I do not think it poſſible that better regulations or improvements could be made. Our labourers in the field earn their bread with much more difficulty than the Negroes do.

Do you think the Negroes are better or worſe treated than when you firſt knew the Weſt Indies?

Beyond compariſon better: in Jamaica much improved ſince I firſt knew it, which was as long ago as in the year 1763.

In what particulars do you think that improvement has chiefly taken place?

The Slaves are more humanely treated than they were, and in general appear to me to be comfortable.

Do you think their cloathing, their lodging, and food, are better than they were formerly?

I think their cloathing is very well adapted to the climate; they want for nothing that I could perceive, and ſeemed to be ſatisfied; and every plantation wherever I have been at, that had 150 Negroes, had a ſurgeon.

In which of the Iſlands were you chiefly during the laſt war?

I was not in the Weſt Indies during the laſt war.

In what year was you in the Weſt Indies?

In 1763.

On what grounds do you think the Slaves are better treated now than they were formerly?

I only confine myſelf to the year 1763.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

RICHARD EDWARDS, Eſquire, Vice Admiral of the White, called in, and examined.

Have you ever ſerved in the Weſt Indies, in what Iſlands, and in what year?

I have ſerved in the Weſt Indies in the years 1731, in 1753, and in 1760 to 1761.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in thoſe Iſlands where you have ſerved?

I have not been a reſident in the Iſlands. I do not know any thing very particular.

What is the general treatment, as far as you have obſerved, of maſters towards their Slaves; is it cruel or humane?

I do not recollect any particular cruelties; and have, in particular eſtates, obſerved a ſhare of humanity in maſters and miſtreſſes towards their Negroes.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

I never heard of any complaint of their proviſions; and as to

their cloathing, I have moſtly obſerved them naked, except in particular inſtances.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

I never knew of any inſtances, nor ever heard of any complaints, to the beſt of my recollection.

Do you conceive the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

By no means.

Have you ever been on the coaſt of Africa?

I have.

Have you had an opportunity of obſerving the treatment of ſeamen on board an African ſhip?

When I was there in the annual ſhip, I received a few complaints from the men, of want of proviſions, and other caſual complaints, which I redreſſed.

Are they as well treated as they uſually are in other trades?

Upon my word I ſhould think ſo; I never was any where, but complaints have been made by the men againſt their maſters, and the maſters againſt the men.

Do you conceive, if the Slave Trade were to be aboliſhed, the French and Dutch would engroſs the whole trade of the Gold Coaſt?

I believe they would.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you think the Negro Slaves in the Weſt Indies are now better or worſe treated than they were formerly?

It is a long time ſince the firſt time I was there; but I ſhould think they are certainly treated better.

Whence do you think that moſt of the Slaves come who are ſold on the Gold Coaſt, and from what ſources ſupplied?

Certainly from the Along Shore Coaſt, from the different forts, and from the boats that are ſent from the ſhips to trade; the boats go often for a week, or longer, with goods trading from the ſhips.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe Great Britain were to aboliſh the Trade in Slaves to the coaſt of Africa, do you think the number ſold to other European nations would be much diminiſhed?

No, much increaſed; and I believe you would be obliged to buy them of them.

Did you ever know or hear of an inſtance of a Slave, after he had been brought from the coaſt of Africa to the plantations, expreſs a wiſh or deſire to return to his own country again?

I never did.

Do you apprehend that the Trade in Slaves from the coaſt of Africa to the Weſt India Iſlands, combined with the commerce of the Weſt India Iſlands with the mother country, is of any conſiderable conſequence towards manning the navy of Great Britain in time of war?

As much as any that I know.

If either of thoſe ſpecies of commerce were to be aboliſhed, or to receive any check, would it not conſequently produce a manifeſt injury to the navy?

I think no good to it.

Suppoſing that the African Trade with the Weſt India Iſlands were to be aboliſhed by act of parliament, from your knowledge of the different Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, do you apprehend that the ſmuggling of new Negroes into thoſe Iſlands could be eaſily prevented by this country?

No more than the aboliſhing ſmuggling any where elſe.

Is it a cuſtomary thing in the Weſt India Iſlands for the Slaves to furniſh His Majeſty's ſhips of war with any articles of live ſtock, vegetables, and fruits, and other ground proviſions?

Certainly, in all the Iſlands; for they have bum-boats the ſame as we have at Spithead, and elſewhere.

Does that traffic amount to any conſiderable ſum?

I cannot ſay I am a judge of that.

Are you of opinion that the African Trade by itſelf is of conſiderable conſequence to the manning His Majeſty's navy?

It is of conſequence to the manning His Majeſty's navy.

Do you recollect ever to have held any converſations reſpecting the inclinations of Negroes to return to their native country?

I could have no converſation with any body relating to it, becauſe I never knew any of their inclinations for it.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

WILLIAM HOTHAM, Eſquire, Rear Admiral of the Red, called in, and examined.

Are you acquainted with the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands?
Yes.

How long have you known them?
Ever ſince I was a boy, and firſt went to ſea.

Have you had any opportunity of obſerving the behaviour of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in the ſeveral Iſlands where you have been; and what is that behaviour?

I have had opportunities of obſerving, and I never found it otherwiſe than very proper behaviour.

Was the treatment of Slaves in general mild and humane?
Very much ſo, as far as I have ſeen.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

As far as came under my obſervation, they did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required from the Negroes than they could properly bear?
No, never.

Did the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate; or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

They always appeared very well ſatisfied with their condition, and never appeared in a deſponding ſtate; they were always very cheerful.

Do you conceive the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I ſhould judge it impoſſible; I think their conſtitution would not bear it.

Do

Do you conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India trade as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

I ſhould think it was.

Is it not a great nurſery for French ſeamen?

I ſhould judge ſo.

Are not the French Weſt India ſhips remarkably fine veſſels, and well manned?

They are fine ſhips, but I cannot ſay how they are manned.

Are they as large, or larger, than the Britiſh Weſt India ſhips?

In general larger.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India trade a conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

Yes, I ſhould think it is.

Is not the African Trade alſo a nurſery for ſeamen?

Yes, I ſhould judge ſo, certainly.

Are not thoſe two trades advantageous in ſupplying the ſhips of war with ſeamen during a war?

I ſhould judge ſo.

Is it not, in your judgment, important to keep up thoſe trades?

I ſhould think ſo, without a doubt.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the Weſt India trade, and leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen?

I ſhould think it certainly would.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

In what manner do you conceive the abolition of the Slave Trade would produce this effect?

By leſſening the demand for ſhips and ſeamen.

When you was in the Weſt Indies had you frequent opportunities of being on ſhore?

Yes.

Had you frequent opportunities of obſerving the ſituation and condition of the Slaves?

Yes.

And of the behaviour of their maſters to them?

Yes; I was on ſhore for ſix weeks or two months on Sir William Codrington's eſtate, by which I had the opportuni y of obſerving the manner of the treatment of Slaves, having been ſent down there with a veſſel we had ſeized.

When you were on that eſtate had you daily opportunities of making thoſe obſervations?

Yes.

Did you ever reſide on any other eſtate; and if you did, for what time?

I have occaſionally been at a great many, but ſeldom longer than on a viſit for a few days.

Did you make any obſervations on the treatment of Slaves on thoſe other eſtates, and what?

I obſerved in general they were very well treated on all the eſtates where I was; I obſerved no particular ſeverity uſed: I have been in the Weſt Indies five or ſix years at different times, and do not recollect ever having ſeen more than three or four puniſhments.

Do you think, from the ſcope of your knowledge and information, as to the general behaviour of planters in the Weſt India Iſlands towards their Slaves, they may be juſtly accuſed of cruelty, wanton ſeverity, or any ſpecies of inhumanity to them?

Very far from it.

Is there, or is there not, a conſiderable traffic carried on between the Slaves in the different Iſlands and His Majeſty's fleets and ſhips of war when there, in ſupplying them with various articles of proviſion, and fruits of the country?

A very conſiderable traffic of that ſort is carried on.

And is not the money acquired by the Slaves in that traffic generally ſuppoſed and acknowledged to be their own?

The

The traffic which I have ſeen carried on has been more with the ſhip's proviſions than with money, which has been given in exchange for the commodities received.

Do you not apprehend that the proviſions ſo exchanged were for the perſonal account and profit of the Slave?
Certainly; I never had any other idea.

Suppoſing the African Slave Trade with the Weſt India Iſlands to be aboliſhed by parliament, what number of ſhips or veſſels of war do you apprehend it would require to be ſtationed round thoſe Iſlands, to prevent the ſmuggling of new Slaves into them?
It is impoſſible for me to judge of the number of ſhips; but I ſhould think it almoſt impoſſible to prevent the ſmuggling of them.

Were the regulations which were made to prevent the introduction of American proviſions into the Weſt India Iſlands, found ineffectual?
I cannot ſpeak to that, not having been there ſince that time.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Captain ROBERT LAMBERT called in, and examined.

Have you ever ſerved or reſided in the Weſt India Iſlands?
Yes.

How long?
At different times, eight or nine years.

In what particular Iſlands?
I have been in the Windward, but particularly at Jamaica.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Slaves, in the Iſlands where you have been?
I never obſerved any ill uſage; on the contrary, I thought the Slaves in general appeared happy and comfortable.

In what capacity were you in the Weſt Indies?
In the firſt part of the time that I was in the Weſt Indies I commanded a King's ſhip, and the latter part I was commiſſioner at Port Royal.

Did

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

I did not ſee any thing to the contrary.

Did it appear to you, that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

Certainly not; for I always ſaw them chearful after coming from their work.

Do the Negroes appear in a deſponding ſtate, or are they, in general, ſatisfied with their condition?

I think in this country I ſee more deſponding people than I ever ſaw among the Negroes.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I am ſure they could not.

Do you conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India Trade, as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

I ſhould think ſo, from the number of ſhips they have, and the number of men they carry.

Are not the French Weſt India ſhips fine veſſels, large, and well manned?

Extremely ſo.

Do you know whether the French have not increaſed their Weſt India trade of late years?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India trade a conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

Undoubtedly it is.

Has it not been found advantageous in ſupplying men to man His Majeſty's ſhips in time of war?

I had never any other means of recruiting my ſhip but from Weſt Indiamen.

Whether in your judgment, it is not highly important to keep up and encourage the Weſt India trade?

I ſhould imagine ſo, both for manning of our fleets, and the protection of the Iſlands.

Whether

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade would not tend to reduce the Weſt India trade, and to leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen?

Undoubtedly it would.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Suppoſing an act to have paſſed for the abolition of the Slave Trade, do you think it poſſible that ſhips of war of this country could prevent the running of new Slaves into Jamaica, or any of the other Iſlands?

Certainly not.

When did you leave Jamaica?

I think in 1784.

Are you ſufficiently acquainted with the treatment of Negroes, and the cultivation of Weſt India eſtates, to ſay that the population cannot be kept up without continuing the importation of African Slaves?

I can only anſwer from hearſay, that it cannot; having a number of Slaves under my direction belonging to the King, I was obliged to have thoſe repleniſhed, to carry on the conſtant work.

Were thoſe Slaves men only; or, if there were women among them, what was the proportion?

They were moſtly men; they had all wives, but they did not belong to the King, nor the children.

Have you known the navy to receive ſupplies of ſeamen from the African ſhips in the Weſt Indies?

I have known numbers of men come from Guinea-men, in greater proportion than from other ſhips, becauſe they carry a greater number.

Do you know of any conſiderable number of plantations which have been able to ſupport their reſpective ſtocks of Slaves, without purchaſing recruits?

I do not.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel having propoſed to examine

Commodore ALAN GARDNER, a Member preſent;

And the ſaid Member having conſented thereto;

He was aſked,

In what Iſlands have you ſerved or reſided?
I have ſerved principally at Jamaica, but have alſo ſerved in all the Iſlands.

Have you ever commanded in the Iſland of Jamaica?
Yes.

When did you return from that Iſland?
I arrived at Spithead the 28th of Auguſt laſt.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Slaves in the Iſlands where you have been?
I cannot point out any impropriety of behaviour in particular of the planters towards their Slaves; there are good and bad maſters in all countries, and that may be the caſe in Jamaica.

Is the treatment in general humane and mild?
I believe ſo.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?
I believe upon all eſtates they have a certain proportion of victuals allotted to all the Slaves, and I believe a ſufficiency to enable them to go through their work; in regard to cloathing, there is very little neceſſary in tropical climates; but I believe it is a general practice to allow a certain proportion of cloaths to every Negro on the eſtate, and this I always underſtood is diſtributed once or twice a year. In regard to lodging, huts are provided on every eſtate for the Negroes; and in regard to the comfort of their huts, it depends more or leſs on themſelves to make them ſo.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?
From the obſervations that I have made, no; I am convinced that one labouring man in England performs twice the work of any Negro in the Weſt Indies.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

I am of opinion that they are by no means in a deſponding ſtate; there are people among them that are conſtitutionally of a melancholy turn, which is the caſe very often in this country. In general I believe they are perfectly ſatisfied with their condition; I judge ſo from their chearfulneſs out of work-time, and their readineſs to engage in any diverſions that are going forward.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I firmly believe not. I have known Jamaica twenty-four years; the laſt three years that I was there I was in the chief command of the King's ſhips, and I reſided upon a penn, which is allotted by the Iſland for the reſidence of the admiral; it contains about eighty acres, the cultivation of which I attended to; and during the hurricane months I employed ſome people who had been accuſtomed to the labour of farming, from the ſhips, to plant about twelve acres of corn, and I alſo employed them in mowing and hay-making; notwithſtanding theſe people only worked very early in the morning, and in the cool of the evening, yet I found they were unable to go through this buſineſs, although I gave them an extra allowance of proviſions as well as grog; and I was induced to ſend them back to the ſhip, and to employ Negroes to perform this buſineſs, which I would not have done, if my feelings would have allowed me to employ thoſe other people: from this circumſtance, and from the obſervations that I have made of book-keepers, whoſe buſineſs it is to attend to the working Negroes in the field, I am ſatisfied in my own mind that Europeans cannot ſtand that climate; I have ſeen many inſtances of book-keepers ſtanding with umbrellas over their heads while they were attending the Negroes.

Do you conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India Trade as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

I really think it cannot be doubted.

Are they not in general fine large veſſels, and well manned?

In general conſiderably larger than our own, and always more fully manned.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India trade a conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

Certainly.

Is

Is it not extremely advantageous for ſupplying ſhips with ſeamen in time of actual war?

Certainly.

Is it not, in your judgment, highly important to keep up and encourage that trade?

To be ſure, ſo long as the Iſlands are thought worth keeping.

Whether the abolition of the Slave Trade will not tend to reduce the Weſt India Trade, and leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen therein?

I conſider if the trade is aboliſhed there is an end of the Colonies; the Negroes are the very ſinews of the planter.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Do you think it impoſſible for the ſtock of Slaves to be kept up without the importation of Negroes from Africa?

I do.

What are the grounds of that opinion?

The diſproportion of females to the males, and from the females cohabiting promiſcuouſly, and from the diſeaſes which they bring with them from the Coaſt of Guinea, and contract by living together in this promiſcuous manner.

What do you apprehend to be the diſproportion of the ſexes in the Iſland of Jamaica?

I do not ſpeak from any knowledge that I have, but I ſhould ſuppoſe three males to two females; upon my obſervation on the eſtates upon which I have been, there always appeared a greater proportion of males than females.

Do you think the Slaves are better or worſe treated now than they were formerly?

I am confident, when I ſay they are much better treated now than they were when I firſt knew the Iſland, and that the burthen of the Negro is every day growing lighter.

In what particulars has this change for the better chiefly taken place?

I believe they are both better fed, cloathed, and attended to, than they were formerly.

Can

Can you give any information reſpecting the treatment of ſailors on board Guinea ſhips?

I never was board a Guinea ſhip but once in my life, therefore cannot ſpeak to their treatment on board thoſe ſhips.

Do you know of any conſiderable number of plantations that have been able to ſupport their reſpective ſtocks of Slaves without purchaſing recruits?

I believe there are very few, if any.

Have you made that an object of your enquiry?

No.

Have you reſided much on ſhore at Jamaica?

I reſided chiefly on ſhore, except ſix or ſeven weeks, during three years.

Had many eſtates kept up their number without importations, would you have had opportunities of hearing or knowing it?

I am of opinion I ſhould have heard it remarked. On the arrival of a cargo the planters are all anxious to purchaſe it, and many of them involve themſelves in debt by ſo doing.

Do they not conſider the purchaſe of Negroes as abſolutely neceſſary to the cultivation of the eſtates?

They can purchaſe them for no other reaſon I believe.

Are not the ſettlements of eſtates very much encreaſed ſince your firſt knowledge of the Iſland?

As a proof of it, there are upwards of 50,000 more Negroes in the Iſland of Jamaica than when I firſt was acquainted with it.

Do the Negroes on the different plantations you have known ſeem pleaſed when new Negroes are purchaſed?

I do not recollect I ever was preſent on a plantation when new Negroes were brought into it.

Have you heard in converſation in the Weſt Indies any inſtances mentioned of ſtocks of Slaves which have been kept up without importations; and if any, what were thoſe inſtances?

I believe I have heard in converſation, there may be eight or ten eſtates in the Iſland which have kept up their ſtock without buying imported Negroes.

And then the Counſel were directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 24° *die Martii* 1790.

Counſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

The Right Honourable Lord MACARTNEY, Knight of the moſt Honourable Order of the Bath.

How long has your lordſhip known or been reſident in any, and which of the Weſt India Iſlands?

I was upwards of three years in the Weſt India Iſlands as governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, from May 1776 to July 1779.

What has your lordſhip obſerved of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards the Negro Slaves in thoſe Iſlands where you have commanded?

It depends a good deal on the temper of the maſter; but the intereſt of the maſter is ſo connected with the well-being of the Slave, that the behaviour of the maſter is in a great meaſure regulated by that conſideration.

Is it in general mild and humane?

I think in general it is; I have heard of ſome bad examples, but very few, but none of them have come within my own particular knowledge. A bad maſter is always exceedingly deſpiſed by his fellow planters.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

I think they did; the intereſt of the maſter is ſo connected, and the exertion of the Slaves depend ſo much on thoſe circumſtances, that great attention is always paid to them.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

I think not: there are particular parts of the cultivation which require more labour than others; but upon the whole I think that a labouring man in England, who gets his bread by the ſweat of his brow, works to the full as much as the Negro.

Do

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

That depends I believe upon the countries they come from: Negroes are brought from an extent of coaſt of about forty degrees of latitude; in ſome of the countries they come from I have underſtood they were Slaves before they were exported, in others the government is different; ſome of the Negroes, as Coromantes for inſtance, living I believe under a leſs deſpotic government than others, are high ſpirited, and not very ſubmiſſive to their condition. There is one nation of Negroes which I have been informed are prone to ſuicide in their own country, and have conſequently given the examples of the ſame diſpoſition when brought to our Iſlands.

Do the Slaves, upon the whole, appear in general ſatisfied?

I believe a great number of them, after having been ſome little time in our Iſlands, would not go back if they had it in their power.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I think that no man who has been a twelvemonth in the Weſt Indies through all the ſeaſons can poſſibly think ſo; it is not without great care and attention that an European can preſerve his health in that country without labour.

Do you think that the preſent ſtock of Negroes in the plantations in the above-mentioned Iſlands could be kept up without freſh importations of Slaves from Africa?

Never having had any plantation or eſtate in the Weſt Indies myſelf, and being therefore imperfectly acquainted with the œconomy of a plantation, I cannot well anſwer that queſtion.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Is the generality of proprietors of eſtates in the Iſland of Grenada reſident on their own property?

I do not know the ſtate of the reſidents at preſent; but in the time of my government there were a great many gentlemen of very large eſtates then reſided there; there were, however, many proprietors of great eſtates alſo abſent; but unleſs I were to take a great deal of time to recollect and calculate, I could not aſcertain the

the proportion, for I loſt all my papers when the Iſland was taken.

Did your lordſhip ever hear a compariſon in point of expence between going on the ſyſtem of keeping up the ſtock of Negroes by breeding, and that of buying imported Africans; and which was eſteemed the cheapeſt plan?

I recollect having heard it mentioned, that one gentleman in the Iſland of Grenada had made that calculation; and that he was of opinion it was more for his intereſt to work his Slaves out in a few years, and ſupplying their places by freſh purchaſes, than to work them moderately like his neighbours; but I was not ſufficiently acquainted with him, or his affairs, to know whether he reduced his opinion to practice; but poſſibly he did. He was not an Engliſhman, he was a new ſubject, and was very little reſpected in the colony.

What, during your lordſhip's reſidence, was generally underſtood to be the legal protection enjoyed by the Slave againſt ill uſage on the part of his maſter, or any other White perſon?

With reſpect to the remedy of a Slave againſt his maſter, I do not recollect whether the laws of the Iſland have provided any effectual one. With reſpect to a particular fact of a remedy from a Black perſon againſt a White one, I know that a little time before my arrival in the colony, a White man was executed for the murder of a Black woman. I beg leave to add, that, in general, I believe the Slaves are not ill uſed by their maſters, it being ſo contrary to the intereſt of the latter.

How many White perſons are commonly reſident on a plantation?

That will certainly depend on the number of Negroes, and extent of the plantation. There ought to be, and uſually are, upon any conſiderable plantation, a manager, an under manager, and a doctor, but on many eſtates there are more.

What was the legal protection enjoyed by the free Negroes?

I do not recollect any particular inſtance of the kind; but I ſhould conceive that a free Negro might in ſuch caſe obtain redreſs in the uſual manner, by applying to a magiſtrate. I do not ſpeak with any poſitive certainty on this ſubject.

Does not your lordſhip think, that if a White perſon ſhould wiſh to commit an act of violence on a Slave or a free Negro, he

might find an opportunity, when all the Whites ſhould be out of the way, of executing his purpoſe, without fear of being brought to legal conviction for it?

Juſt in the ſame manner as he might againſt a White perſon, if all the other Whites were out of the way: conviction will depend upon a jury if it was brought to trial.

Is the teſtimony of Slaves, or free Negroes, admitted in courts of juſtice in the conviction of White perſons?

I do not recollect any inſtance of Negro evidence being admitted.

If your lordſhip were to form a comparative judgment in the aggregate of the actual condition of the Slave in Grenada and that of the peaſant in this country, which of the two claſſes of men ſhould your lordſhip think enjoys the greater portion of the neceſſaries and comforts of life?

Excluſive of liberty, which is a ſentiment which every Engliſhman feels, which few Negroes feel in the ſame extent, I conceive the condition of a Negro to be very comfortable, for in general he is well fed, well cloathed, taken care of when he is ſick, every thing provided for him, there is no apprehenſion of creditors, and upon the whole the circumſtances in his condition, excluſive of the idea of his being a Slave, render his ſituation perhaps as comfortable as that of a peaſant in this country.

What proportion did the Whites in Grenada and the Grenadines bear to the Negroes in thoſe Iſlands during your lordſhip's government?

Having loſt all my papers when the Iſland was taken, I cannot ſpeak with preciſion; but to the beſt of my recollection the Whites were 1,400, and the Negroes 33,000.

Whether the Negroes in general do not look forward to a ſtate of freedom with ſome anxiety or deſire?

Not having had any plantation, or a conſiderable number of Negroes myſelf, I cannot give a preciſe anſwer to that queſtion; but my own Negroes in my family were ſo happy, that I believe they never had a wiſh to be free, at leaſt none of them ever ſignified a wiſh to me on the Iſland: when I came to England I made thoſe free immediately on my arrival, and they returned back as free Negroes to Grenada.

Does your lordſhip ſpeak of domeſtic Slaves only?
I do; for I had no others.

Is it not generally apprehended, that field Negroes are deſirous of obtaining their freedom?
I dare ſay many field Negroes do wiſh to be free, but I do not know what would become of them if they were; and I am diſpoſed to imagine, that many of them, after having been made free, would wiſh to return to their former condition.

Does it conſiſt with your lordſhip's knowledge or recollection, that the promiſe of freedom is, in certain caſes, held out to Negroes, either by the legiſlature or by their maſters, either as a reward or a temptation?
In the clauſes of ſome of the acts it certainly is; but no Negro can be made free without a conſiderable expence to his maſter, I believe even to the amount of £.100 currency in the iſland of Grenada.

Do you or do you not apprehend that the protection of their maſters is the beſt ſecurity which the Negroes enjoy from any ill treatment to which they might be expoſed from other perſons?
I do not know whether it is the beſt; it is one undoubtedly; it may be the beſt.

As it is an acknowledged fact, that on plantations in general a large number of Negroes are under the abſolute rule of a very few White perſons, and that Negro evidence is not in any caſe taken, does not your lordſhip imagine that if a White man in ſuch a ſituation be diſpoſed to ill-treat Negroes, numberleſs opportunities may occur in which he may gratify that diſpoſition, without any fear of legal puniſhment?
I ſaid that I did not remember any Negro evidence ever being admitted at Grenada, but I do not know that caſes may not happen where Negro evidence may be admitted: I did hear, that in the Iſland of Tobago, on the trial of Mr. Franklin, attempts were made to introduce Negro evidence, but it was not received; I ſpeak only from hearſay.

Does your lordſhip think that the lands in Grenada would have been purchaſed by Britiſh ſubjects, and great capitals expended upon them, if the purchaſers had not depended on the faith of parliament for the protection and cultivation of thoſe eſtates?

I cannot ſay what operated in the minds of the purchaſers, but I ſuppoſe they expected their profits to ariſe from the ſame mode of cultivation as had been practiſed before.

Does your lordſhip know whether great ſums of money have been borrowed from foreigners by the proprietors of lands in Grenada?
I have underſtood ſo.

Does your lordſhip know whether thoſe ſums were not borrowed under the ſanction and faith of parliament?
I believe there was an act of parliament paſſed for that purpoſe.

Will that faith be obſerved to foreigners if the abolition of the Slave Trade takes place, and thereby the cultivation of thoſe Iſlands be impeded?
I ſhould ſuppoſe, in caſe thoſe eſtates became of no value from the want of cultivation, ſome other proviſion would be made to indemnify the creditors; that muſt depend on the legiſlature.

Does your lordſhip mean to give it as your opinion that the abolition of the Slave Trade muſt neceſſarily make thoſe eſtates become of no value?
I wiſh to avoid giving an opinion upon that ſubject.

Is it your lordſhip's opinion that the Slaves were better treated and happier when the Iſland of Grenada was under the French government, than after it became part of the Britiſh empire?
I have heard inſtances of ill treatment under the French government, more ſevere than after it fell under the Engliſh government; but I do not ſpeak of theſe as facts known to myſelf.

Did it fall within your lordſhip's obſervation, that when the proprietor of Slaves at any time became diſtreſſed or embarraſſed in his circumſtances, his Slaves ſuffered from ſuch embarraſſment, by the diminution of their ſubſiſtence, or by more labour being impoſed on them?
I think it very poſſible, but do not know it from my own obſervation, not having any eſtate of my own, I lived commonly in town; but I believe they may have ſuffered juſt as ſervants do here by the diſtreſs of their maſter.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Sir

Sir JOHN DALLING, Baronet, called in, and examined.

Have you ever reſided in the Weſt Indies; and in what Iſland?
I reſided in Jamaica.

Was you in any public capacity in that Iſland?
I was there both as a ſoldier and governor.

How long did you reſide in that Iſland; and when did you laſt leave it?
Off and on, I was there from the taking of the Havannah; and governor and lieutenant-governor till the year 1781.

What did you obſerve of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards the Negro Slaves in that Iſland?
Great attention in general paid to them; the more harſh maſter is conſidered as the Slave who has been made free himſelf; and give but a Slave authority, and he becomes a tyrant himſelf.

Is their treatment in general mild and humane?
I think in general it is ſo; particularly to the cultivating Negroes.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?
Well fed;—unfavourable ſeaſons, and other accidents intervening, a ſcarcity now and then muſt enſue; in thoſe caſes the planter, from humanity as well as for his own intereſt, ſeeks proviſions at any expence wherever they are to be found; with reſpect to their clothing it is well adapted to the climate, as is their lodging.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?
The general work of Negroes is not to be deemed labour, according to the acceptation of the word here: a well-regulated plantation is not an unpleaſant object either to the eye or the mind.

How are the Negroes taken care of in ſickneſs, and in old age, or when from any infirmity they are incapable of labour?
Great attention is paid to them in ſickneſs, and in their old age only put to ſuch ſlight works as they are capable of.

Do

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

I believe that the deſponding Negro is a being in general who from refractorineſs or from diſinclination does not chuſe to work; among ſuch numbers there muſt be many of ungovernable tempers, as there are amongſt us; as a ſoldier I can ſay, that our diſguſting puniſhments are generally divided among twenty or thirty in a regiment from five to ſeven hundred men; a well-minded Negro looks forward to ſomething better than his preſent ſtate.

Do the Negroes in general appear ſatisfied?

A ſtrong argument that they are ſo is, that from the public conduct of this country, which has been doubtleſs exaggerated to them through a variety of channels, they would have been incited to deſolation and murder long before this period.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

In the great Iſland of Jamaica, among the higher mountains, an European may poſſibly produce wherewithal for his own little conſumption, but neither among the mountains nor upon the plains any of the ſtaple commodities any where; Great Britain would not be able to bear the conſumption of men; the young people who are ſent out there for what they call book-keepers can ſcarcely be kept alive without work; in the common overſeeing of Negroes in the field, which is their duty, umbrellas were uſed when I was in the country, and are found to be abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation from the effects of the ſun, as well as to cover them from rain; if neceſſary therefore without work, how much more ſo with it, and of courſe a Negro or a White perſon muſt be obliged to hold ſuch a covering for them.

Can the preſent ſtock of Negroes in the Iſland be kept up without annual importation of Slaves from Africa?

I am certain it cannot.

If the means of obtaining an annual ſupply of Negroes be taken away by the abolition of the Slave Trade, will not the preſent produce of Weſt India eſtates be thereby reduced; and will it not entirely prevent the extenſion of agriculture in the Iſland of Jamaica?

By degrees it would be the ruin of every proprietor, and produce beggary to his deſcendants; and by degrees alſo, I am afraid, commercially ſpeaking, bankruptcy, in this country.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Did you ever eſtimate the annual decreaſe of a given ſtock of Negroes, ſuppoſing it not to be recruited by the purchaſe of imported Negroes?

I cannot ſay poſitively, but it almoſt always depends on ſituation; the Negroes imported bring many diſorders with them; excluſive of ſuch, in happy ſituations, the conſumption is trifling; but as there are many unwholeſome ones, there it becomes great.

Are the diſorders which the imported Negroes bring along with them commonly infectious?

Some are, ſuch as the yaws and fluxes.

On what grounds do you think the ſtock of Negroes could not be kept up by breeding, if proper regulations and expedients were adopted, and ſteadily perſevered in?

From their own irregularities.

Are the Negroes a race of men as capable of labour in the climate of the Weſt Indies, as the inhabitants of other countries are in climates congenial to their conſtitutions?

I believe when in health they are capable of doing all kinds of works they are called to.

What is generally underſtood to be the legal protection enjoyed by Slaves againſt ill uſage on the part of their maſter or any other White perſon?

If a man ill uſes his Slave to a degree, he is amenable to the magiſtrates; and if he wantonly deſtroys him, he is tried for his life.

Do you recollect many inſtances of White men being legally convicted and puniſhed for ill uſage of their own Slaves, or thoſe of other perſons?

I cannot ſay that I do recollect many inſtances.

Does not the chief protection of the Negroes from ill uſage by other perſons conſiſt in the intereſt their maſters have in protecting them from it?

In ſome degree to be ſure, but I hope from humanity alſo.

What is your idea of the treatment of Slaves in the Britiſh Iſlands,

Iſlands, compared with what it is in the Spaniſh and French ſettlements?

I have underſtood that the Spaniards treat their Slaves better than we do; that we treat them better than the French; and the French treat them better than the Dutch.

What is the ordinary ſituation, and what the occupations, of the free Negroes in the Iſland of Jamaica?

They follow their different occupations of different trades, ſuch as carpenters, maſons, and all kinds of trades; but, for want of regulation, they are debauched, and become a very great nuiſance; they raiſe ſtock of different kinds, and bring them to market for ſale.

What was commonly underſtood to be the proportion between male and female Slaves in the Iſland of Jamaica?

I believe there are a great many more males than females; but I underſtand of late years, the planters would rather have a greater proportion of females.

Was it generally underſtood that the ſyſtem of breeding Negroes was cheaper than that of working them out, and keeping up the gang by imported Africans?

I have never heard much about it.

Were the importations from Africa chiefly neceſſary for keeping up the cultivation at its exiſting height, or for extending the plantation, and opening new ground?

For both reaſons; and a planter who ſhould find himſelf in eaſy circumſtances I am perſuaded would, from his humanity, incline to buy more Negroes to eaſe the work of thoſe he already had.

Would a greater number of Negroes be requiſite for extending the cultivation of the Iſland on account of the unwholeſomeneſs of clearing and opening new grounds?

Without a doubt.

Can you form any idea of the comparative loſs in clearing and working theſe new grounds, and old ſettled plantations?

I cannot; but I am perſuaded it would be great in proportion.

Is the ſituation of field or domeſtic Negroes generally eſteemed the moſt deſirable?

The

The field Negro, as I have already obſerved, looks forward to ſomething better, that is, to the cultivation of his own grounds and ſtock, which not only produce the neceſſaries of life and comforts to him, but with the overplus give him what he underſtands to be the luxuries of life; yet it is my opinion, the lazy houſe Slave would not change ſituations with him.

Is the number of domeſtics commonly kept in the Weſt Indies greater than that in families of perſons of equal rank in this country?

The number may be trifling at firſt; but as none of their progeny are turned into the field, they augment greatly in a few years time.

Have any Britiſh families in that country White domeſtics?

Many carry them over, but their maſters are ſoon tired of them, and they of their maſters.

Do they commonly live to return to this country, or does the climate prove fatal to them?

More in proportion return to this country, than of thoſe whoſe duty requires them to be expoſed to the viciſſitudes of the climate.

Do the Spaniards uſe Negroes for the working of their mines?

I do not know.

Do you apprehend that Engliſh ſeamen taken on the coaſt of Spaniſh America, in the contraband trade, are ever condemned to that employ?

I have heard it has happened, but I do not know it.

Have you ever underſtood that in the Spaniſh Iſlands any regulations exiſt, by which it is put into the power of the Slave to work out his own freedom?

I do not know whether it exiſts among the plantation Slaves; I ſhould think not; but I have heard it does exiſt as to the domeſtic Slaves in the Havannah.

Do you apprehend, or have you ever heard, that the planters in Jamaica are frequently induced, by the purchaſe of new Negroes, to an unprofitable extenſion of their cultivation?

Yes, I have; but ſtill that cultivation goes on to the benefit of

the next purchaſer; many a man loſes by the extenſion, when his ſucceſſor benefits by it.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 25° die Martii 1790.

COunſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

Sir RALPH PAYNE, Knight of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Bath.

Have you ever reſided in the Weſt Indies, in what Iſland or Iſlands, for how long, and whether in any public capacity?

In the very early part of my life I paid two viſits to the Weſt Indies, but they were viſits of compliment to friends whom I had reſiding there, and made with a view likewiſe of obtaining ſome idea of the property which I was afterwards to poſſeſs; a few years afterwards, the latter end of 1771, I returned to that part of the world in a public capacity, having the honour of the office of Governor General of the Leeward Iſlands. I continued there almoſt four years, and during that period I occaſionally viſited all the principal Iſlands in my government.

When did you laſt leave thoſe Iſlands?

In June 1775.

What did you obſerve of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in the Iſlands under your government?

I never obſerved any circumſtance in the general treatment of Slaves by their maſters that deſerved cenſure or impeachment; the œconomy and management of the Slaves appeared to me to be wiſe and humane.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, cloathed, and lodged?

Moſt unqueſtionably they did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

By no means; I truſt I do not hazard a contradiction, when I aver that there is no Slave, at leaſt none that I ever ſaw, the ſeverity of whoſe labour is by any means comparable to that of a day-labourer in England; a circumſtance that may corroborate this aſſertion is, that the ſeaſon of the year when the labour of the Slaves is the ſevereſt, is in thoſe months which are called crop months; and it is notorious that there is no ſeaſon of the year or kind of labour ſo deſired by the Slaves as this; they are likewiſe infinitely healthier and better looking at that ſeaſon than at any other.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

I never ſaw or obſerved any circumſtance in their general appearance which indicated deſpondency; nothing is more common than to ſee them perform their daily labour ſinging, and with an appearance of gaiety that by no means ſuggeſts an idea of deſpondency; in regard to their general ſatisfaction with their condition, I do not believe that they have any further general diſſatisfaction with it, than the greateſt part of mankind in their reſpective ſtations; they have every appearance of comfort, their neceſſities are ſupplied, and their ſituation is either more or leſs comfortable in proportion to their own induſtry; with induſtry a Slave may arrive at a ſtate of comparative affluence; the example of the number of Negroes who purchaſe their own freedom is ſome teſtimony of this; and, if not troubleſome to the Committee, I will mention a very corroborating one of it.—Some time before I quitted the Weſt Indies, a Slave who was advanced in life deſired of me his manumiſſion, and I gave it him without heſitation, at the ſame time I thought it neceſſary to enquire of him what were his circumſtances, and what his ability to maintain himſelf after I left the Weſt Indies, and when perhaps my future repreſentatives might no longer conſider him an object of their care; he conſidered for a ſhort time, and then told me, that he believed that he was worth at leaſt between £. 500 and £. 600; his fortune conſiſted in ſome Slaves which he had of his own, ſome houſes that he had upon the Bay, and boats in which he occaſionally went a fiſhing himſelf, and let out to other people.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I conceive the project to be viſionary and impracticable, ſo indiſputably

diſputably impracticable, that I do not conceive that two opinions can exiſt upon the ſubject in minds at all acquainted with it.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

In what Iſlands in the Weſt Indies have you eſtates?
I have one eſtate in Antigua, and another in St. Chriſtopher's.

By what name is your Antigua eſtate uſually called; and did that eſtate come to you as a family eſtate, or otherwiſe?
It has paſſed for a number of years, and ſtill paſſes, by the name of Carliſle's; I inherited it from my maternal grandfather, whoſe name was Carliſle.

How many Slaves have you upon that eſtate?
Having lately paſſed two years and a half on the continent, and under the conſequent neceſſity of reſigning my Weſt India correſpondence during my abſence to other perſons in England, I really at this moment cannot anſwer this queſtion with accuracy; but the laſt returns which I received before I went abroad, amounted to above 470, and I ſhould gueſs that my number of Slaves on that eſtate at this moment cannot be far diſtant from 500.

Are thoſe Slaves all Creoles, or is there amongſt them any Negroes born in Africa?
There are none on the eſtate who were born in Africa; they are all, without exception, Creoles.

How many Slaves, as near as you can ſtate, have you upon your St. Chriſtopher eſtate?
I cannot anſwer this queſtion with preciſion, for the ſame reaſon that I this moment ſtated with reſpect to my Antigua eſtate; but I ſhould gueſs that there may be 140 or 150.

Are the Slaves upon that eſtate all Creoles, or is there amongſt them any Negroes born in Africa?
They are miſcellaneous, partly one and partly the other.

In what year did you ſucceed to the inheritance of that eſtate?
In 1771.

Since its belonging to you have you purchaſed any new Negroes, and placed them thereon?

When

When I ſucceeded to it, to the beſt of my recollection, I found upon it about 170 Negroes, or thereabouts, which number was looked upon to be not only competent for the cultivation of the eſtate, but enabled my predeceſſor occaſionally to perform what is called taſk-work; the eſtate was thought to be very liberally handed; but wiſhing that they might (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) play with their work, and that I might have the ſatiſfaction of reflecting that I had the ſame affluence of hands on my St. Chriſtopher's eſtate as I had on my Antigua one, I purchaſed between twenty and thirty more, and completed the number to that of 200.

Since your acceſſion to your Antigua eſtate, have you ever added to the gang of Negroes which you found thereon, by purchaſe or otherways of other Slaves?

Never one; it never was neceſſary, for I have many more than are neceſſary for the cultivation of the eſtate.

Have you kept up the original number found thereon by you, or added thereto by births?

The number has not only been ſupported but very conſiderably increaſed.

Did you attend minutely to the management of your eſtates during your reſidence abroad, or did you confide to the management and direction of them by other perſons?

A very ſhort experience after my arrival in my government convinced me of the impoſſibility of paying due attention to the management of my eſtates, conſiſtently with that which I owed to my government; and I found that with a divided attention, though I might poſſibly in my public adminiſtration have had the good fortune to eſcape cenſure, I could not execute it to my own ſatiſfaction; and I therefore prevailed on the gentlemen who had had the kindneſs to conduct my private affairs in my abſence, and who deſerved my unlimited confidence, to remain in their truſt in the ſame manner as if I had been abſent. I reſided on neither of my eſtates, I gave no orders in their management, though I might poſſibly at times ſuggeſt my ideas to my attornies; nor did I pay any further attention to the interior œconomy of my plantations than occaſionally riding over them when I had time and opportunity, and inſpecting the accounts, which were periodically laid before me in the ſame manner as if I was reſident in England.

Was

Was there, to your knowledge or belief, leſs care and attention paid by your attornies and managers at St. Chriſtopher's to the Slaves on your eſtate in that Iſland than there was towards thoſe upon your eſtate at Antigua, or did you give any directions concerning their treatment?

I think that I can confidently take upon me to ſay, that equal care was taken of my Slaves at St. Chriſtopher's as of thoſe at Antigua. My attornies at St. Chriſtopher's were men of knowledge and indiſputable humanity. I ſaid juſt now that I occaſionally ſuggeſted ideas to my attornies, although I never aſſumed the province of directing them; and obſerving the ſucceſs of my Antigua eſtate with reſpect to its increaſe of Slaves, I ſuggeſted to my attornies at St. Chriſtopher's every idea that I thought would contribute to aſſimilate their management.—I remember particularly that part of the food, when I arrived in my government, of the Negroes upon the St. Chriſtopher's eſtate, was rice, and I recollect having deſired that corn might be ſubſtituted, not that I knew that it was eſſentially more nutritious or better for them, but becauſe it was part of the food of my Negroes at Antigua; and in ſeveral other particulars I endeavoured to aſſimilate the cuſtoms and mode of management on one eſtate to what I found ſucceeded ſo well on the other.

Have you reaſon to think that the ideas you thus occaſionally ſuggeſted to your attornies were duly followed or neglected on your St. Chriſtopher's eſtate?

I think I can as confidently aſſert that they were, as I can ſpeak to any other circumſtances or event to which I am not abſolutely an eye-witneſs. I have not the leaſt doubt of it.

How then do you account for the flouriſhing condition and natural increaſe of the Slaves upon your Antigua eſtate, and the great decreaſe of thoſe upon your St. Chriſtopher's eſtate, notwithſtanding the numbers purchaſed and added by you thereto ſince it came into your poſſeſſion?

I really find it difficult to anſwer this queſtion with that ſatisfaction to the Committee that I could wiſh. It really appears to me unaccountable; for, from the ſituation and circumſtances of my St. Chriſtopher's plantation, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the increaſe of the Slaves there would be at leaſt equal to that on my Antigua plantation. The ſituation of my Antigua eſtate is not an unhealthy one, but by no means comparable to that of the other. The Negroes on my eſtate at St. Chriſtopher's, though not a third of the number, have infinitely more land for

their own uſe. They always uſed to have a more liberal allowance of food and cloathing from my predeceſſors than thoſe on the Antigua eſtate. When I came to the poſſeſſion of my Antigua eſtate, though it has been in my family above fourſcore years, and the Negroes always continued to increaſe, I found they had little or no proviſions allowed them by my predeceſſors: they have ſince been put on the ſame eſtabliſhment with all other eſtates. With reſpect to clothing, although when they were at work in the field they were all as well clothed as field Negroes generally are, they had never, during my poſſeſſion of it, a yard of clothing allowed them according to the cuſtom of all other eſtates; not that I denied it to them, but it never had been the cuſtom, and I ſcarcely knew that they had it not. A few years ago, they deſired they might have the ſame proportion of clothing that all other eſtates had; and though the experience of a great many years had ſhewn that it was not abſolutely neceſſary, I inſtantly gave orders that their requeſt ſhould be granted. All that I can ſay with regard to the population and depopulation of the reſpective eſtates, is, that the one which I have at St. Chriſtopher's has ſuſtained the ſame misfortune as almoſt all other eſtates in the Sugar Colonies, and that I am afraid is inſeparable from them: with regard to the Antigua eſtate, the only reaſon that I ever heard aſſigned for the uncommon increaſe of the Slaves on it is, that my grandfather, who could diſpenſe with the immediate labour of male Slaves, and was attentive to the advantage of his poſterity, whenever he had occaſion to purchaſe Slaves for his plantation always purchaſed women, ſo that the eſtate for many years was a nurſery for young Slaves. I remember likewiſe to have heard Mr. Blizzard, one of my attornies, who was chief juſtice of the Iſland of Antigua, a man whoſe memory will long be revered in that part of the world, aſſign another reaſon for the continuation of that increaſe; the Slaves on my Antigua eſtate, it is notorious to thoſe who have been in Antigua and are acquainted with that Iſland, from the circumſtance of their being all natives on the eſtate, and indeed moſt of them the offspring of natives, look upon themſelves in a ſuperior rank to all other Slaves in the Iſland. I frequently heard Mr. Blizzard ſay, that, though his plantation is contiguous to mine, he never could get any of the breed of my Negroes on his eſtate; none of the men would marry in his eſtate, they married among themſelves, though poſſibly the women may have their gallants from other eſtates.

From your own experience, and information from others, do you think that it is generally ſuppoſed by the planters in the Leeward Iſlands, to be more for their intereſt to attend to the increaſe of their

their gangs of Slaves by births, than by purchaſes of new Slaves from the Coaſt of Africa?

I believe certainly; I never had a doubt of it.

What is your own opinion on that ſubject?

My own opinion is, that it is infinitely more to the advantage of the planter to rear Negroes on his plantation, than to purchaſe them.

In your ſeveral viſits to the different Iſlands which were under your government, did any inſtance of cruelty, or any other enormity of behaviour from maſters to their Slaves, come to your knowledge or information?

I do not recollect ever to have heard of any; the intereſt of the maſter certainly is, and is generally thought in the Weſt Indies to be a ſecurity for the good treatment of the Slave.

From your knowledge of thoſe who preſided in the courts of juſtice, and other officers of magiſtracy in the different Iſlands under your government, do you think that a Slave would have had an equal adminiſtration of juſtice in his favour for any outrage or cruelty committed on his perſon?

From my knowledge of thoſe who preſided in the courts of juſtice, and other officers of magiſtracy, I am confident that a Slave would have had an equal adminiſtration of juſtice in his favour; I am afraid that this point is much more doubted in England than in the Colonies themſelves.

Did you ever underſtand it to be a generally prevailing notion of law in the Leeward Iſlands, that a Slave was without redreſs, even againſt his maſter, in the caſe of murder, by ſeverity of puniſhment?

So far from underſtanding that this was a generally prevailing notion of law in the Leeward Iſlands, I have never entertained a doubt myſelf, nor have I ever heard a doubt expreſſed by any ſenſible reaſonable man, but that the maſter of a Slave is equally liable to be tried for his life for the murder of his Slave, as for the murder of any White perſon.

How many pariſhes are there in the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher?

To the beſt of my remembrance there are nine.

Is there a miniſter to each pariſh, or are they, or how many of them, held in plurality?

The difficulty of procuring proper and reſpectable miniſters for all the pariſhes, has long made it cuſtomary to give two livings to one clergyman; this cuſtom prevails in all the Leeward Iſlands. At St. Chriſtopher's I think five clergymen hold the nine livings; four of them have two livings each, and the fifth holds one.

What is the ſtipend allowed by the law of the Leeward Iſlands (excluſive of ſurplice and other fees which are taken by clergymen) to the miniſter of each pariſh?

The ſtipend ſettled on every miniſter in the Leeward Iſlands, by a general act of the Leeward Iſlands, beſides the ſurplice and other fees, is 16,000 pounds weight of ſugar, which they may either, at their option, receive in ſugar, or commute it for money, at the current value of the ſugar.

Is there not beſides this a parſonage-houſe and glebe aſſigned to each pariſh?

There is.

What, in your judgment, may be the average annual value to the miniſter of two country pariſhes in any of the Iſlands, under all the above circumſtances and allowances?

I cannot pretend to be very accurate, but I believe that I am not very inaccurate, and that I do not over-rate the value of two country livings, at between 5 and £. 600 ſterling.

When you ſtate the labour of the Negro as being ſo eaſy, do you mean to refer to it in, as well as out of, crop time?

When I ſpeak of the eaſe of labour, I ſpeak of it comparatively with that of a day labourer of England, and I meant principally out of crop; in crop time the labour is certainly ſeverer, but I did not conceive that ſeaſon to be ſo very oppreſſive as to be a ſubject of commiſeration, when it was that moſt deſired by the Slaves themſelves, and at which they unqueſtionably enjoy the beſt health and appearance; by appearance I mean that they looked fatter, and appeared in better ſpirits.

Are the occupations of the field chiefly ſuch as are not ſuperior to the ſtrength of women?

I ſtated in my anſwer to a preceding queſtion the reaſon why I wiſhed to be very cautious in delivering any opinion upon matters of interior management and œconomy of an eſtate; but I think

I can anſwer this queſtion without heſitation from caſual obſervations, that I do think that they are not.

From what you have obſerved, do you conceive the Negroes are a race of men as capable of labour in the climate of the Weſt Indies as the inhabitants of other countries in climates congenial to their conſtitutions?

I am convinced that they are; and that they are the only race of men competent to the cultivation of lands in that part of the world.

Was the Slave, of whom you have ſpoken as having been worth 500 or £. 600, a field or a domeſtic Slave, or a tradeſman?

Of his condition in the early part of his life I am unable to ſpeak; I know that he was not a native of the Weſt Indies, and I mentioned him as a proof to what degree of comfort a foreign Negro might attain without any family or other advantages that might naturally be ſuppoſed to attend a native. When I manumitted him, and I believe for ſeveral years anteceding, he was a diſtiller, and I ſuppoſe promoted to that ſituation from his merit and good behaviour.

What was his age at the time of his manumiſſion?

I hardly know how to anſwer that queſtion with any degree of accuracy; but, if I ſhould gueſs from his appearance, he was, at the time of his manumiſſion, from ſixty to ſixty-three years of age.

Do you conceive his whole fortune was of his own acquiring?

I am as ſure of it as I can be of a thing of that nature.

Was the circumſtance of his having Slaves of his own known to your manager?

Certainly.

Was this on St. Chriſtopher's or Antigua eſtate?

On St. Chriſtopher's.

What was the quantity of land on your two eſtates reſpectively?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion with any accuracy; but I ſhould imagine at St. Chriſtopher's there may be from 150 to 170 acres; ſince I left the Weſt Indies I know that ſome of the cane land has been thrown out in conſequence of the diminution of the Negroes.

Can you ſtate the ordinary quantity of produce on each eſtate reſpectively?

And the queſtion being objected to,

The Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

The Witneſs was aſked,

Do you recollect whether the proviſion ground of the two eſtates in St. Chriſtopher's and Antigua was nearly ſimilar in ſituation, and whether in both it was ſubdivided amongſt the Negroes, or the whole or any part of it worked by the whole gang?

In all theſe plantation matters, as I have before ſuggeſted, I ſpeak with great diffidence. To anſwer the queſtion to the beſt of my abilities, the ſituation of the Negro proviſion land in the two eſtates is very different, as the ſituation of the reſpective eſtates are likewiſe ſo; the ſituation of my Antigua eſtate, and conſequently of the proviſion land, is almoſt a perfect flat, and the quantity of proviſion ground but very ſmall. My St. Chriſtopher's eſtate is a tract of land riſing gently from the ſea to a mountain, and the proviſion ground partakes of the nature of the ſituation of the whole eſtates; but the quantity of proviſion ground is very conſiderable. In the upper part of the eſtate, which is not cultivated as cane land, there is ſo much ground to ſpare, that the Negroes have always had as much as they choſe to aſk; beſides this, my eſtate is bounded to the eaſt and weſt by guts, the part of which guts belonging to me has always been given to the Negroes. With regard to the ſubdiviſion of the proviſion land, the Negroes have their own ſeparate, reſpective, independent property in it: for the general raiſing of proviſions for the Negroes there are other parts of the eſtate (I mean of the cane land) which are generally appropriated for this purpoſe, land that at one time of the year is planted with canes, at others is planted with yams, potatoes, and eddoes for the Negroes.

What was the ſituation of the Negro huts?

I ſhould imagine rather nearer to the ſea than the mountain, in a ſituation that I believe, without exception, is one of the moſt healthy ſpots in the Iſland, as is the whole of the eſtate.

What

What is the diſtance from the ſea to the extremity of the mountain proviſion land?

I ſhould think not much above a mile.

Do you recollect the quantities of rice and corn allowed to the Negroes per head on your two eſtates reſpectively?

I do not recollect, but the quantity of corn allowed at Saint Chriſtopher's was certainly equal to that at Antigua.

Do you recollect the number of males and females on the two eſtates reſpectively?

I really cannot ſay.

Do you recollect whether the Slaves who died on the Saint Chriſtopher's eſtate were chiefly infants, or grown Slaves?

While I was reſident in the Leeward Iſlands, I occaſionally repaired the loſſes the eſtate ſuſtained in its number of ſlaves by purchaſe; and I left it with the number, or nearly the number I before ſtated: whether the diminution ſince my return to England has happened amongſt the grown Slaves or infants, I really cannot take upon me to ſay.

Can you inform the Committee whether the loſs has been gradual ever ſince the completing of the number, or whether a larger proportion has been loſt at any particular time?

To the beſt of my recollection and belief, the decreaſe has been gradual; I remember no year in which I had reaſon to think myſelf more unfortunate in this reſpect than in any other year.

Was the tetanus fatal to many of the infants of your gang?

Upon my word I have not the leaſt knowledge of it.

Has the Saint Chriſtopher's eſtate been under the ſame manager ever ſince the year 1771?

No, it has not; the manager whom I left there, a few years after my return to England, returned alſo himſelf, and ſettled with his family; the ſubſequent manager died on the eſtate, and there is now a third.

Do you recollect how long, previous to the year 1771, the manager whom you left on the eſtate had been in that ſituation?

That manager was put on the eſtate during the time I. was abroad.

Do

Do you recollect whether in both, or either of your two eſtates, there were rooms appropriated for the lying-in women, or were they delivered in their own habitations?

I really am not planter enough to anſwer that queſtion; I know there are hoſpitals or places for the ſick on both my eſtates, as well as, I believe, on every other in the Sugar Colonies, which I believe are attended with every poſſible care; on each of my eſtates, and I believe on all other eſtates, a phyſician is hired by the year, and attends conſtantly twice or thrice a week to the inſpection of the ſick; beſides their annual ſtipend, I believe they are paid extraordinary for lying-in women, for inoculations, operations, and all extraordinary occaſions.

Have the field Negroes in general property of their own?

Certainly they have, more or leſs.

May they in general be deemed an induſtrious ſet of people?

This is matter of opinion; but thoſe that are induſtrious are ſure of being comfortable.

Has the expence of the maintenance of Negroes encreaſed conſiderably ſince the ſhutting up the American ports from the colonies?

I apprehend it has.

On the whole do you believe the treatment of Slaves better or worſe than it was twenty years ago?

I can ſpeak only to my obſervation of their treatment while I reſided in command at the Leeward Iſlands, at which time I believe I have already delivered my opinion of their ſituation and treatment; what ſubſequent changes or alterations may have been made in their treatment ſince I left the Weſt Indies, I am really unable to ſpeak to.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Veneris,

Veneris, 26° *die Martii* 1790.

COunſel and Witneſs called in as before, and the Witneſs was further examined by the Members of the Committee.

By whom is criminal juſtice adminiſtered in the Weſt India Iſlands? Sir RALPH PAYNE

There is in each Iſland a chief juſtice, and, to the beſt of my recollection, three, if not four, puiſne judges; there are likewiſe, nominated by the captain general or commander in chief for the time being of the Leeward Iſlands, ordinary magiſtrates for the preſervation of the peace, and veſted with the ſame power as juſtices of the peace are in England.

Are the judges commonly profeſſional perſons, who go out from this country, or are they natives or proprietors of eſtates in the Weſt Indies?

It has ſometimes happened that an Iſland has been fortunate enough to have a profeſſional perſon at the head of its law; but in general the emoluments of the office are ſo very inconſiderable that no man who can obtain a competent livelihood at the bar will accept of the honour of the bench; and it is very much to be lamented that government has never taken this ſubject into conſideration, and allowed ſuch a ſalary for this purpoſe as may encourage competent people to accept the office; however, when no perſon regularly bred to the law, with a proper character, can be found for the employment, the moſt ſcrupulous care is always taken either in the appointment abroad, or in recommending for the appointment at home, perſons from among the planters of the faireſt and moſt unblemiſhed character.

Can you inform the Committee from what fund the judges are paid?

During my adminiſtration the judges received no ſalary from any fund whatever, and their little emoluments proceeded from certain fees of office eſtabliſhed by the law of the Iſland. I have heard, that ſince I quitted the government of the Leeward Iſlands, Mr. Robinſon was appointed chief juſtice of the Virgin Iſlands (which form a part of the government of the Leeward Iſlands), with a ſalary of £. 200 ſterling a year.

Does his juriſdiction extend no further than to the Virgin Iſlands?

It is confined entirely to the Virgin Iſlands.

Of what deſcription of perſons do the juſtices of the peace in the Leeward Iſlands commonly conſiſt, and by whom are they appointed?

While I had the honour of the command in that government, I always appointed them out of the moſt reſpectable planters and merchants.

Do you recollect any inſtances, during your reſidence in the Weſt Indies, of White perſons having been brought to legal puniſhment for ill treatment of their own Slaves, or of any other Slaves, or of free Negroes?

At the diſtance of fifteen years, ſome allowance muſt be made for the want of an accurate memory of many circumſtances; but I do not recollect any occurrence of the nature, nor did I ever, to the beſt of my remembrance, hear of any enormity committed by a White man on the perſon of a Negro, that deſerved puniſhment.

Can you recollect whether, in your gang in Antigua, the Slaves were many of them intermarried one amongſt the other?

I cannot ſpeak to this point from my own knowledge; but I have always underſtood, from thoſe who managed and ſuperintended the eſtate, that their marriages were principally with one another.

Do you recollect whether the number of Slaves on your eſtate at Antigua was greater, in proportion to the quantity of cane land or of produce, than it was in St. Chriſtopher's, either before or after you had increaſed the number to 200 in the latter Iſland?

Even then the proportion was infinitely greater at Antigua than at St. Chriſtopher's; for in the purchaſes that I made at St. Chriſtopher's, I never meant to eſtabliſh what is called a Taſk Gang; but only to have ſuch an abundance as might make the general labour of the eſtate very eaſy. Whereas, after allowing a ſufficient number for the ſame purpoſe to the Antigua eſtate, I had a great many ſupernumerary ones, which I could very well ſpare, and with which I certainly ſhould have ſupplied my St. Chriſtopher's eſtate, if I had not been unwilling to ſeparate families and friends.

Was

Was the gang then at St. Chriſtopher's no ſmaller, in proportion to the quantity of land or produce, than the gang in Antigua, excluſive of thoſe of the latter who were employed in taſk-work?

I really cannot anſwer what proportion of the Antigua Negroes were annually employed in taſk-work; and for reaſons which I ſtated yeſterday, I anſwer all queſtions relative to the interior œconomy and management of my plantations with great diffidence.

Muſt, however, part of the Antigua gang be conſidered as unneceſſary for the cultivation of your own eſtate, and as kept for the purpoſe of taſk-work?

There is no particular part of the Antigua gang appropriated to the purpoſe of taſk-work, but they are all, and by turns, employed on taſk-work as occaſion offers.—Sometimes I know, upon certain exigencies, the whole gang is employed upon the eſtate, though certainly a much inferior number would be equal to the general cultivation of it.

Have you ever been in any of the French Weſt India Iſlands?

I was many years ago, when I was little more than a boy, certainly not a man, at the Iſland of Guadaloupe.

Do you know who is at preſent the chief juſtice of the iſland of Antigua?

I do perfectly.

Do you know whether that gentleman was called to the bar as counſel at law?

I know that he was, and practiſed ſeveral years in Antigua with great reputation.

Was not a Doctor Thomas your acting attorney at St. Chriſtopher's, after your return to England, and alſo one of your attornies whilſt you reſided in the Weſt Indies?

He was my acting attorney during my reſidence in the Weſt Indies, and continued in that truſt to the day of his death, which happened, as well as I can charge my memory, about four or five years ago.

Had he not been regularly bred to the profeſſion of ſurgery under Mr. Warner in London; and was he not alſo a man of acknowledged ability and humanity?

His abilities and humanity were unqueſtionable; and I have heard Mr. Warner, with whom he lived, expreſs the greateſt reſpect for his perſonal merit, and knowledge and ſkill in his profeſſion.

Had he not the medical care of your Slaves at St. Chriſtopher's, and was he not alſo employed in that capacity by your uncle and predeceſſor?

He was employed in that capacity by my uncle, and continued by me in it as long as he lived.

Are you not ſatisfied that the mortality amongſt your Slaves at St. Chriſtopher's was not occaſioned either by the want of ſkill or attention on his part in their recovery?

I am ſatisfied that the mortality amongſt my Slaves was not occaſioned either by the want of ſkill or attention on his part in their recovery.—I never knew a man poſſeſſed of more humanity, benevolence, and philanthropy, than Dr. Thomas; and I am confident that his own feelings operated as powerfully with him as the conſideration of his duty.

You have ſaid, that in conſequence of the decreaſe of your Slaves at St. Chriſtopher's, you have thrown out of cultivation a part of your cane land on the eſtate; if that decreaſe ſhould continue, and you be deprived of the means of ſupplying the loſs of Slaves by the purchaſe of others, ſhall you be obliged to throw out of cultivation an additional quantity of your cane land, and perhaps eventually the whole of it?

It is the natural and inevitable conſequence.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel having propoſed to examine

Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Knight of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member preſent;

And the ſaid Member having conſented thereto;

He was aſked,

Did you ever reſide in the Weſt Indies; in what iſland, and in what ſtation?

I reſided for three years, in the war before laſt, in the French Iſlands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Dominique, after the conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands, in a military capacity—I alſo reſided

five

five years at Jamaica during the laſt war, two years of which time I was governor of the Iſland.

What have you obſerved with reſpect to the conduct of maſters towards their Negroes in Jamaica?

It appeared that the conduct of maſters towards the Negro Slaves in Jamaica was marked with great kindneſs and humanity.

Did it appear to you that their treatment was mild and humane?

It did.

Did they appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

They did.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

I had not an opportunity of aſcertaining that fact—I underſtood that it was the intereſt of their maſter not to give them more labour than they could bear.

Did the Negroes appear comfortable and ſatisfied with their condition?

They did—I heard of no complaints to the contrary.

On a compariſon of their condition with that of the peaſantry or labouring poor in Europe, what is your opinion, are they more or leſs comfortable than the latter?

I cannot anſwer that queſtion, I am not a judge of the labour of the poor of this country.

Is it your opinion that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by Europeans?

I do not conceive it poſſible.

If the ſupply of African Negroes ſhould be ſtopt, what, in your opinion, would be the effect of ſuch a meaſure to the Britiſh Sugar Plantations in the Weſt Indies?

I ſhould imagine its immediate effect would be a ſtop to all improvement—and that the conſequence would be ultimately a general decreaſe in all the Sugar Plantations.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

What is your opinion reſpecting the treatment of Slaves in the French Weſt India Iſlands, compared with what it is in our own?

As far as I had an opportunity of knowing, I think the treatment was ſimilar—the French treat their Slaves with great humanity alſo.

During your reſidence in Jamaica do you recollect any inſtances of a White man being brought to legal puniſhment for ill uſage of his own Slaves, or of any other Slaves, or of free Negroes?

It might have been ſo, but it does not occur to my memory at preſent; my time was taken up in the general defence of the Iſland.

Do you recollect any inſtances of the ſort in the French Iſlands?

I do not; I was not in the way of knowing it, being generally ſhut up in the garriſon.

Do you know many inſtances of Slaves running away during your reſidence in Jamaica?

I remember ſeveral having been brought in by the Maroon Negroes, agreeably to the treaty ſettled with them by Governor Trelawney.

Do you recollect to what this running away was attributed?

I underſtood it was often occaſioned by ſtaying too long in the neighbouring plantations with the women they were attached to, and afraid to return home afterwards; and at other times from their general diſpoſition to idleneſs, and from an idea that they could live with the Maroon Negroes without being diſcovered by their maſters. There might have been other cauſes, but theſe are inſtances I have often met with.

When brought in by the Maroon Negroes were they returned to their proper maſters, and how was it known to whom they did belong?

They were always returned to their maſters; when the Maroon Negroes knew they belonged to a plantation, they generally carried them there; when they did not, they were often carried to head quarters until their maſters were known.

How

How was it known to whom they belonged, either by the Maroon Negroes in the firſt inſtance, or, when they came to head quarters, by the officers there?

At all the towns where there are Maroon Negroes, there is a White ſuperintendant, who generally directs them where to carry the Slaves after they are taken; if he cannot diſcover the plantation to which they belong, they were either ſent to head quarters or to a public gaol, and advertiſed.

Do you recollect the particulars of theſe advertiſements ſo diſtinctly as to ſay whether brands are not often mentioned as diſcriminating marks of theſe Negroes?

I do, and it is very often the caſe; but I underſtand thoſe marks to be marks of their own country.

From whom did you underſtand this?

My reaſon for thinking ſo was, that almoſt all the new Negroes that came to the Iſland while I was there had their particular country marks.

In ſaying that theſe were particular country marks, did you mean that they were made in the interior country of Africa, from which they originally came; or only that they were made in Africa, previous to their exportation from thence?

I underſtood they were made in Africa, previous to their exportation from thence.

Did any of thoſe marks appear to be quite freſh?

No, I never ſaw them freſh.

By thoſe marks mentioned in your laſt anſwer, which you never ſaw freſh, did you mean to refer to the marks on the Negroes on their importation, or on thoſe Slaves who had been brought in by the Maroon Negroes?

All marks of that kind I underſtood to be marks acquired in Africa.

Do you mean that theſe marks were made on the ſea coaſt, or in the interior country from whence they came?

I underſtood they were marks acquired before they came to the Iſland, but where I never heard.

Do you underſtand that the various tribes of Negroes in Africa are diſtinguiſhed by tattooing or marks impreſſed on their faces and

other parts of their bodies by the natives themſelves, and not by Europeans?

I underſtood the tribes were ſo diſtinguiſhed.

Do you know the numbers of the Maroon Negroes when a treaty was made with them by Governor Trelawney in 1739?

I have heard that they amounted to about 3,000 men fit to carry arms.

What was their number during the time of your government?

I made every poſſible exertion to get all the fighting men to turn out when the French and Spaniards meditated an attack on the Iſland of Jamaica, and to my great aſtoniſhment found that the fighting men in all the Maroon towns did not amount to 300.

Did you ever know of any Maroon Negroes hiring themſelves to field labour?

I never did.

Do you know whether there are great numbers of free Negroes in the towns and different pariſhes of that Iſland?

I do.

Are they a diſſolute and idle, or a laborious and induſtrious, deſcription of men?

In general they are idle and diſſipated.

Have they generally matrimonial connections with Negro women on plantations?

I was not in that ſecret, but I rather think they had.

Do you imagine that that connection was formed for the purpoſe of deriving from their wives a ſubſiſtence, in order that they might themſelves live in idleneſs?

I think it very probable.

To what do you impute the decreaſe of the Maroon Negroes from 3,000 to 300?

To many cauſes; but chiefly to a free acceſs to ſpirits, of which they are remarkably fond.

Have they not women among them?

Yes.

Have

Have they not wives?
Yes.

Do you know any other cauſes why the Maroon Negroes are diminiſhed in their number?
I have heard that they very often cohabit with the women of the neighbouring plantations.

Can you inform the Committee whether the groſs number of Maroon Negroes in Jamaica are ſuppoſed to be increaſed or decreaſed?
I underſtand decreaſing daily.

Does your information or recollection enable you to ſay in what proportion that decreaſe is to their original number?
It does not; but (if the fact is eſtabliſhed that there were 3,000 fighting Negroes when the treaty was ſettled with the Maroons) I am very certain, from the returns made to me when in Jamaica, there was not, in the year 1782, above one-tenth of the number of fighting men exiſting; my information only extends to the proportion of fighting men.

JOHN ORDE, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Did you ever reſide in the Weſt Indies; in what Iſland, and whether in any public capacity?
I have been almoſt ten years in the Weſt Indies; three of them at Jamaica, as midſhipman and lieutenant of the navy; a few months at the Leeward Iſlands as lieutenant of the navy; and near ſix years as governor of Dominique.

How long is it ſince your return from your government?
About ſeven months.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in the ſeveral Iſlands where you have been?
That it in general has been humane and good; inſtances have occurred of ſevere maſters in the Weſt Indies, as in all parts of the world, one or two I have known at Dominique; when it was known to the legiſlature, a bill was ſoon brought into the houſe of aſſembly, which paſſed into a law, calculated to give further protection to the Negroes, and to promote religion and morality

amongſt them: maſters are now obliged by that law, under heavy penalties, to give their Negroes a certain quantity of food, clothing, and medical aid; maſters and overſeers are limited in their powers of puniſhing them; a trial by jury is ſecured to the Negroes in all capital caſes, and it is made felony in a White perſon to kill a Negro; maſters are alſo enjoined to have their Negro children chriſtened within a certain time, and to have divine ſervice performed by ſome White perſon on the eſtate once a week.

Is that law ſo obſerved that the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

It has but lately paſſed, but I believe that it is attended to, and the Negroes are very well taken care of, and I believe they were well taken care of before the law paſſed, in general. I would wiſh that my anſwers ſhould be generally underſtood as applying to Dominique particularly; for though I was at Jamaica about three years, yet as I was ſerving in the navy, I had but little opportunity to remark ſo particularly the treatment of maſters towards their Slaves.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

No, it did not; the Negro was ſeldom required to be in the field and at work above ten hours in the twenty-four; the cuſtom of Dominique generally is not to turn the Negroes into the field until after ſun riſe; they have about half an hour to their breakfaſt, which they eat in the field, and they have from twelve o'clock to two to their dinner; they ceaſe labour at ſun-ſet, except bringing home a bundle of graſs: the Negroes are generally obſerved to be moſt healthy at crop time, both at making ſugar and coffee, to the beſt of my belief.

Do you think, comparatively ſpeaking, that the labour of the Negro is greater in the Weſt Indies, or ſo great, as that of the common labourer in England?

I really do not think it greater; the labour of the hedger and ditcher I think is full as great.

How are the Negroes treated or taken care of in ſickneſs or old age, or when from any infirmity they are incapable of labour?

When ſick they are very well taken care of; many eſtates have hoſpitals on purpoſe for their reception, many have medical people

people living upon them, and almoſt all others are attended by the faculty once or twice a week, or oftener if neceſſary; the old people I believe are alſo well taken care of; I never ſaw a beggar in the ſtreet.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

They appear very well ſatisfied with their condition in general. I have heard it from very good authority, that Negroes have been offered to go back to their country, which they have refuſed; I have alſo underſtood that ſome have been offered their freedom, and have refuſed it. When new Negroes come to the Iſland, the old ones go down to the beach, and places whence they can ſee them, and appear to conſider their own ſituation as vaſtly preferable. During the time I had the honour to command in Dominique, the attachment of the Negroes to their maſters was put to ſtrong proof:—a number of runaway Negroes had come over from the Foreign Iſlands, and a number of the Negroes in Dominique had been tempted (perhaps by the French) to leave their maſters; ſome had alſo (through diſcontent perhaps) deſerted. The whole inhabited the woods of Dominique, and were armed. From thence they committed many acts of violence againſt the inhabitants; ſo many that the legiſlature, after ineffectually trying every means to reclaim them by lenient meaſures, thought it proper, and abſolutely neceſſary, to endeavour to reduce them by force. On that ſervice Slaves from the different eſtates were employed. Thoſe Slaves, throughout the whole courſe of that ſervice, manifeſted the greateſt zeal and deſire to reduce thoſe runaways, and bring them back to their duty.

Do you conceive that plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

I conceive it abſolutely impoſſible. We have ſome number of White artificers working in all the Iſlands; thoſe people, from having very great wages, are enabled to live well, yet work moderately, and almoſt always under cover; yet notwithſtanding that, in the Iſland of Dominique (as far as my knowledge goes) more than half of what were there when I went out were dead when I came away. The loſs of European troops in Saint Lucia I have heard imputed principally to their being employed in rolling proviſions, only for a few hours in the day, up to Morne Fortune.

Can

Can the preſent ſtock of Negroes in the Iſlands be kept up without an annual importation of Slaves from Africa?

In the Iſland of Dominique, to which I ſpeak principally, we certainly have not decreaſed for theſe ſix or ſeven years paſt; and I have my doubts whether, if not viſited by any of thoſe epidemical diſeaſes, or other extraordinary cauſes of mortality, and which are incident to thoſe climates, the preſent numbers might not be kept up: But we have advantages in the Iſland of Dominique which, perhaps, no other Iſland poſſeſſes.—From the great quantity of uncultivated land, the Negroes have opportunities to raiſe as much proviſions as they pleaſe, and, with a ſurplus, to buy a thouſand neceſſaries and conveniences. From our proximity alſo to the Foreign Iſlands, from which a vaſt number of veſſels touch every day, they can always command an advantageous market. The quantity of good water alſo may contribute to their healthineſs; by this I only mean to ſay, that the ſame number that are now might, without importation, be kept up. There certainly would be no poſſibility of extending the cultivation, nor do I believe the preſent quantity of land in cultivation could be kept ſo; becauſe, as the land grows old, it requires more labour. The Iſland of Dominique contains about 186,000 acres; of that about 54,000 is at preſent in occupation, and about 26,000 in cultivation. The merely keeping up the preſent ſtock of Negroes, therefore, would be very inſufficient for the wants of the Dominique proprietors; and ſhould the Trade be aboliſhed, they would certainly be great ſufferers.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Sabbati, 27° die Martii 1790.

Counſel and Witneſs called in, as before;

Mr. ORDE. And the Witneſs deſired to add to his laſt anſwer as follows:

That if ſome ſuch encouragements to breeding were held out to the Negroes of Dominique, as are to thoſe of ſome of the French

Iſlands in the Code Noir, and if the practice of ſeparating children from their parents was more perfectly dropt than it is, I think it might ſtill more contribute to inſure keeping up the preſent ſtock, without further importation.

I will, with leave of the Committee, beg now to explain an apparent difference between my anſwers to the queries tranſmitted by the Secretary of State, and the returns ſent home from the cuſtom-houſe, which is ſaid to have been taken notice of by a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and alſo commented upon in a pamphlet, written by a gentleman, calling himſelf an Old Member of Parliament. In ſome of the anſwers ſent by me to the queries, the Negroes in the Iſland of Dominique are mentioned to have increaſed within theſe five or ſix years paſt. In the returns from the cuſtom-houſe it appears that the number of Negroes employed between the year 1784 and 1788 amounted to 27,553, and the numbers exported in the ſame period amounted to only 15,781, and of courſe the number remaining in Dominique was 11,772. The reaſons of the difference in thoſe accounts were, as well as I remember, explained by me, in an accompanying letter to the Secretary of State, and I truſt, can be in a ſatisfactory manner to the Committee. Previous to the free-port act, paſſed in 1787, no Slaves could be legally exported in foreign veſſels. In the French Iſlands ſo heavy a duty was laid on thoſe imported in foreign bottoms, that the merchant did not find it advantageous to ſend them in that mode. The cruizers on the coaſt of the French Iſlands were alſo ſo vigilant, that it was too dangerous to attempt running them illicitly; they were therefore ſmuggled out of the Iſland of Dominique, of which the cuſtom-houſe had, of courſe, no returns. Since the free-port act alſo, the returns have been by no means ſuch as can be depended upon. The French have, in reality, taken about four-fifths of the whole number imported, and the Spaniards and other foreigners ſo many of the remainder, as not, in my opinion, to leave in the Iſland of Dominique, in the period above mentioned, of thoſe imported, much above 1,000, and many of them what are called the Refuſe Negroes, part of which died, perhaps, before they got upon the eſtates. I beg leave further to add, that the documents from which the increaſe by births was ſtated, were received from Mr. Conſtable, the deputy treaſurer of the Iſland, a very old inhabitant, and who was as capable of giving a true account as any perſon there. The returns from the French inhabitants in the pariſh of St. Patrick, and my own obſervations, ſerve to confirm them.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

By whom were the perſons ſelected for the purpoſe of anſwering the queries which were ſent out by the Privy Council?

By me. Finding there was a backwardneſs in the Aſſembly to anſwer the queries ſent to them, and deſirous of collecting as early and as fully the ſentiments of the different proprietors, both French and Engliſh, in the Iſland, as I could, I ſent different copies of the queries to four or five of the principal ſettlers in each pariſh, in order to be by them communicated to the whole; I ſent alſo thoſe which related more particularly to trade to ſome of the principal merchants, to be laid by them before the whole body, and requeſted their anſwers upon them.

Do you conceive, upon the whole, that the anſwers may be ſuppoſed to be the reſult of the experience and knowledge of the moſt intelligent men in the Iſland?

Yes.

Were the anſwers communicated to you before they were ſent to Great Britain?

They were communicated to me before, and were ſent by me to Great Britain.

Can you inform the Committee whether there is any difference in the allowance of food to the Negroes, according to the greater or leſs quantity of proviſion ground on the eſtate; and if any, what is that difference?

There is certainly a material difference; on ſome eſtates (which are but very few in the Iſland of Dominique, Mr. Woodbridge's in particular) where there is very little proviſion ground, the Negroes are almoſt altogether fed by the proprietor, and I believe generally receive about two pounds of ſalt fiſh, or ſalt beef or pork, or ſeven or eight herrings (according to their ſize), and about ſeven or eight quarts of farine each grown Negro per week; the children in proportion; on eſtates where there is more proviſion ground, but not quite ſufficient for their full ſubſiſtence, it is the cuſtom for the maſters to give them the proportion above mentioned of fiſh or meat, and nothing more; on other eſtates, where there is plenty of proviſion ground (which is generally the caſe in Dominique) the Negroes are allowed to cultivate as much as they pleaſe, and have one day in the week in addition to the Sunday to cultivate it; the latter mode is very generally practiſed

by the French inhabitants, and is found more ſatisfactory to the Negroes than the others.

Was the number of Slaves loſt in opening the new lands in Dominique ever in any degree aſcertained?

The numbers were I fancy aſcertained, but as it was before my time, I cannot really or correctly ſay what they were; they were however, I believe, very conſiderable, and partly I fear owing to miſmanagement; a cuſtom then prevailed of working new Negroes immediately as they arrived, which might in part contribute to this loſs, but which is now no longer followed.

Have you ſeen any reaſon to alter the opinion contained in your anſwer to the query of the Privy Council reſpecting the difference of profit to the owner of a Weſt India eſtate reſident on the ſpot, and reſident in Great Britain?

I do not know that the difference may be quite ſo great as ſtated in that anſwer, but I believe it is in general very material.

Is it not your opinion, that attention to the morals and religious inſtruction of the Slaves would contribute to their comfort, and to their maſters intereſt?

It is my opinion; the French certainly pay more attention than we do to thoſe points, and benefit by it.

Has not the breeding of children been more encouraged in the French than in the Britiſh Iſlands?

Lately in the Iſland of Tobago I have underſtood they have eſtabliſhed regulations by which female Slaves are excuſed from labour in proportion to the number of children they bear and bring up, and, after having ſix or ſeven children are liberated. Mr. Gillon in Dominique I believe has begun to adopt that plan.

Conſidering the very ſmall number of White perſons on a plantation (generally not more than one or two) and that the evidence of Negroes cannot reaſonably be admitted in courts of juſtice, muſt not the Slave's ſecurity from ill uſage chiefly depend on the temper of the manager or owner of the plantation?

The laws in the Colonies are certainly not ſo well executed as in England; in general the honour and humanity of the owners of Slaves lead them, I dare hope, to attend to them in thoſe inſtances that reſpect the protection of Slaves.

What is your opinion, from all you have heard and obſerved, of the comparative treatment of Slaves in the French and Britiſh Iſlands?

The treatment of Slaves in the French Iſlands I conceive, in moſt inſtances, is more ſevere than in thoſe belonging to the Engliſh. The French planters in Dominique in general follow the cuſtom of the Engliſh.

On what does the ſecurity of the Free Negroes from ill uſage by White people chiefly depend?

On the laws, which have provided for their ſecurity in a different manner from that of Slaves.

In what does that difference conſiſt?

In allowing the Free Negroes the ſame protection and benefit from the laws as White people have in moſt inſtances.

Can you ſtate the particular exception?

By a local law the evidence of a Free Negro or man of colour is not admitted in capital caſes againſt White people; there may be other differences, but I cannot immediately recollect them.

Is it your opinion that much advantage might be expected from adopting generally the practice before mentioned in Tobago, of rewarding the mother who has borne and brought up a certain number of children?

I really think there might; at preſent Negro women are certainly averſe to bearing children, and careleſs in bringing them up; this perhaps might correct that conduct.

To what do you aſcribe this conduct in the Negro mothers?

The having children interrupts their libidinous purſuits, and makes them leſs deſireable to the men.

Have you any reaſon to think that the Engliſh planter is not as ready to adopt any new practice that evidently tends to the cauſe of humanity and his own private intereſt and advantage, as the French planter is?

Certainly.

When once the practice of manumitting female Slaves, after having borne and brought up a certain number of children, ſhall be demonſtrated by experience to have that tendency, do you not think it will then be generally followed?

The

The advantage ariſing from it will perhaps be ever matter of opinion; when the planter ſees and is convinced of the benefit of it, I can have no doubt that he will adopt it.

What in your opinion will be the conſequence to the Iſland of Dominique, and the empire in general, if the Slave Trade is aboliſhed?

To the empire in general diſadvantageous, to the Iſland of Dominique moſt particularly ſo. The proprietors in the Iſland of Dominique purchaſed their lands of government at a very high rate, truſting that they would have an opportunity of putting them in cultivation by an uninterrupted importation of Slaves. As yet, not one-third of the Iſland is in occupation, and only about 26,000 acres in real cultivation; if therefore there was a ſtop put to the importation of Slaves, it would be impoſſible to clear and cultivate any more of the lands, and very difficult, perhaps, to keep what is now planted in the ſame ſtate of improvement.

Have you known many inſtances of the evidence of free Negroes, or people of colour, being taken againſt Whites in the courts of juſtice?

I never recollect it being refuſed, except in one inſtance, which was a caſe of murder.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

DAVID PARRY, Eſquire, called in, and examined.

Did you ever reſide in the Weſt Indies; in what Iſland, and in what capacity?

I reſided at Barbadoes, as governor of the Iſland, for near ſeven years.

At what time did you leave Barbadoes?

The 6th of July 1789.

What have you obſerved of the behaviour of maſters towards their Negroes?

Every poſſible kindneſs, care, and attention.

Is not their treatment remarkably gentle and humane?

Certainly ſo.

Did the Negroes in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

Perfectly ſo; and indeed, if they had not, it would have been my buſineſs to have enforced the law for that purpoſe, which I ſhould certainly have done.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of them than they could properly bear?

Not nearly ſo much as I think their owners had a right to demand; and the common labour of the Negro there would be play to any peaſant in this country.

Did they appear to you to be in a deſponding ſtate of mind, or had they the appearance of being happy, and ſatisfied with their condition?

I never ſaw the ſmalleſt degree of deſpondency amongſt them, but quite the reverſe. I have every reaſon to ſuppoſe they were perfectly ſatisfied, as no complaints ever reached my ears during the time of my reſidence there; and knowing, by experience, that there is no puniſhment which can be inflicted on a Negro at Barbadoes can be equal to his being baniſhed the Iſland. There is no corporal puniſhment which they would not prefer; and I have known them even heſitate between baniſhment and death.

Did their ſituation appear to you to be, in fact, as comfortable as that of the labouring poor in England, or any other part of the world with which you are acquainted?

I think, in general, infinitely more ſo.

Do you think that the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated by Europeans?

I do not think it poſſible, without ſuch a deſtruction to the human race as would harrow up the feelings of the hardeſt breaſt; and would be, to the imaginary diſtreſſes of the Negroes, inhumanity in the extreme.

Do you conceive that a ſupply of Negroes from Africa is neceſſary to the cultivation of the Britiſh Sugar Plantations?

Without the ſmalleſt doubt; particularly if they mean to improve more land.

Would then the abolition of the African Negro Trade be, in your opinion, detrimental to the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, and to the Britiſh empire?

Very highly ſo in a great degree, both to the Colonies and the empire at large. My reaſons for thinking ſo are, that it would raiſe the productions of that country beyond the power of the conſumer in this country to purchaſe: and conſequently leſſen the public revenue, in proportion as the conſumption is diminiſhed, and very much injure the individual in his property, becauſe it would increaſe his private expences.

Would it not occaſion the immediate declenſion, and finally the ruin of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies?

It certainly would. The firſt operation would be a declenſion of the riches of the Colonies, and ultimately would be the ruin of them, unleſs they were at liberty to ſeek for and go to other markets with their ſugars and other produce of all kinds. How far that would be good policy in this country, it is not for me to determine; but, in my opinion, it would be bad policy.

Is not a ſupply of Negroes from Africa, either furniſhed by this country or by foreign ſtates, neceſſary to the exiſtence of the Sugar Plantations?

I think ſo, certainly; for otherways, as I have ſaid before, it would neceſſarily increaſe the value of produce ſo much, as would operate in preventing the conſumption.

If ſupplies of Negroes from Africa to the Britiſh Sugar Plantations ſhould be totally cut off, will there not be a gradual diminution of their produce, and will not the conſequence finally be the extinction of the Sugar Colonies?

I ſhould think, if the importation is totally ſtopt, it would be ſo; and I think it a very dangerous and unneceſſary experiment to make; and I alſo know from my long experience that planters in Barbadoes (and I believe the planters in general) are men of ſenſe, diſcernment, and humanity; and it appears to me, that good policy ought to leave them in the quiet management of their own affairs, and by that and every other means that can be imagined, render them as beneficial as poſſible to this country, to the laws and conſtitution of which, as well as to the King's perſon and government, they are warmly and zealouſly attached.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Can you ſtate the number of Negroes required in the cultivation of cotton, and in that of any of the other preſent productions in Barbadoes, compared with the number neceſſary in the cultivation of ſugar?

One man will cultivate three acres of cotton annually, whereas one man will only cultivate one acre of ſugar.

Has it not become neceſſary in many plantations of the Iſland of Barbadoes, upon account of the depredations of vermin, and from other cauſes, to ſubſtitute the cultivation of cotton, or other articles, in the place of that of ſugar?

The ſubſtitution of cotton in the place of ſugar aroſe more from the want of Negroes, which were loſt in the hurricane of 1780, than it did from either of the other two cauſes aſſigned.

Is this ſubſtitution in any degree ſtill going on?

In a much leſs degree, becauſe freſh ſupplies of Negroes have been imported.

Have any of the lands on which cotton was then ſubſtituted for ſugar been again allotted to the growth of the latter article?

The greater part.

What length of time was required for completing this ſubſtitution of cotton for ſugar, after the hurricane?

There was no time required, becauſe it might have been done immediately; but it did not actually take place to any extent till three or four years afterwards.

From what motives do you apprehend this ſubſtitution was made; were African Negroes difficult to be obtained?

African Negroes were very difficult to be obtained, which was certainly the cauſe of that ſubſtitution; there were ſome other cauſes, ſuch as the blowing down of the ſugar-works and buildings; but the principal cauſe was the deficiency of Negroes, and want of importation.

Did that difficulty ariſe from the Negroes not being brought to the Iſland, or from their high price?

From both.

By

By whom in the Iſland of Barbadoes were the perſons ſelected for the purpoſe of returning anſwers to the queries ſent out by the Privy Council of Great Britain?

The anſwers that I ſent were ſelected by myſelf; thoſe ſent by the Council, by the members of that board; and thoſe by the Aſſembly, by the members of that houſe.

Were not then the anſwers that were returned by individuals tranſmitted by you?

Yes.

Did you not ſelect, for the purpoſe of returning anſwers to theſe queries, the perſons on whoſe diſcernment, experience, and integrity you could moſt rely?

Yes, I certainly did; but I ſelected alſo perſons differing in ſentiment, in order to give the Secretaries of State the fulleſt information I could.

And then the Counſel and Witneſs were directed to withdraw.

Lunæ, 29° *die Martii* 1790.

COunſel called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

The Right Honourable Lord RODNEY, Knight of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, Admiral of the White, and Vice Admiral of England.

How long has your lordſhip been acquainted with the Weſt Indies?

I firſt went to the Weſt Indies in 1761.

With what Iſlands is your lordſhip acquainted, and how long have you reſided therein?

The firſt Iſland I reſided at was Barbadoes, then Martinique, Antigua, and St. Chriſtopher's, and a ſmall time at Guadaloupe, when thoſe Iſlands belonged to Great Britain.

Has your lordſhip ever been in Jamaica?
Yes; I was there three years and an half.

What has your lordſhip obſerved of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Negro Slaves, in the ſeveral Iſlands where you have been?
They appeared to me to be very attentive to them, and I cannot ſay that I ſaw any thing but great attention; in ſhort, it is their intereſt to do ſo: for the number of years I was in the Weſt Indies, I never ſaw a ſingle inſtance of cruelty, but I have ſeen many inſtances of forbearance, upon an impertinent anſwer being given to the maſter.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?
It appeared to me that they were properly clothed for the climate in every Iſland where I was.

Do the Slaves appear to your lordſhip to be properly fed?
At Jamaica they appeared to me to be much better fed than the common labouring people here; I am only ſpeaking of Jamaica, becauſe the other Iſlands have not grounds to give them ſuch food as Jamaica can afford.

Can your lordſhip ſtate in what manner they are lodged?
They appeared to me exceedingly well lodged for the climate, and the houſes to be calculated for it.

Did it appear to your lordſhip that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?
It did not indeed.

Does your lordſhip think that the labour of Negro Slaves in the Weſt Indies is greater or ſo great as the labour of the peaſantry in England?
No compariſon; I have often taken notice that I thought one labouring man in England did more work in one day than any three Negroes; an hundred times I have taken notice of that, and ſaid it in the country.

Are the Negroes properly taken care of in ſickneſs, and ſupported in old age, or when by any infirmities they are rendered incapable of labour?
I have often taken notice, in the number of plantations which I

have viſited, that there is an hoſpital called the ſick houſe, which is attended by Negro women as nurſes; and I believe there is ſcarce a plantation that has not a ſurgeon to attend it, who are very attentive to them; it is their intereſt to be ſo.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

They appeared to me in general quite the reverſe, and after their day's work, they were generally dancing and making merry.

Does your lordſhip conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

It is impoſſible, I think.

Could the preſent ſtock of Negroes in the Iſlands be kept up without freſh importations of Slaves from Africa?

I believe not; for I believe there is ſcarce an Iſland that does not encourage breeding as much as poſſible; for one Creole Negro is of more value than two new ones from Guinea.

Does your lordſhip conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India trade as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

I think the greateſt; for I think it was that very commerce that enabled France to diſpute with Great Britain the empire of the ocean in the laſt war; I mean her Weſt India commerce.

Are not the French Weſt India ſhips remarkably fine veſſels, and well manned?

They are generally much larger than the Britiſh, and appeared to be more than doubly manned, in compariſon.

Is not, in your lordſhip's judgment, the Britiſh Weſt India trade a conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

Certainly, I think it is.

Whether the Weſt India fleet is not extremely advantageous in time of actual war, in furniſhing men for His Majeſty's ſervice?

Very much ſo, becauſe it ſupplies them with ſeamen ſeaſoned to the climate of the Weſt Indies.

Whether

Whether it is not extremely important to the kingdom to keep up and encourage that trade?

It appears ſo to me, entirely ſo. It appears to be one of our principal branches of commerce.

Is not the African Trade, as connected with the Britiſh Weſt India trade, alſo extremely important to be preſerved?

It appears to me, that without the African Trade the Weſt Indies could not be ſupported.

Whether the French are not endeavouring to increaſe their Weſt India trade, and to encourage their African Trade, as far as lies in their power?

When this affair came firſt to be agitated in parliament in 1787, the French then paid 200 livres a head a premium upon every Slave imported into Saint Domingo and Saint Lucia, and 100 livres a head upon all Slaves imported into Martinique and Guadaloupe, beſides a premium upon every ſhip bound from the ports of France to trade to the Coaſt of Guinea, which was paid to the merchants immediately after the ſhip ſailed, at ſo much per ton.

Whether the abolition of the Britiſh Slave Trade would not tend to reduce the Britiſh Weſt India trade, and to leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen?

Moſt certainly.

Whether the ſame cauſe would not tend to encreaſe the French marine in general?

Undoubtedly it would.

What would be the conſequence to the navy of Great Britain, if the Britiſh Slave Trade were aboliſhed, and to be engroſſed by foreign nations?

It would add greatly to the power of France, who already have much more than half the Weſt India trade now in their hands.

Queſtion repeated.

It would add greatly to the naval power of France, and diminiſh that of Great Britain in proportion.

Examined

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

Did your lordſhip ever make an eſtimate of the expence of breeding a Negro till he ſhould be fit for field work, and compare it with the expence of purchaſing an able African Negro?

No, I have not.

What are the encouragements which have been given to breeding by the Weſt India Iſlands?

It appeared that wherever I went they encouraged them to breed, and took great care of their children.

Does your lordſhip recollect any regulations for the encouraging of breeding, ſanctioned by the authority of the legiſlatures of the Iſlands?

No, I do not; but I always underſtood that every legiſlature gave every encouragement for the Negroes to breed, and for the ſettlement of White people; it appeared ſo to me.

Does your lordſhip recollect the occaſions which called forth impertinent anſwers of Slaves towards their maſters, before mentioned?

All that I can remember (being ſo many years ago) is, upon hearing a Negro give an impertinent anſwer, I ſaid, "How can "you bear it? If a White ſervant gave me ſuch an anſwer, I "ſhould immediately turn him out of my houſe." The anſwer was, "Oh! poor Negro, he knows no better."

Were theſe then domeſtic Slaves?

Yes.

Are the Negroes a race of men as competent to labour in the climate of the Weſt Indies as the inhabitants of other countries in climates congenial to their conſtitutions?

They appeared to me to be very bad labourers, in compariſon to Europeans in Europe.

Was their being bad labourers owing to their being deficient in point of ſtrength, or the climate being ill ſuited to them; or was it owing to any other, and to what cauſes?

It appeared to me that their inclination to labour was not equal to the labouring man's in England, and in ſhort that they could not do ſo much work, not three of them ſo much as one White

man in Europe; but in the Weſt Indies they do more work than a White man could do, becauſe the White man could not bear the climate, nor work in the ſun, nor labour in the woods.

Are there any regulations in the Iſlands reſpecting the marriage of Negro Slaves; and, if any, what are they?

I believe the Negroes are left to chuſe their own wives—I know no regulation for that purpoſe; there may be, but I do not know it.

On what grounds does your lordſhip conclude that the ſtock of Negroes might not be kept up by breeding, without importations from Africa, if proper regulations and encouragements for that purpoſe were adopted, and adhered to with perſeverance?

I am not a judge of that—it is a long time before the children come to maturity.

Is then your lordſhip's opinion, that the ſtock of Negroes could be kept up without importations from Africa, the reſult of information you have received from others, and not that of your lordſhip's own perſonal obſervation and experience?

From my own obſervations, which I have made from what I have thought and what I have heard: I do not know any gentleman in Jamaica that does not attempt to keep up the ſtock by breeding; at leaſt, wherever I have been it has appeared ſo to me.

Does your lordſhip recollect to have heard what proportion of the Negro infants die within the month, or what proportion of the children born reaches to the years of maturity?

No, I have never heard one or the other; but I have been told that Negro children are very apt to die of the locked jaw when they are very young.

What is your lordſhip's opinion concerning the food, cloathing, and lodging, and ſecurity from ill-uſage, of the Slaves in the French Weſt India Iſlands, compared with their condition in theſe reſpects in our own?

When we firſt took Martinique, the French Slaves appeared to be better cloathed. I took notice of it to ſome of the planters of Barbadoes, and deſired them to obſerve, that there was no naked Slave to be ſeen in Martinique, and that I had ſeen many naked in Barbadoes; that I was hurt, as an Engliſhman, that the French ſhould clothe their Negroes better than the Engliſh:

liſh: the conſequence was, that the people of Barbadoes put their laws in execution, and clothed their Slaves (for there was a law for that purpoſe): it was a great many years ago, in 1761 or 1762; ſince which I have never ſeen a naked Slave in Barbadoes. I think our Negroes are better lodged than in the French Iſlands; I think their huts are much better. A great deal of the circumſtances reſpecting food depend upon the having proper ground for proviſions; thoſe that have not ground ſupply them with ſalt fiſh, and Guinea and Indian corn. Literally ſpeaking, they appear to me to be better off in the Engliſh than in the French Iſlands. The puniſhments in the French Iſlands appear to me to be greater than in the Britiſh.

Did your lordſhip ever know an inſtance of cruel treatment from a maſter to his field Slave in any of the Engliſh Iſlands where your lordſhip has been?

Never; quite the reverſe.

What is your lordſhip's opinion of the public adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe Iſlands, as between a White man and a Negro?

I never knew or heard of any thing but ſtrict juſtice being done to both parties.

Does your lordſhip recollect any inſtance, and when, of a White man being hanged in Jamaica for the murder of a Slave?

I was at the trial of a White man (I think in the year 1772 or 1773) for wantonly murdering a Slave; the court condemned the man to be hanged, and I believe he was executed.

Does your lordſhip know whether the man condemned and executed was the owner of the Slave ſo murdered?

No, I believe he was not the owner; he was the maſter of a trading little veſſel, called a drogher, that went along the coaſt carrying ſugar. I ſpoke to the governor, that I hoped he would not pardon him; and I believe he was executed.

What, in your lordſhip's opinion, is the relative ſituation of a Slave in the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands to that of a peaſant in this country, as far as reſpects their reſpective enjoyment of the neceſſaries and comforts of life?

As far as I have ever obſerved the Slaves in the Weſt Indies, their property, which is the produce of their garden, their poultry, and pigs, having ever been reckoned ſacred, it is never taken from

them

them without a juſt compenſation, and even their maſters pay them the ſame price they could have got at the market; if not, the Slave refuſes the maſter—in general they are permitted to go to the market.

Does your lordſhip then, upon the whole, think that the ſituation in their reſpective condition, as oppoſed to that of a free man, is as comfortable as that of the peaſant in this country?

If it was poſſible for a Slave to be happy, they appeared to me to be ſo; they never knew what liberty was.

As your lordſhip in your preceding anſwers is of opinion that the Slaves in the Britiſh Iſlands are treated with humanity by their maſters, are well fed, clothed, and lodged, and taken care of in ſickneſs as well as in health, does your lordſhip think that, as far as regards the enjoyment of thoſe articles only, their lives are as comfortable as that of the peaſant in this country?

I certainly think they are.

Is it a common thing to ſee ſeamen in the ſtreets of Jamaica dying in an ulcerated ſtate, falling without pity, without friends, without a look but of contempt from the hardened multitude that paſſes by?

I do not believe any thing of the ſort ever happened; there might be drunken ſeamen in the ſtreets.

Does your lordſhip recollect to have at any time ſeen ſeamen without friends, and without money, wandering about in the different Iſlands, begging from door to door, till overpowered by heat, hunger, and fatigue, they fall unpitied?

I do not believe it ever happened, or any thing of the ſort.

Has your lordſhip any reaſon to believe that the crews of Slave ſhips in particular are in general objects expoſed, by the barbarity of the maſters of thoſe veſſels, to any of the above-deſcribed diſtreſsful and inhuman ſuffe ings?

If the men are ill-treated by the maſters of thoſe ſhips, they have a remedy at hand, by entering on board any of his majeſty's ſhips in that port; the ſhip cannot ſail until the maſter has paid the men their wages, which are juſtly due to them; it is too apt to be the cuſtom of the ſeamen of the Guinea ſhips, to leave them to navigate the loaded ſhips to Great Britain, as they get more wages for the run to Great Britain than their wages that were due to them on board the Guinea-men. I believe there

have

have been many inſtances of harſh treatment in captains of thoſe ſhips to get rid of their men; regulations in regard to the treatment of their ſeamen are very neceſſary.

Is your lordſhip enabled, from any obſervations which you have made, as to the ſtate of the French Weſt India commerce now, and what it was when you firſt become acquainted with the Weſt India Iſlands, to inform the Committee what has been the progreſſive increaſe or improvement of that branch of the French commerce?

I muſt go far back, to the year 1747, to anſwer that queſtion. In 1747 I ſaw 180 ſail of large French Saint Domingo ſhips in one convoy, bound from that Iſland to France; judge how much that commerce muſt have been improved within theſe forty odd years: and I am fully convinced that had it not been for the French Weſt India commerce, that nation could not have been in a condition to diſpute with Great Britain the empire of the ocean in the laſt war.

Can your lordſhip form any opinion what the value of that convoy might be?

It was amazing, they were very large ſhips, we took forty ſail of them, the value of which was £. 500,000: one ſhip alone was worth £. 100,000, which was loſt on the Goodwin Sands; the indigo alone on board her was worth £. 50,000.

Does your lordſhip mean to extend your obſervations reſpecting the ſeamen, mentioned in your former anſwers, to the Iſlands in general, or to confine them to Jamaica only?

I mean the whole Iſlands.

Has it been found eaſy to ſupply His Majeſty's ſervice in the Weſt Indies with ſeamen, without having recourſe to the practice of preſſing?

I never ſuffered preſſing in the Weſt Indies, without recourſe to the governor and council, who always gave every aſſiſtance towards manning the fleet in every Iſland.

Did the governor and council in the Iſlands readily give theſe orders to allow the impreſs?

I never knew an inſtance but that the civil power gave every aſſiſtance they could.

Had not your lordſhip frequently recourſe to the governor and council for ſuch orders?

Whenever there was occaſion I always applied to them, and had great aſſiſtance.

Do not the officers of His Majeſty's ſhips oblige the captains of Guinea-men to pay the wages due to ſuch ſeamen as leave their ſhips to enter into His Majeſty's ſervice?

Always.

If ſuch a ſeaman ſhould have received from his captain ill treatment of any other kind beſides the detention of his wages, does he obtain any reparation for ſuch ill treatment, by entering on board a man of war?

The captain or the admiral, if it come to his ears, applies to the attorney general of the Iſland, to proſecute the maſter of the ſhip.

Is your lordſhip of opinion, that the African Slave Trade furniſhes any ſupply of ſeamen to His Majeſty's navy?

It certainly ſupplies ſome, becauſe, when they come to the Weſt Indies, we get ſome of them; it is not a nurſery for ſeamen, that is certain, but it ſeaſons them to a hot climate.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel having propoſed to examine

Sir PETER PARKER, Baronet, Admiral of the Blue, a Member preſent;

And the ſaid Member having conſented thereto;

He was aſked,

Did you ever reſide in the Weſt Indies; in what Iſlands, and whether in any public capacity?

The war before laſt I was a captain of one of His Majeſty's ſhips on the Leeward Iſland ſtation for about three years; I was at the taking of Guadaloupe, and viſited occaſionally Barbadoes, and all the Leeward Iſlands excepting Nevis; in 1777 I had the honour of being promoted to the rank of rear admiral of the blue, and was at the ſame time appointed commander in chief of all His Majeſty's ſhips at Jamaica; but being employed on a particular ſervice in America,

America, I did not arrive at that Iſland till the beginning of February 1778; I continued in the command from that period till the arrival of Lord Rodney with his victorious fleet, which was about two or three weeks after the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten action of the 12th of April 1782.

What did you obſerve of the behaviour and treatment of maſters towards their Negro Slaves in the ſeveral Iſlands where you have been?

From the beſt obſervations I could make, their treatment was lenient, mild, and humane; I never heard of even one inſtance of ſeverity towards a Slave during the whole time I was on the Jamaica ſtation.

Did the Slaves in general appear to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged?

They not only appeared to me to be properly fed, clothed, and lodged, but were in my opinion in a more comfortable ſituation than the lower claſs of people in any part of Europe, Great Britain not excepted.

Did it appear to you that more labour was required of the Negroes than they could properly bear?

By no means; the Negroes have many advantages over our peaſantry, who can ſcarcely earn a livelihood by much harder labour than Negroes are ever put to; and when overtaken by age or infirmities they frequently drag on a miſerable life on a pitiful allowance from their pariſhes, of 1*s.* 6*d.* or perhaps 2*s.* a week: this is not the caſe with the Negro, who when old or infirm has particular care taken of him, and every attention ſhewn to him, to make him eaſy and comfortable; and if he ſhould have acquired money or any property, which all induſtrious Negroes can do, he may live in affluence for the remainder of his days; and he has the ſatisfaction of knowing that his family and friends will be ſure of protection and good treatment after his deceaſe, and that he may bequeath his property to whomſoever and in what manner he thinks proper.

Do the Negroes appear to be in a deſponding ſtate, or are they in general ſatisfied with their condition?

They are far from being in a deſponding ſtate, and are, for the moſt part, cheerful and merry.

Do you conceive that the plantations in the Weſt Indies could be cultivated to advantage by the labour of Europeans?

It

It is abſolutely impoſſible; and I believe no perſon who has ever read of or been in the Weſt Indies can ſuppoſe it to be poſſible. I need only refer to the returns from our army on the Leeward Iſlands and Jamaica, in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781, to prove this aſſertion, and to ſhew how inimical the Weſt India climate is to European conſtitutions. Every perſon who has been in that part of the world knows the unremitted attention ſhewn to the ſoldiery, whoſe very exiſtence depends on being allowed Negroes to carry their proviſions, ſtores, and water, and do other acts of drudgery. Our ſeamen work under cover, and under awnings, to defend them from the intenſe and parching rays of the ſun. The king has a number of Negroes in our dock-yards, and veſſels are always hired, manned by Negroes, to water and ſtore the King's ſhips: I am ſatisfied that this regulation has ſaved the lives of thouſands. All the captains under my command had permiſſion to enter a few Negroes; the ſhips in general, after their water is completed, keep it up with their own long-boats. And, to ſhow how neceſſary it is for Negroes to be employed on this ſervice, I will relate a fact:—The evening before one of our frigates was to ſail from Port Royal ſhe ſent her long-boat to Rock Fort for water, with a midſhipman, cockſwain, and ſix ſeamen; on her return the next morning the midſhipman and his ſix ſeamen were taken ill, and died.

Can the preſent ſtock of the Negroes in the Iſlands be kept up without freſh importations of Slaves from Africa?

I think not—experience proves it to be otherwiſe.

Do you conſider the ſhips employed by the French in their Weſt India trade as one of the principal ſources of their naval power?

I do; their ſhips are in general much larger than ours, and carry near double the men that ours do: the French trade to their colonies is immenſe, and fully, in my opinion, two-thirds of their whole commerce. Should they obſtruct, in any degree, their African Trade, which I think they are too wiſe and politic ever to have the moſt diſtant idea of doing, they would loſe their conſequence among the nations of Europe, and not be able to fit out a fleet ſo reſpectable as to cauſe any alarm to their neighbours.

Are not the French endeavouring as much as they can to improve and extend their Weſt India trade, and alſo their African Trade, as connected with it?

I have heard ſo, and I think it very probable.

Is not the Britiſh Weſt India trade a very conſiderable nurſery for ſeamen?

Very conſiderable indeed—without their aſſiſtance we ſhould find it very difficult to ſend a great fleet to ſea.

Is not that trade, and alſo the African Trade, extremely ſerviceable in ſupplying men to man His Majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt Indies in time of actual war?

There can be no doubt of it. The fleet under my command was ſupplied with upwards of 2,000; I bought ſeveral ſhips for His Majeſty, and manned them from the Weſt India merchantmen and African ſhips.

Do not thoſe trades, from the peculiar nature of them, furniſh ſeamen peculiarly adapted to Weſt India ſervice, and more able to manage His Majeſty's ſhips in that ſtation, than ſeamen uſually employed in Europe?

Moſt certainly.

Is it not important to the kingdom to keep up and encourage the Britiſh Weſt India Trade?

Certainly.

Do you not think it equally important to keep up the African Trade?

I think more ſo.

Will not the abolition of the Slave Trade tend to reduce the Weſt India Trade, and to leſſen the number of ſhips and ſeamen?

The abolition of the African Trade would, in my opinion, cauſe a general deſpondency among the Negroes, and gradually decreaſe population, and conſequently the produce of our Iſlands, and muſt in time deſtroy nearly half our commerce, and take away from Great Britain all pretenſions to the rank we now hold, of being the firſt maritime power in the world.

Will not the ſame cauſe tend to increaſe the French naval power?

In the ſame ratio that our power decreaſes, theirs will increaſe.

What will be the conſequence, in your opinion, to the navy

of Great Britain, if that abolition was to take place, and the Slave Trade be engroſſed by foreign nations?

A great diminution of our ſhips, and of our conſequence as a maritime nation.

Examined by the Members of the Committee.

It is ſtated, in the report of the Privy Council, that there has been ſeen, in the ſtreets of Jamaica, ſailors dying in an ulcerated ſtate, objects both of commiſeration and of horror;—have you ſeen ſuch inſtances?

Never, nor ever heard of any ſuch, except in this room.

And then the Counſel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Robert Hibbert, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. George Hibbert, Lord Shuldham, Admiral Barrington, Admiral Arbuthnot, Admiral Edwards, Admiral Hotham, Captain Lambert, Commodore Gardner, Lord Macartney, Sir John Dalling, Baronet, Sir Ralph Payne, Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. Orde, Mr. Parry, Lord Rodney, and Sir Peter Parker, Baronet, be reported to the Houſe.

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 30th MARCH 1790.

Witneſſes Examined,

Mr. ROBERT HIBBERT,
Mr. WEDDERBURN,
Mr. GEORGE HIBBERT,
Lord SHULDHAM,
Admiral BARRINGTON,
Admiral ARBUTHNOT,
Admiral EDWARDS,
Admiral HOTHAM,
Captain LAMBERT,
Commodore GARDNER,
Lord MACARTNEY,
Sir JOHN DALLING, Baronet,
Sir RALPH PAYNE,
Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,
Mr. ORDE,
Mr. PARRY,
Lord RODNEY,
Sir PETER PARKER, Baronet.

N° 7.

MINUTES, &c.

REPORTED TO THE HOUSE.

Jovis, 1° *die Aprilis* 1790.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed for the Purpoſe of taking the Examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhall be produced on the Part of the ſeveral Petitioners who have petitioned the Houſe of Commons againſt the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Mercurii, 31° *die Martii* 1790.

COUNSEL called in as before; and the Counſel proceeded further in their Examination, and called

STEPHEN FULLER, Eſquire, Agent for the Iſland of Jamaica, who produced Extracts from the Minutes of the Joint Committee of Aſſembly and Council of Jamaica, 3d December 1789; which are inſerted in pages 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, and 496.

And the Witneſs having offered to produce a paper intituled, " Jamaica, Import and Export of Negroes, and " Negroes retained in the Iſland for 49 years, viz. from " 1739 to 1787 both incluſive, diſtinguiſhing the years " of war from thoſe of peace;"

He was aſked,

What is the nature and purport of this paper, which you mean to produce to the Committee?

The nature and purport of it is, to ſhew that the importation of Negroes into the Iſland of Jamaica was very conſiderable in time of war, amounting to 855 leſs annually in time of war than in time of peace; the average amount being, in time of war, retained in the Iſland 5,828, and in time of peace 6,683.

From what materials have you formed this calculation?

I have formed the calculation from 1739 to 1772 from an original account found amongſt Mr. Roſe Fuller's papers, after his deceaſe, printed in part the third of the Privy Council's Report; the latter part, from thence to 1787, from the Inſpector General's account, printed in part fourth of the Privy Council's Report.

In what reſpects does this account of Negroes, imported into and exported from the Iſland of Jamaica, vary from the account which you delivered in to the Privy Council?

I looked upon the Inſpector General's account to be more perfect than my own, becauſe one account I always underſtood was the account of a private gentleman, who lived and died in Jamaica, and the Inſpector General's account was that of a public officer, who ought to know better than a private gentleman; I have therefore ſubjoined the latter part of the calculation, from 1772 to 1787, from the Inſpector General's account, which reaches back but to that year.

Then the ſaid Account was delivered in and read; and is inſerted in pages 497, 498, and 499.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

And the Counſel informed the Committee, That they had cloſed their Caſe; reſerving only the liberty for the Agent to produce any written or printed documents which he may think proper to lay before the Committee for their further information.

And then the Counſel were directed to withdraw.

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED,

THAT the Agent be permitted to produce ſuch written or printed documents.

And the Counſel were called in, and acquainted therewith.

And then they were again directed to withdraw.

Then the Agent for the petitions from the town of Liverpool, purſuant to the reſolution of the Committee of the 5th of February laſt, called

ROBERT NORRIS, Eſquire; who having offered to produce a paper, intituled, "An Account of the Veſſels, "and Amount of their Cargoes, now employed by the "Merchants of Liverpool in the African Slave Trade, 3d "March 1790;"

He was aſked,

What is the nature and purport of this paper, which you mean to produce to the Committee?

It is an account ſent to me by the ſecretary of the Committee of African Merchants at Liverpool.

Have you any reaſon to doubt the authenticity of the account ſtated in that paper?

I have not—I believe it to be a true ſtatement of facts

Then the ſaid paper was delivered in, and read; and is inſerted in pages 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, and 509.

And then the Witneſs was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 1° die Aprilis 1790.

THE Witneſs was called in as before, and produced, An Account of the number of Men who have been diſcharged by the different Maſter Tradeſmen of Liverpool, employed in the African Slave

Trade only, and are now out of work, or gone to other places, in conſequence of the reſtrictions laid on that Trade by Parliament; with the particular occupations of each, and the amount of wages paid them in one year: and alſo,

A liſt of African ſhips laid up in Liverpool in conſequence of the reſtrictions on the Trade: and alſo,

A liſt of African ſhips ſold out of the Trade, or ſent upon other voyages in conſequence of the reſtrictions on the Trade.

The ſaid account and liſts were read; and are inſerted in pages 510, 511, and 512.

Then the Agent for the Liverpool petitions informed the Committee, that the petitioners had finally cloſed their caſe.

And no perſon appeared in ſupport of any of the other petitions referred to the conſideration of the Committee.

RESOLVED,

That this Examination of Mr. Fuller and Mr. Norris be reported to the Houſe.

RESOLVED,

That the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

EXTRACTS

Extracts from the Minutes of the Joint Committee of Aſſembly and Council of Jamaica, 3d December, 1789.

Mr. Murray reported as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER,

Your Committee appointed to meet a Committee of the Council in a Free Conference, to enquire into, and to report to the Houſe their opinion, what ſteps are neceſſary to be taken with regard to the Slave Trade, in conſequence of the information received from the Agent of this Iſland, of the proceedings had in the Houſe of Commons during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in reſpect of the ſaid Trade; have accordingly met, and have taken the examinations of ſeveral perſons, and have agreed to the following reſolutions.

I.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the ſuppreſſion, either direct or virtual, of the Slave Trade, by the Britiſh nation only (other nations continuing the Trade as uſual) would not promote the purpoſes of humanity, either in reſpect of the Negroes which are annually brought to the African markets for ſale, or in regard to the Negroes at preſent in a ſtate of ſlavery in this and the reſt of the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt Indies. The effects in Africa of a partial abolition, would be this, that the purchaſers from Europe, being fewer in number, would have a greater choice of Slaves, equal to the whole demand of the Britiſh merchants at preſent, which is ſtated at 38,000 annually; whereby prime Slaves only would be ſaleable, and the aged and infirm (many of whom are now purchaſed of neceſſity) being rejected in greater numbers than formerly, the horrid practice, which has long exiſted among the Slave Merchants on the Coaſt, of putting to death ſuch of their captives as are brought to market and rejected by the Europeans, would be more prevalent than ever. In the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the effect (however lightly felt at firſt) muſt neceſſarily, in the courſe of a few years, from an unavoidable decreaſe, conſequent on the preſent inequality of the ſexes, have this operation, that the labour which is now performed by a given number of Negroes, muſt either be performed by a leſs number, or the Planter muſt contract the limits of his plantation, and diminiſh his produce. Thus, im-

mediate intereſt, and in many caſes urgent diſtreſs from the importunity of Creditors, will be ſet in oppoſition to the principles of juſtice and the dictates of humanity.

II.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That to condemn the Slave Trade, as peculiarly deſtructive to Britiſh Seamen (the contrary whereof is proved by the evidence of Vice Admiral Edwards, before the Privy Council) and to adduce in proof thereof, the loſſes ſuſtained on certain unhealthy parts of the Coaſt, without taking into the account the loſſes ſuſtained in other branches of the African commerce; ſuch as the wood and ivory trades, where the mortality principally occurs, and the increaſe of ſeamen from ſuch other parts of the Britiſh navigation as are principally dependent on the African commerce; is partial and unjuſt. Among theſe branches may be reckoned the Weſt India and Lumber Trades; and above all, thoſe great nurſeries for ſeamen, the Iriſh, Britiſh, Britiſh-American, and Newfoundland fiſheries, the conſumption of herrings and ſalted fiſh by the Negroes being immenſe. We have likewiſe reaſon to believe, that ſince the late regulating act, the mortality of Britiſh ſeamen in the Slave Trade has decreaſed nearly one half.

III.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the loſs of Negroes, which is ſometimes ſuſtained in the voyages from Africa, as well as in the harbours of this Iſland, between the days of arrival and ſale, and which is ſtated to happen from the mode of tranſporting them from the Coaſt, being a remediable grievance, affords no argument for a total ſuppreſſion of the Slave Trade.

IV.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That no juſt eſtimate can be formed of the effects which the regulating act of the Britiſh Parliament, paſſed in 1788, will ultimately produce in reſpect of the loſs of Slaves in the Middle Paſſage; inaſmuch as it appears from a return of Negroes, purchaſed on the Coaſt of Africa by ſhips that have entered in the Port of Kingſton ſince the firſt of January laſt, that out of 2,099 Slaves, purchaſed on the Gold Coaſt, 2,042 have been ſold in this Iſland, a loſs of only two and three-fourths per cent.; but that out of 2,550 Slaves purchaſed in the Bite of Benin, only 1,642 have been ſold; a loſs amounting to thirty-five and three-eighths per cent, and unknown before any regulation took place. Two veſſels have ſince arrived from the

the ſame Coaſt, the Ann and the Vulture: theſe veſſels purchaſed 785 Slaves, of whom only 14 have died; a loſs not exceeding one and three-ſevenths per cent. This amazing difference, as appears by the evidence taken on oath, is partly to be attributed to the ſmall-pox, which raged in ſome of the ſhips, and the meaſles and flux, which broke out in others. The loſs by the flux was chiefly occaſioned by the uſe of unripe yams, for want of other proviſions.

V.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the number of Slaves at preſent in this Iſland is about 250,000; of which, according to the beſt enquiries that can be made concerning the proportion of the ſexes, there are 140,000 males and 110,000 females. It follows, therefore, that if future importations from Africa be diſcontinued, there will unavoidably enſue, from the diſproportion of the ſexes alone, a very great reduction from the preſent number of our Slaves, before any augmentation can be expected from natural increaſe by generation: a diminution which muſt not only preclude all attempts at the further improvement of our unſettled lands, but likewiſe occaſion a proportionable decreaſe in the preſent cultivation; it being an undoubted fact, that almoſt all the plantations already ſettled are much under-handed.

VI.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That it is abſolutely impoſſible to cultivate the Weſt India Iſlands, ſo as to produce any commodities that would enrich the Mother Country, by White labourers. Fatal experience demonſtrates the fallacy of ſuch an expectation. In the year 1749, the legiſlature of this Iſland paſſed a law, holding out great encouragement for the introduction of White families into this Colony; which proved ineffectual, very few families having come in conſequence thereof; and of thoſe that came, not a veſtige is left. The French miniſtry in 1763, attempted to ſettle a colony, by means of White labourers, at Cayenne, on the coaſt of America: twelve thouſand miſerable people were the victims of this impolitic ſcheme. If further inſtances are wanting, to prove that Europeans cannot withſtand the climate when expoſed to the ſun and the rains, recourſe may be had to the accounts of the ſiege of Carthagena; the expedition to Cumberland Harbour; the ſiege of the Havannah; the returns of the regiments that came out under the command of General Garth in 1779 and 1780; and the expedition to Fort Saint Juan on the Spaniſh Main.

VII.

VII.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That, according to the beſt eſtimate which can be formed, this Iſland may be ſtated to contain four millions and eighty thouſand acres of land, of which not more than one fourth part, or about one million of acres, is at preſent in actual cultivation; and although a conſiderable part of the country, conſiſting of high mountains and rugged precipices, is incapable of improvement, yet it may be preſumed, that no part of the lands which are actually patented falls within that deſcription; inaſmuch as the owners thereof pay a quit-rent to the Crown for holding the ſame; which quit-rent, and the arrears thereof collected ſince Chriſtmas laſt, amount to the ſum of £. 27,000, or thereabouts, excluſive of £. 13,000 now in a train of ſettlement.

VIII.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That it appears from the offices of the Clerk of the Patents and Receiver General, that there are at this time patented in this Iſland, or taken up by grants from the Crown, 1,907,589 acres of land; from which the quantity in actual cultivation being deducted, there will remain, with every allowance for unproductive territory, 900,000 acres of cultivable land yet unſettled; the whole of which, if the Slave Trade be aboliſhed, muſt become an abſolute burthen and incumbrance on its preſent proprietors, who will in ſuch caſe be entitled as of right, and on the principles of natural juſtice, to the liberty of ſurrendering the ſame back to the Crown, and receiving full compenſation for the capitals therein veſted, and all quit-rents paid on account thereof. The ſaid land, valued only at £. 3 currency per acre, is worth £. 2,700,000 currency, equal to £. 1,928,500 ſterling.

IX.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the Planters and Proprietors of Negroes in this Iſland will in like manner be entitled to compenſation for the diminution which muſt neceſſarily enſue in the number of our Slaves, ſhould all further importations be diſcontinued by authority of parliament; the preſent diſproportion between the ſexes having ariſen from cauſes which are not imputable to us. With the reduction of our Slaves will likewiſe, unavoidably, happen a proportionate decreaſe in the value of our lands, buildiugs, and produce: for which, and all other loſſes conſequent on a change in the preſent ſyſtem, it is the opinion of the Joint Committee, that the inhabitants of this, and the reſt

of His Majeſty's Sugar Colonies, are fairly and juſtly entitled to compenſation; the ſaid Colonies having been originally ſettled under the moſt ſacred compacts with the Mother Country, ſanctioned by royal charters and proclamations, as well as by a ſucceſſion of acts of Parliament, authorizing and encouraging the Slave Trade; particularly by the charters granted in 1662 and 1674 by king Charles II. which eſtabliſhed a Royal African Company, the laſt of which was granted in conſequence of an addreſs from both houſes of parliament; and by the acts of the 9th and 10th of William III. a period when the principles of civil liberty were minutely inveſtigated, well underſtood, and freely aſſerted; and, more recently, by the act of the 23d of George II. which recites the uſefulneſs and abſolute neceſſity of the African Trade. Our claim of compenſation is founded in, and ſupported by, not only the rules of natural as well as moral juſtice, but by the expectations we are warranted to entertain from the examples of compenſation made by parliament to the Royal African Company, for the reſumption of their lands, forts, &c. &c. (ſee ſtat. 25 Geo. II. c. 40.) in 1752, and to the Britiſh merchants and owners of ſhips engaged in the African Trade, for loſſes ſuſtained by them, in conſequence of the act for regulating the ſhipping and carrying Slaves in Britiſh veſſels from the Coaſt of Africa, paſſed the laſt ſeſſion of the Britiſh Parliament: And it is our opinion, that before any further meaſures towards the abolition of the Slave Trade be taken by the Parliament of Great Britain, Commiſſioners ought to be appointed for aſcertaining the loſſes to ariſe therefrom.

X.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the charges which have been brought againſt the Planters of this Iſland, of improper and inhuman treatment of our Slaves, may be fully refuted and diſproved; firſt, by an appeal to our laws; and ſecondly, by the evidence of reſpectable men who have reſided among us, and have been witneſſes to our manners. Whatever may be ſaid of our ancient Colonial Slave Laws, the acts which have been paſſed within the laſt ten years are written in characters of juſtice, mercy, and liberality. Concerning the general treatment of our Slaves, we refer to the evidence already perſonally given to the Lords of the Council, by the Right Honourable Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, Admiral Barrington, Sir Joſhua Rowley, Admiral Hotham, Vice Admiral Edwards, and Sir George Young; and to the further evidence that may be produced from gentlemen of character in England, who have reſided many years in this Iſland, and are intimately acquainted with our conduct and manners. We

conceive that the teſtimony of ſuch perſons is unanſwerable and concluſive, and ſhall therefore only remark, that it is notorious, our Slaves in general are not only treated with kindneſs and humanity, but that they are alſo protected by law from immoderate chaſtiſement or cruel treatment, and enjoy more eaſy, comfortable, and happy lives, than multitudes of the labourers in Great Britain.

XI.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That in confidence of the validity of Plantation ſecurity, and the ſupport and encouragenent the Sugar Colonies and the African Trade have hitherto experienced from Government, the merchants in Great Britain have been induced to enter into very large advances, and engage in extenſive loans to the Weſt India Planters; and on the faith of an act of parliament, paſſed on purpoſe to make the receiving of ſix per cent. on colonial ſecurities lawful in Great Britain, great numbers of private perſons at home, as well as the ſubjects of foreign ſtates, have likewiſe embarked conſiderable ſums on mortgages, and have purchaſed annuities to a very large amount on Weſt India eſtates. Now, the Slave Trade being the great ſource of every Weſt India improvement, its abolition muſt inevitably diminiſh the value of all ſuch ſecurities, and drive the creditors to uſe every means in their power to extricate their property from ſuch a precarious ſituation, to the immediate diſtreſs of the Planters and their families, and the ultimate ruin of many of the mortgagees and annuitants themſelves.

XII.

Reſolved, It is the opinion of the Joint Committee, That the preſent value of property in this Iſland may be fairly and reaſonably eſtimated as follows; viz. 250,000 Negroes, at £. 50 ſterling per head, is £. 12,500,000: the patented lands, with their erections, and the perſonal property appertaining thereunto, at double the value of the Negroes (being the moſt general rule of valuation) amount to £. 250,00,000: and the article of houſes in the towns, the coaſting and trading veſſels, &c. may be eſtimated at one million and a half at the leaſt; it appearing by the Report of the Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council, that the houſes in Kingſton and Spaniſh Town are alone worth £. 1,428,521 ſterling. The total is, thirty-nine millions of pounds ſterling. The whole profits and produce of which capital, as alſo of the various branches of commerce to which it gives riſe, centre in Great Britain, and add to the national wealth; while the navigation, neceſſary to all its branches, eſtabliſhes a ſtrength which wealth can neither purchaſe nor balance.

AND

AND the ſeveral examinations taken in the ſaid Committee being read, were ordered to be entered, as follows:

The Examination of Alexandre Lindo of the pariſh of Kingſton, Eſquire; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave-Trade, in the moſt ſolemn Manner.

Q. 1. Pleaſe to inform the Joint Committee, whether a ſhip named the King Pepple did not come conſigned to you from Bonny?

A. The ſhip King Pepple came conſigned to me from the Bite of Benin.

Q. 2. Pleaſe to ſay, whether a great mortality did not happen amongſt the Slaves in that ſhip during her paſſage, and to what cauſe was it owing?

A. The mortality was very great. I think the loſs in the Middle Paſſage was about 150, and 20 or thereabouts died after the ſhip's arrival. The cauſe of the mortality was an epidemic flux, principally occaſioned, as I have been informed, and believe, by the ſhip's taking on board on the Coaſt a large quantity of unripe yams, the time of her ſailing not being the yam ſeaſon, and the Captain could not therefore get better.

(Signed) ALEXANDRE LINDO.

The Examination of John Taylor, of the Pariſh of Kingſton, Eſquire; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave-Trade, in the moſt ſolemn Manner.

Q. 1. Pleaſe to inform the Joint Committee whether a ſhip named the Eliza, Captain Bullock, came conſigned to you from Africa, with what number of Slaves, and from what part of the Coaſt?

A. The Eliza arrived to my addreſs from New Calabar, in the Bite of Benin: 283 Slaves were purchaſed, and put on board that veſſel on the Coaſt; 210 were brought to this Iſland in the veſſel, of which I ſold 180.

Q. 2. Can you aſſign the cauſes of ſuch mortality?

A. I believe the ſmall-pox of a malignant kind was the cauſe of the great mortality. From the ſhip's journal it appears, that, ſoon after leaving the Coaſt, it was diſcovered ſome of the Slaves were infected with that diſorder, and it continued to rage amongſt them during the whole of the Middle Paſſage. On the arrival of the ſhip, I immediately ordered ſuch of the Slaves as did not appear to have caught the infection to be inoculated: 30 Slaves died afterwards; part of whom had the diſorder in the natural way, and part were of thoſe that had been inoculated. The whole loſs was 103 Slaves.

Q. 3. Was there a ſurgeon on board during the voyage? and did the Slaves want proviſions and other neceſſaries, particularly medicines?

A. There was a ſurgeon on board during the voyage, and I employed an aſſiſtant to him immediately on the ſhip's arrival. The Slaves had proviſions and water in great abundance, and I did not hear they were in want of neceſſaries of any kind. After the Slaves were diſpoſed of, more than a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for the voyage to England were left on board the ſhip; and I ſold a quantity of both beef and bread in Kingſton.

Q. 4. Did the ſurgeon inoculate any of the Slaves on board, before the ſhip's arrival?

A. He did not.

(Signed) JOHN TAYLOR.

The

The Examination of Captain William Sherwood; taken in the Joint Committee on the Slave Trade, in the moſt ſolemn Manner.

Q. 1. What ſhip do you command, of what tonnage, and how many Slaves are you allowed to carry by the late regulating act?

A. I command the ſhip Brothers of Liverpool, of 325 Tons; and am allowed by the regulating act to carry 459 Slaves, but took in only 455.

Q. 2. What part of the Coaſt did you ſail from laſt, and how long was you there in getting your cargo?

A. I ſailed from Liverpool the 24th of June laſt, and arrived at Bonny, in the Bite of Benin, on the 2d of Auguſt; from thence I ſailed on the 20th of September, and arrived at Kingſton the 10th of November laſt, after a fine paſſage of 50 days.

Q. 3. In what ſtate of health were the Slaves when you purchaſed them?

A. Apparently healthy, but ſome of them a little emaciated, which I imputed to their having been brought from a vaſt diſtance inland in the rainy ſeaſon.

Q. 4. What was the mortality on board?

A. I loſt ſixty-three in the Middle Paſſage.

Q. 5. Had you ever ſuch mortality in any former voyage; and how many voyages have you been as maſter?

A. Never in the ſame proportion—I have been ten voyages as maſter.

Q. 6. Can you aſſign the cauſes of the mortality in your preſent voyage?

A. About eight or ten days after we left Bonny, the meaſles broke out, and carried off from fifty-five to ſixty of the Slaves; one died of apoplexy, and the reſt of fevers.

Q. 7. How many Slaves did you loſe between the days of arrival and ſale?

A. I loſt five—they had had the meaſles before my arrival, and died of fluxes in conſequence thereof; though I had them landed immediately on their arrival, and all poſſible care taken of them.

Q. 8. Are you of opinion that the meaſles and flux were the ſole cauſes of this great mortality?

A. I am firmly of opinion, if the contagious diſtemper had not happened, that I ſhould have brought the Slaves with as little loſs as is ſuſtained by ſhips in general coming from that part of Africa.

Q. 9. Had you any Surgeons on board?

A. I had two on board.

Q. 10. How many of the ſeamen died?

A. I had forty-two and none of them died.

Q. 11. What quantity of proviſions had you on board when you ſailed from Liverpool, and of what quality; and what proviſions did you purchaſe on the Coaſt?

A. I had, as nearly as I can recollect, fourteen tons of biſcuit, forty tons and thirty barrels of beef, ſix barrels of pork, four tons of ſhelled beans, and three tons of flour, when I left Liverpool, all of good quality. I purchaſed while on the Coaſt from ſixteen to ſeventeen thouſand good ſound yams, each weighing, upon an average, about ſeven pounds, from eight to ten thouſand plantanes, and about five or ſix thouſand heads of Indian corn. On my arrival I had left about ſeven tons of biſcuit, three thouſand eight hundred yams, and about a ton and a half of beans, eleven tierces and ſeven barrels of beef, a ton and a half of flour, and twelve butts of water of a hundred and eighty gallons each.

Q. 12. Were the Seamen and Slaves continued at the uſual full allowance of proviſions and water during the whole voyage?

A. They were.

Q. 13. Is not the conſtruction and the conveniences on board a Slave Ship of more conſequence to the health of the Negroes than confining the number of Slaves to a certain tonnage?

A. I think the conſtruction more material than the tonnage; in a long narrow ſhip the air circulates more freely: a ſhort quarter deck, no top-gallant forecaſtle, no gangway, and a very low waiſt, are circumſtances of greater advantage than a mere extenſion of tonnage.

Q. 14 Do you remember any inſtance of the ſmall-pox taking place on board any veſſel under your command, during any paſſage from the Coaſt of Africa?

A. I went out in 1777, in the Joſhua, a brig belonging to Liverpool, for 120 Slaves, and took in 184 at the Iſle de Los, on the Windward Coaſt: when I had got about 100 on board, I perceived one with the ſmall-pox, which I immediately put on ſhore, hoping to ſtop the infection, but about a fortnight after, on my going to ſea, I found it had broke out again.

Q. 15. Did you cauſe the Slaves to be inoculated at ſea; and how long after the firſt appearance of the diſorder?

A. I cauſed them to be inoculated immediately on its appearance, and all of them except took the infection.

Q. 16. What ſucceſs attended ſuch inoculation?

A. I loſt ſeven only out of the 184.

Q. 17. Is the loſs of ſeamen on board a Slave Ship greater in proportion than that of landſmen; and would not the ſeaſoning of landſmen in the Weſt Indies be as fatal to them as on the Coaſt of Africa?

A. The greateſt loſs is of landſmen—in ſome parts of the Weſt Indies I think the loſs of men equal to any loſs I ever ſuſtained on the Coaſt of Africa.

Q. 18. Pleaſe to ſay, whether, from your own experience, and the information of others, the late regulating act has in your opinion been of advantage?

A. In ſome ſhips I think it has, and in others not.

(Signed) WILLIAM SHERWOOD.

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED, That the Houſe do agree to the Report.

True Extracts from the Minutes of the Houſe.

GEO. FRENCH,
Clerk to the Aſſembly.

IMPORT

IMPORT and EXPORT of Negroes, and Negroes retained in the Iſland, for 49 years, viz. from 1739 to 1787, both incluſive; diſtinguiſhing the Years of War from thoſe of Peace.

JAMAICA.

		Imported.	Exported.	Retained.
War with Spain —	1739	6,787	598	6,189
	1740	5,362	495	4,867
	1741	4,255	562	3,693
	1742	5,067	792	4,275
	1743	8,926	1,368	7,558
War with Spain and France —	1744	8,755	1,331	7,424
	1745	3,843	1,344	2,499
	1746	4,703	1,502	3,201
	1747	10,898	3,378	7,520
	1748	10,430	2,426	8,004
War 10 Years		69,026	13,796	55,230
Peace —	1749	6,858	2,128	4,730
	1750	3,587	721	2,866
	1751	4,840	713	4,127
	1752	6,117	1,038	5,079
	1753	7,661	902	6,759
	1754	9,551	1,592	7,959
	1755	12,723	598	12,125
Peace 7 Years		51,337	7,692	43,645
War with France —	1756	11,166	1,902	9,264
	1757	7,935	943	6,992
	1758	3,405	411	2,994
	1759	5,212	681	4,531
	1760	7,573	2,368	5,205
	1761	6,480	642	5,838
War with France and Spain —	1762	6,279	232	6,047
	1763	10,079	1,582	8,497
War 8 Years		58,129	8,761	49,368

		Imported.	Exported.	Retained.
Peace — —	1764	10,213	2,639	7,574
	1765	8,951	2,006	6,945
	1766	10,208	672	9,536
	1767	3,248	375	2,873
	1768	5,950	485	5,465
	1769	3,575	420	3,155
	1770	6,824	836	5,988
	1771	4,183	671	3,512
	1772	5,278	923	4,355
	1773	10,729	587	10,142
	1774	17,686	2,658	15,028
	1775	17,364	3,494	13,870
Peace 12 Years		104,209	15,766	88,443
War with America —	1776	18,400	3,384	15,016
	1777	5,607	558	5,049
War with America, assisted by France, Spain, and Holland —	1778	5,191	772	4,419
	1779	3,343	484	2,859
	1780	3,267	252	3,015
	1781	7,049	294	6,755
	1782	6,291	1,868	4,423
War 7 Years		49,148	7,612	41,536
Peace — —	1783	9,644	64	9,580
	1784	15,468	4,635	10,833
	1785	11,046	4,667	6,379
	1786	5,645	3,764	1,881
	1787	5,703	2,158	3,545
Peace 5 Years		47,506	15,288	32,218

ABSTRACT.

	Years.	Total retained.	Average per Annum.
War —	10 —	55,230 —	5,523
Peace —	7 —	43,645 —	6,235
War —	8 —	49,368 —	6,171
Peace —	12 —	88,443 —	7,370
War —	7 —	41,536 —	5,791
Peace —	5 —	32,218 —	6,444
	49	310,440	

AVERAGES.

War 25 Years.	Peace 24 Years.
5,523	6,235
6,171	7,370
5,791	6,444
3) 17,485	3) 20,049
Medium 5,828	6,683
	5,828
Peace, Annual Average, exceeds War —	855
Annual Average retained for 49 Years — —	6,335

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of the Veſſels, and Amount of their Cargoes, now employed by the Merchants of Liverpool in the African Slave Trade—3d March 1790.

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
John Dawſon — —	Moſley Hill — —	385	45	6,258 — —	13,827 — —	20,085 — —	
Ditto — —	Dragon — —	300	40	2,857 — —	9,844 — —	12,701 — —	
Ditto — —	Thomas — —	225	35	2,139 — —	5,917 — —	8,056 — —	
Ditto — —	Benjamin — —	196	35	3,994 — —	5,559 — —	9,553 — —	
Ditto — —	Hero — —	365	45	3,724 — —	11,464 — —	15,188 — —	
Ditto — —	Ellen — —	134	25	1,500 — —	7,265 — —	8,765 — —	
Ditto — —	Prince — —	55	15	989 — —	1,908 — —	2,897 — —	
Ditto — —	Young Hero — —	80	15	1,583 — —	1,971 — —	3,554 — —	
Ditto — —	Margaretta — —	80	15	500 — —	2,020 — —	2,520 — —	
Ditto — —	Maria — —	50	12	809 — —	823 — —	1,632 — —	
Ditto — —	Anna — —	50	12	677 — —	1,682 — —	2,359 — —	
Ditto — —	Amery — —	55	12	778 — —	321 — —	1,099 — —	
Ditto — —	Charlotte — —	50	12	250 — —	1,150 — —	1,400 — —	
Ditto — —	Trinidada Packet —	50	12	735 — —	1,100 — —	1,835 — —	
Ditto — —	Eliza — —	100	20	2,050 — —	2,050 — —	4,100 — —	
Ditto — —	Brothers — —	325	40	4,000 — —	7,820 — —	11,820 — —	
Ditto — —	Princeſs Royal —	400	45	5,000 — —	9,078 — —	14,078 — —	
Ditto — —	Garland — —	525	50	3,500 — —	11,203 — —	14,703 — —	
Ditto — —	Blaydes — —	306	40	3,020 — —	7,934 — —	10,954 — —	
						147,299 — —	
				Inſurance on £. 147,299, at £. 6 per Ct —		9,400 — —	
							156,699 — —

[500]

William Boats, and Co. —	Jane — —	242	35	3,907 6 9	7,287 19 4	11,195 6 1		
Ditto — —	Vulture — —	315	43	5,699 10 4	8,513 17 6	14,213 7 10		
Ditto — —	Gregſon — —	258	40	5,300 — —	9,700 — —	15,000 — —		
Ditto — —	Eliza — —	348	40	7,103 17 7	8,766 — —	15,869 17 7		
Ditto — —	King Peppel — —	323	40	6,757 9 1	8,621 6 6	15,378 15 7		
Ditto — —	Ann — —	222	36	4,822 19 5	6,992 6 7	11,815 6 —		
Ditto — —	Mary Ann — —	136	26	3,521 4 11	5,329 3 9	8,850 8 8		
Ditto — —	Squirrel — —	180	36	4,502 17 5	2,660 14 6	7,163 11 11		
Ditto — —	Ranger — —	110	25	3,100 — —	284 10 —	3,384 10 —		
Ditto — —	Thomas — —	265	35	5,500 — —	9,000 — —	14,500 — —		
Ditto — —	Betſey — —	143	30	4,030 — —	5,300 — —	9,330 — —		
						126,701 3 8		
	Inſurance on £. 126,701. 3. 8. at £. 6 per C$^{t}_{2}$ is —					8,060 — —		
							134,761 3 8	
Tarletons and Backhouſe —	Mary Ann — —	186	30	2,962 17 2	4,480 14 10	7,443 12 —		
Ditto — —	Eliza — —	166	24	2,128 8 11	5,176 19 11	7,305 8 10		
Ditto — —	Banaſtre — —	148	25	2,003 18 6	3,199 10 10	5,203 9 4		
Ditto — —	Venus — —	159	24	1,907 6 8	4,642 17 5	6,550 4 1		
Ditto — —	Fanny — —	180	23	2,337 16 2	5,292 3 9	7,629 19 11		
Ditto — —	Mary — —	164	24	1,969 11 4	4,652 9 10	6,622 1 2		
Ditto — —	Bridget — —	295	35	3,257 12 7	10,604 17 6	13,862 10 1		
	Carried over —	—	—	—	—	54,617 5 5		
	Carried forwards —	7,571	1,096	115,175 16 10	—	—	291,460 3 8	

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	— —	7,571	1,096	115,175 16 10	—	—	291,460 3 8
Tarletons and Backhouſe —	Carried forward —	—	—	—	—	54,617 5 5	
Ditto — —	Toms — —	270	36	4,500 — —	8,800 — —	13,300 — —	
Ditto — —	Peggy — —	42	12	798 17 2	1,400 — —	2,198 17 2	
Ditto — —	Tryall — —	280	35	3,500 — —	7,255 14 2	10,755 14 2	
						80,871 16 9	
	Inſurance on £. 80,871. 16. 9, at £. 6 per C^{t}, is —					4,854 — —	
							85,725 16 9
Harper and Brade — —	Bell — —	148	35	3,430 4 8	4,146 6 —	7,576 10 8	
Ditto — —	Margery — —	157	36	3,220 13 7	4,370 12 3	7,591 5 10	
Ditto — —	Mary — — —	118	30	2,583 7 10	3,757 17 2	6,341 5 —	
Ditto — —	Anne — —	148	36	3,102 5 5	4,302 10 2	7,404 15 7	
Ditto — —	Amacree — —	205	31	3,548 — 1	5,319 3 9	8,867 3 10	
Ditto — —	Ally — — —	186	31	3,134 5 1	5,037 2 4	8,171 7 5	
						45,952 8 4	
	Inſurance on £. 45,952. 8. 4, at £. 6 per C^{t}, is —					2,700 — —	
							48,652 8 4
George Caſe and Co. —	Molly — —	279	40	4,685 10 —	8,562 10 —	13,248 — —	
Ditto — —	Viper — — —	258	43	3,242 19 —	3,832 4 —	7,075 3 —	
Ditto — —	Gipſey — —	147	25	1,906 16 —	2,845 19 —	4,752 15 —	
Ditto — —	Eliza — — —	210	31	2,195 — —	3,550 — —	5,745 — —	
Ditto — —	Ariel — —	88	10	1,000 — —	3,000 — —	4,000 — —	
						34,820 18 —	
	Inſurance on £. 34,820. 18, at £. 6 per C^{t}, is —					2,100 — —	
							36,920 18 —

John Gregſon and Co. —	Gaſcoyne — —	298	39	3,336 — —	5,311 — —	8,647 — —	
Ditto — —	George — — —	247	27	2,391 — —	3,461 — —	5,852 — —	
Ditto — —	Will — — —	128	20	2,357 — —	2,425 — —	4,782 — —	
						19,281 — —	
	Inſurance on £. 19,281, at £ 6 per C^{t}, is —					1,158 — —	20,439 — —
John and Thomas Hodgſon and Co. — —	Sally — —	367	37	2,970 8 4	10,039 8 2	13,009 8 6	
Ditto — —	Mary — —	—	—	—	5,052 17 11	5,052 17 11	Theſe Goods were ſent out in this Veſſel on Freight.
Ditto — —	Fly — — —	93	16	1,456 — —	3,637 19 8	5,094 7 2	
Ditto — —	Heart of Oak —	—	—	—	—	8,338 10 10	Theſe Goods ſent in this Veſſel on Freight.
Ditto — —	Mercer — — —	54	10	531 3 4	1,618 14 —	2,149 17 4	
Ditto — —	Lively — —	160	30	800 — —	2,200 — —	3,000 — —	
Ditto — —	Amity — —	90	20	600 — —	—	600 — —	Purchaſed in Africa, and in caſe of Abolition would be of little or no Value.
Ditto — —	George — —	70	15	300 — —	—	300 — —	
Ditto — —	Racehorſe — —	30	10	200 — —	—	200 — —	
Ditto — —	Hope — — —	60	15	400 — —	—	400 — —	
Ditto — —	37 other Sloops, Schooners, and Boats —	—	—	2,560 — —	—	2,560 — —	On the Coaſt of Africa, and in caſe of Abolition would be of no Value.
						40,705 1 9	
	Inſurance on £. 40,705. 1. 9, at £. 6 per C^{t}, is —					2,450 — —	
						43,155 1 9	
Ditto — —	James — — —	78	—	500 — —	—	500 — —	
Ditto — —	201 Gremelas or Black Servants, not conſidered, though purchaſed at this Sum -	—	—	—	—	4,020 — —	
							47,675 1 9
	Carried forwards —	11,778	1,706	174,425 7 4	—	—	530,873 8 6

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward —	— —	11,778	1,766	174,425 7 4	— —	— —	530,873 8 6
Thomas Staneforth and Co.	Preſident — —	254	46	3,030 — —	4,570 — —	7,600 — —	
Ditto — —	Hornett — —	142	31	2,250 — —	4,250 — —	6,500 — —	
Ditto — —	Æolus — —	159	34	3,250 — —	5,000 — —	8,250 — —	
Ditto — —	Comet — —	170	30	2,800 — —	3,000 — —	5,800 — —	
Ditto — —	Brookes — —	350	49	5,250 — —	14,500 — —	19,750 — —	
Ditto — —	Kitty — —	350	39	5,500 — —	11,700 — —	17,200 — —	
						65,100 — —	
	Inſurance on £. 65,100, at £. 6 per Ct, is — —					3,906 — —	69,006 — —
Joſeph Ward and Co. —	Roſe — —	147	35	2,852 — —	4,036 15 —	6,888 15 —	
Ditto — —	Fancy — —	183	38	3,166 10 —	5,588 6 —	8,754 16 —	
Ditto — —	Hazard — —	126	25	chartered.	4,759 — —	4,759 — —	
Ditto — —	Little Joe — —	136	30	2,370 — —	4,800 15 —	7,170 — —	
Ditto — —	Joſeph — —	130	38	3,273 — —	5,072 6 6	8,345 6 6	
						35,917 17 6	
	Inſurance on £. 35,917. 17. 6, at £. 6 per Ct, is —					2,155 — —	38,072 17 6
Ralph Fiſher and Co. —	Brothers — —	119	30	1,800 — —	3,220 1 11	5,020 1 11	
Ditto — —	Edgar — —	159	30	3,200 — —	4,593 6 10	7,793 6 10	
Ditto — —	Martha — —	149	35	3,000 — —	4,003 15 9	7,003 15 9	
Ditto — —	Fiſher — —	186	35	3,400 — —	4,819 6 4	8,219 6 4	
Ditto — —	Iris — —	280	35	3,200 — —	7,500 — —	10,700 — —	
						38,736 10 10	
	Inſurance on £ 38,736. 10. 10, at £ 6 per Ct, is —					2,324 — —	41,060 10 10

William Dickſon — —	Benſon — —	169	49	2,986	3	3	3,693	6	2	6,685	9	5		
Ditto — —	James — —	100	29	2,467	16	3	2,782	16	6	5,250	12	9		
Ditto — —	Mary — —	278	45	4,284	17	7	3,527	17	1	7,812	14	8		
Ditto — —	Sally — —	19	6	440	—	3	None.			440	—	3		
										20,188	17	1		
	Inſurance on £. 20,188. 17. 1, at £. 6 per C^t, is —									1,211	—	—		
													21,399	17 1
Robert Boſtock and Co. —	Little Ben — —	45	16	814	4	6	2,136	1	—	2,950	5	6		
Ditto — —	Jemmy — —	83	22	1,653	7	2	3,675	3	2	5,328	10	4		
Ditto — —	Beſs — — —	132	26	2,400	—	—	4,797	12	8	7,197	12	8		
										15,476	8	6		
	Inſurance on £. 15,476. 8. 6, at £. 6 per C^t, is —									928	—	—		
													16,404	8 6
John Fiſher — —	Robuſt — —	313	52	4,000	—	—	5,700	—	—	9,700	—	—		
Ditto — —	Philip Stephen —	114	31	2,400	—	—	4,050	—	—	6,450	—	—		
Ditto — —	Aſſiſtance — —	37	17	800	—	—	1,680	—	—	2,480	—	—		
Ditto — —	Fiſher — —	411	—	3,000			—			3,000	—	—		
Ditto — —	Gainſborough — —	50	—	500	None		None		—	500	—	—		
Ditto — —	On the Stocks, ready to launch —		—	3,000			—			3,000	—	—		
Ditto — —	Ditto — Ditto Ditto —		—	1,200			—			1,200	—	—		
										26,330	—	—		
	Inſurance on £. 18,630, at £. 6 per C^t, is — —									1,117	—	—		
													27,447	— —
Ellis, Bent, and Co. —	Ellis — —	383	44	5,770	—	—	11,800	—	—	17,570	—	—		
Ditto — —	Clemiſon — —	247	23	2,600	—	—	2,400	—	—	5,000	—	—		
										22,570	—	—		
	Inſurance on £ 22,570, at £ 6 per C^t, is —									1,354	—	—		
													23,924	— —
	Carried forwards —	17,149	2,686	261,083	6	4	—			—			768,188	2 5

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward	— —	17,149	2,686	261,083 6 4	— —	— —	768,188 2 5
Thomas Foxcroft and Co. —	Bloom — —	143	27	2,307 19 8	3,672 — 4	5,980 — —	
Ditto — —	Bud — —	162	30	2,003 16 8	3,896 3 4	5,900 — —	
Ditto — —	King Grey — —	145	35	2,526 9 —	4,210 9 —	6,736 18 —	
						18,616 18 —	
	Insurance on £. 18,616. 18. —, at £. 6 per Ct, is —					1,117 — —	
							19,733 18 —
John Webster and Co. —	Hammond — —	96	20	1,800 — —	2,600 — —	4,400 — —	
Ditto — —	Liverpool Hero —	226	26	2,800 — —	5,000 — —	7,800 — —	
Ditto — —	Vale — —	208	28	2,400 — —	5,300 — —	7,700 — —	
						19,900 — —	
	Insurance on £. 19,900, at £. 6 per Ct, is —					1,194 — —	
							21,094 — —
Thomas Willm Earle and Co.	Fanny — —	106	30	1,470 — —	2,850 — —	4,320 — —	
Ditto — —	Othello — —	150	30	2,600 — —	5,000 — —	7,600 — —	
Ditto — —	Perseverance —	300	—	2,400 — —	— —	2,400 — —	
Ditto — —	Mars — —	147	—	1,400 — —	— —	1,400 — —	
						15,720 — —	
	Insurance on £. 11,920 ⊛, at £. 6 per Ct, is —					615 — —	
							16,335 — —
Thomas and Ellis Hodgson, and Co. — —	Colonel — —	119	30	1,706 — —	3,318 — —	5,024 — —	
Ditto — —	Renown — —	195	35	2,500 — —	5,830 — —	8,330 — —	
						13,354 — —	
	Insurance on £. 13,354, at £. 6 per Ct, is —					801 — —	
							14,155 — —

Joſeph Birch — —	Sarah — —		289	35	3,500 — —	9,000 — —	12,500 — —							
Ditto — —	Eagle — —		90	15	800 — —	1,700 — —	2,500 — —							
							15,000 — —							
	Inſurance on £. 15,000, at £ 6 per Cᵗ, is —						900 — —							
								15,900 — —						
Francis Ingram and Co. —	Elliott —	—	400	59	5,952 1 —	16,160 7 3	22,112 8 3							
Ditto — —	Kitty —	—	350	39	5,236 9 4	11,308 9 8	16,544 19 —							
Ditto — —	Mary —	—	75	20	2,020 12 —	4,200 17 —	6,221 9 —							
							44,878 16 3							
	Inſurance on £. 44,878. 16. 3, at £. 6 per Cᵗ, is —						2,692 — —							
								47,570 16 3						
Richard Wilding and Co. —	Diana —	—	248	35	3,580 — —	8,330 — —	11,910 — —							
	Inſurance on £ 11,910, at £ 6 per Cᵗ, is —						714 — —							
								12,624 — —						
Thomas Parke and Co. —	Alice —	—	205	35	4,300 — —	7,400 — —	11,700 — —							
	Inſurance on £. 11,700, at £. 6 per Cᵗ, is —						702 — —							
								12,402 — —						
Joſeph Caton — —	Rodney —	—	300	35	2,990 — —	7,325 — —	10,315 — —							
	Inſurance on £. 10,315, at £. 6 per Cᵗ, is —						620 — —							
								10,935 — —						
Thomas Leyland and Co. —	Ned —	—	193	30	2,200 — —	7,210 — —	9,410 — —							
Ditto — —	Kitty —	—	146	28	2,456 5 10	5,434 2 2	7,890 8 —							
Ditto — —	Chriſtopher —	—	170	30	1,988 2 4	6,320 19 7	8,309 1 11							
Ditto — —	Hannah —	—	192	30	3,020 1 5	5,720 7 7	8,740 9 —							
							34,349 18 11							
	Inſurance on £. 34,349. 18. 11, at £. 6 per Cᵗ, is —						2,061 — —							
								36,410 18 11						
John and Jᵃˢ Aſpinall and Co.	Beatrice —	—	169	26	2,188 5 2	3,390 13 3	5,578 18 5							
	Inſurance on £ 5,578. 18. 5, at £. 6 per Cᵗ, is —						335 — —							
								5,913 18 5						
	Carried forwards —		121,973	3,394	327,229 8 9	—	—	981,262 14 —						

* Sic Orig.

OWNERS.	Ships Names.	Tons.	Seamen.	Value of Ship and Outfit.	Cargo.	Amount.	Total Amount.
Amount brought forward —	—	21,973	3,394	327,229 8 9	—	—	981,262 14 —
Crosbie and Greenwood —	Endeavour — —	73	20	771 — —	1,419 — —	2,190 — —	
	Insurance on £. 2,190, at £. 6 per Ct, is				— —	121 — —	
							2,311 — —
Andrew Aikin — —	Margarett — —	112	23	1,978 11 —	3,504 11 10	5,583 2 10	
	Insurance on £. 5,583. 2. 10, at £. 6 per Ct, is				—	335 — —	
							5,918 2 10
Alexander Willock and Co.	Boyne — —	206	30	2,700 — —	7,500 — —	10,200 — —	
	Insurance on £. 10,200, at £. 6 per Ct, is				—	612 — —	
							10,812 — —
Robert Ward and Co. —	Peggy — —	81	14	733 7 4	2,477 19 3	3,211 6 7	
	Insurance on £. 3,211. 6. 7, at £. 6 per Ct, is				—	192 — —	
							3,403 6 7
Thomas Hinde, Son, and Co.	Golden Age —	377	50	4,300 — —	8,677 — —	12,977 — —	
	Insurance on £. 12,977, at £. 6 per Ct, is				—	778 — —	
							13,755 — —
Thomas and William Earle	Lord Stanley —	240	45	3,000 — —	6,000 — —	9,000 — —	
Ditto — —	Maria — —	271	52	3,058 — —	7,500 — —	10,558 — —	
						19,558 — —	
	Insurance on £. 19,558, at £. 6 per Ct, is				—	1,173 — —	
							20,731 — —
James Penny and Co. —	Madam Pookato —	114	20	1,250 — —	2,600 — —	3,850 — —	
Ditto — —	Shelburne Castle —	130	20	1,400 — —	3,000 — —	4,400 — —	
						8,250 — —	
	Insurance on £. 8,250, at £. 6 per Ct, is				— —	495 — —	
							8,745 — —

Willock, Sowrey, and Co. —	Molly —	—	—	114	30	2,420 — —	3,800 — —	6,220 — —		
Ditto —	Hope —	—	—	160	35	2,850 — —	5,600 — —	8,450 — —		
								14,670 — —		
						Insurance on £. 14,670, at £. 6 per Ct, is —		880 — —		
									15,550 — —	
Greaves and Denison —	Catharine —	—	—	100	15	436 7 10	2,491 14 —	2,928 1 10		
Ditto — —	Mary —	—	—	130	25	1,191 5 9	1,976 9 11	3,167 15 6		
								6,095 17 4		
						Insurance on £. 6,095. 17. 4, at £. 6 per Ct, is —		366 — —		
									6,461 17 4	
John Chambers, Jones, and Co.	Chambers —	—	—	233	30	2,250 — —	6,239 — —	8,489 — —		
						Insurance on £. 8,489, at £. 6 per Ct, is —		509 — —		
									8,998 — —	
Ledwell, Rodie, and Dover —	Sea Flower		—	87	15	1,520 — —	2,175 — —	3,695 — —		
						Insurance on £. 3,695, at £. 6 per Ct, is —		221 — —		
									3,916 — —	
Jonathan Ratcliffe —	Nancy —	—	—	102	20	2,400 — —	3,400 — —	5,800 — —		
						Insurance on £. 5,800, at £. 6 per Ct, is —		348 — —		
									6,148 — —	
John and Patrick Newley —	Ellen —	—	—	89	15	1,020 — —	2,220 — —	3,240 — —		
						Insurance on £. 3,240, at £ 6 per Ct, is —		194 — —		
									3,434 — —	
William Bramwell —	Nancy —	—	—	106	—	600 — —	—	— —	600 — —	
Thomas, Richard, and Willm Cha[s] Lake — —	Langdale —	—	—	209	—	500 — —	—	— —	500 — —	
				24,907	3,853	361,608 — 8	—	— —	1,092,546 — 9	

Number of Ships —	139	
Number of Tons —	24,907	
Number of Seamen —	3,853	
Value of Ships and Outfit —	£. 361,608 — 8	
Total Amount — —	1,092,546 — 9	

ACCOUNT of the Number of Men who have been discharged by the different Master Tradesmen of Liverpool, employed in the African Slave Trade only, and are now out of Work, or gone to other Places, in consequence of the Restrictions laid on that Trade by Parliament; with the particular Occupations of each, and the Amount of Wages paid them in One Year.

MASTER TRADESMEN.	Men, and their Occupations.	Wages per Week.	Amount Wages.	Total of Wages.
Ship-wrights — —	388 Journeymen Ship-wrights, averaged at —	15 s. per Week, is	15,132 — —	
	74 Sawyers — — —	14 s. ditto —	2,693 12 —	
	53 Ship-joiners — — —	14 s. ditto —	1,929 4 —	
	24 Blacksmiths — — —	14 s. ditto —	873 12 —	
	31 Ship-borers — — —	13 s. ditto —	1,047 16 —	
	19 Treenail and Wedge-makers — —	11 s. ditto —	543 8 —	
	18 Ship-painters — — —	14 s. ditto —	655 4 —	
	82 Labourers — — —	10 s. ditto —	2,132 — —	
	Wages paid in One Year by the Ship-wrights —	—	—	25,006 16 —
Boat-builders — —	25 Journeymen Boat-builders, at — —	15 s. per Week, is	975 — —	
	6 Sawyers — — — —	14 s. ditto —	218 8 —	
	3 Blacksmiths — — —	14 s. ditto —	209 4 —	
	2 Boat-painters — — —	14 s. ditto —	72 16 —	
	6 Labourers — — —	10 s. ditto —	156 — —	
	Wages paid in One Year by the Boat-builders	—	—	1,631 8 —

Coopers —	—	120	Journeymen Coopers, at	—	—	15s. per Week, is	—	4,680 — —
House-carpenters	—	57	Journeymen House-carpenters	—	—	14s ditto	—	2,074 16 —
Plumber and Glaziers	—	6	Journeymen Plumber and Glaziers	—	—	15s. ditto	—	234 — —
Braziers —	—	14	Journeymen Braziers —	—	—	15s. ditto	—	546 — —
Block and Pump-makers	—	9	Journeymen Block and Pump-makers	—	—	12s. ditto	—	280 16 —
Anchorsmiths —	—	6	Journeymen Anchorsmiths —	—	—	14s. ditto	—	218 8 —
Ironmongers —	—	10	Journeymen Ironmongers —	—	—	14s. ditto	—	364 — —
Sail-makers —	—	18	Journeymen Sail-makers —	—	—	15s. ditto	—	702 — —
Ropers —	—	26	Journeymen Ropers —	—	—	12s. ditto	—	811 4 —
White Coopers —	—	10	Journeymen White Coopers —	—	—	15s. ditto	—	390 — —
							£.	36,939 8 —

1007 Tradesmen and Labourers
22 Masters of African Slave Ships
47 Mates D° — D°
356 Seamen

1432 Now out of Employ in the Town of Liverpool, or gone to other Places in consequence of the Restrictions laid on by Parliament.

N. B. In 1787 there were only 719 Persons in the Poor House of this Town; but in consequence of the Restrictions on the African Slave Trade, there are now in the Poor House 1227; which makes an Increase of 508.

In addition to the above, the Number of Poor relieved out of the House are now 1060; were in 1787 700.— Increase 340.

Liverpool,
15th March, 1790.

SAMUEL GREEN.

A Liſt of African Ships laid up in Liverpool, in conſequence of the Reſtrictions on the Trade.

	Tons.
Perſeverance — —	400
Three Brothers . — —	260
Elliot — —	400
Kitty — —	350
James — —	100
Comet — —	254
Langdale — —	209
Gainſborough — —	50
Iris — — —	280
Stag — — —	159
Brooks — —	350
Golden Age — —	377
Juba — — —	300
Brothers — — —	325
Joſeph — — —	430
Lord Stanley — —	240
King Grey — —	145
Nancy — — —	102
Two new Ships in Diverryhouſe's Yard, which cannot be ſold	300
One D° in Fiſher's D° —	160
One D° in Baldwin's D° —	175
22 Ships of — Tons	5,366

A Liſt of African Ships ſold out of the Trade, or ſent upon other Voyages, in conſequence of the Reſtrictions on the Trade.

	Tons.
Tartar — — —	190
Tom — — —	206
Mermaid — —	300
Lady Penrhyn — —	200
Heart of Oak — —	150
Apollo — — —	171
Abigail — —	130
Toms — — —	270
Fanny — —	180
John — — —	200
Mungo — — —	260
Catharine — —	94
Neptune — — —	260
Hawke — — —	150
Nancy — —	200
Joſhua — — —	100
16 Ships of — Tons	3,061

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES

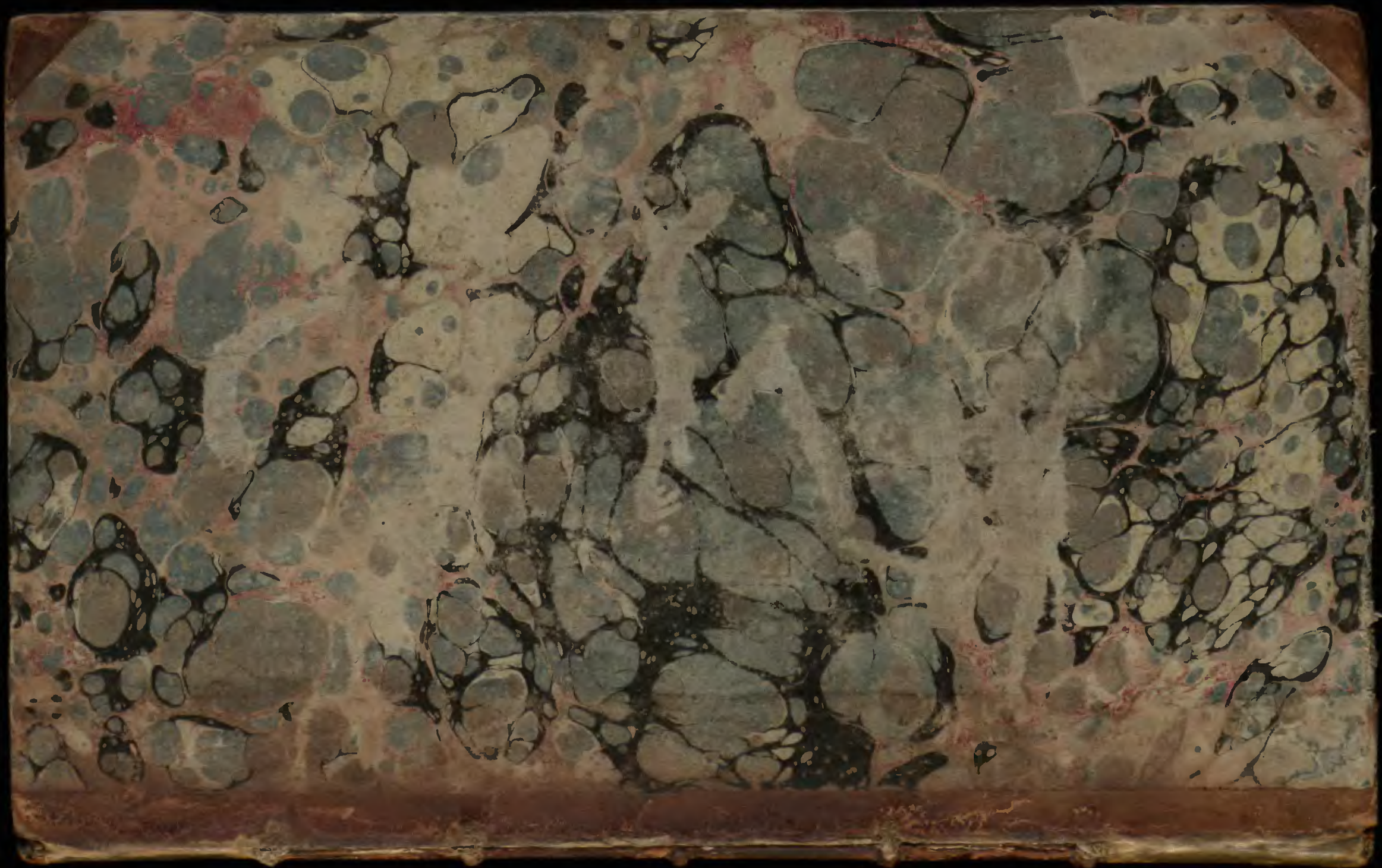
ON THE

SLAVE TRADE,

Reported 1st APRIL 1790.

Witneſſes Examined.

Mr. FULLER,
Mr. NORRIS.

N° 8.

B 57 Avale